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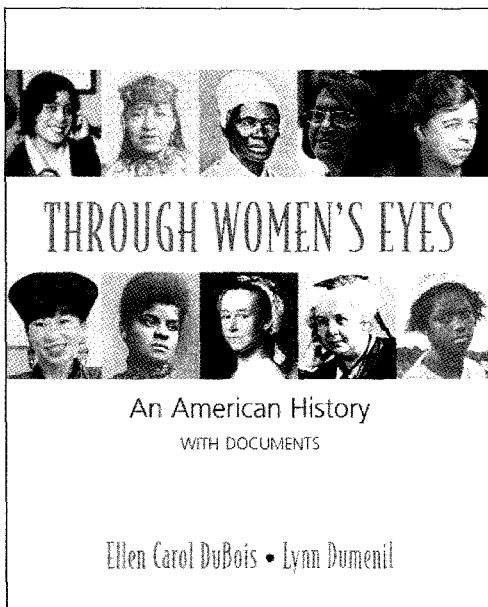
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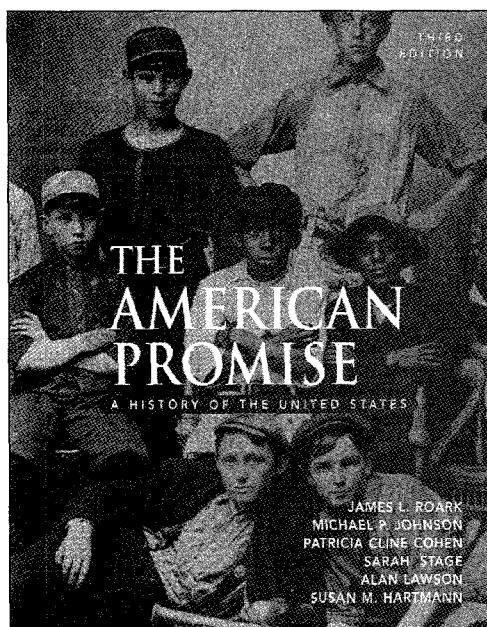
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In This Issue

This issue opens with a provocative article on historians' traditional understanding of time, followed by essays on German-American colonial collaboration in Africa, battlefield tourism during the Spanish Civil War, the Stalinist Terror, and nationalism in late colonial India. In addition, the issue includes our usual array of book and film reviews.

Articles

Dan Smail's article, "In the Grip of Sacred History," argues that historians have long failed to acknowledge a revolution in our understanding of time that took place in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was then that the bottom dropped out of historical time, as the accumulating geological and biological evidence for the old age of the earth and the evolution of species gradually persuaded the scientific community to accept a long chronology. In the wake of this time revolution, historians abandoned sacred history as a factual account of human history and began to offer suitably secularized alternatives. Yet the standard narrative found in textbooks and other general histories in the early to mid-twentieth century never fully abandoned the geographical and chronological grip of sacred history, for history still "begins" in these texts around six thousand years ago in Mesopotamia, the secular equivalent of the Garden of Eden. Reluctant to accept the implications of the long chronology, historians instead developed narrative devices and factual justifications for retaining a Near Eastern origin for history in the relatively recent past. History, Smail argues, has never fully escaped the grip of sacred history. By exploring the ways in which the short chronology continues to frame our general histories and textbooks, his article seeks to create a space for writing a deep history of humankind that incorporates the Paleolithic into the general framework of historical understanding.

In "A German Alabama in Africa: The Tuskegee Expedition to German Togo and the Transnational Origins of West African Cotton Growers," **Andrew Zimmerman** provides an account of an expedition sent by Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute to German Togo in the first decade of the twentieth century. The expedition introduced American cotton varieties, which were in high demand in Europe, to Togo. But it also had an ideological mission: to impose the American New South image of the "Negro" on the Togolese. German colonial policymakers and social

scientists, including Max Weber, Gustav Schmoller, and Georg Friedrich Knapp, found this ideology recognizable because they saw in the New South an analogue for the ethnic and class relations in Germany's own eastern territories, where the bound labor of serfs had been replaced by the free labor of migrant Poles. The resulting synthesis of German and American programs for regulating race and class ultimately failed to transform Togolese identity or Togo's political economy, but Togo succeeded in producing large quantities of industrial-grade cotton nevertheless. To compensate for the failure of Togolese to become "Negroes" on the model of the New South ideology, German and Tuskegee officials turned to violent methods that forced the Togolese to produce the cotton that it was imagined they produced freely. Combining psychoanalytic and Marxist approaches to transnational history, Zimmerman studies the production of commodities, identities, and social scientific knowledge in terms of practice and class conflict, rather than culture and agency. He highlights the interplay of intention, misunderstanding, bungled policies, and violence that has long been part of the history of imperialism.

Sandi Holguín explores a little-known chapter in the history of the Spanish Civil War in "National Spain Invites You': Battlefield Tourism during the Spanish Civil War." Known as the *Rutas Nacionales de Guerra*, these tours differed from other examples of battlefield tourism in other countries, for they were conducted by the Francoists when their claim to legitimacy remained very much contested and while the civil war was still raging. Holguín argues that by sponsoring tours during wartime, the Nationalists gained a crucial sense of legitimacy from the international community. These tours also were instrumental in creating and consecrating a series of narratives that the Franco regime would evoke repeatedly until its demise in 1975, helping to fashion a Francoist national identity that, so claimed the Nationalists, had been usurped by the architects of the Second Republic. The Franco regime's experiment with battlefield tourism provides a case study for how tourism that takes human suffering as its focus can be used to redefine national identity. It also has broad implications for the study of memory and for scholars analyzing the consolidation of regimes after wars, during wartime occupation, or even during transitions to democratic government.

In "Stalinist Terror and Democracy: The 1937 Union Campaign," **Wendy Goldman** explores the question of mass participation in the "Great Terror" in the Soviet Union. By tracing Party directives from the Central Committee down to union members, she analyzes the spread of repressive measures both in and through unions, a hierarchical network almost 22 million strong. She argues that repression was a mass phenomenon, not only in the number of victims it claimed but also in the extent of perpetrators it entailed. In the unions, repression was closely linked in 1937 with a campaign for union democracy, a mass movement for secret ballots, multi-candidate elections, official accountability, and worker participation. Subsequent elections opened a Pandora's box of charges and grievances, as Party leaders, union officials, and workers all sought to use the campaign to pursue their own interests. In the end, the campaign for union democracy not only paralleled the mass repression of 1937–1938, it became the very means by which various groups were transformed into will-

ing proponents of purge and repression. Goldman's article sheds light on several subjects: Stalinism, social movements, and comparative genocide. More particularly, it suggests the historical complexity of the Soviet Terror, which entailed mass participation as well as the brutal exercise of state power.

Kumkum Chatterjee uses a public controversy among intellectuals in colonial India to draw out the important role of historical understanding in nationalist discourses. In "The King of Controversy: History and Nation-Making in Late Colonial India," she challenges the idea that modern history writing was essentially state-centered and grounded in rational-positivistic methodology, demonstrating rather the continuing power of romantic, nativist, and ethnographic accounts. The discussion extends to an examination of the relationship of rational-positivist history with romantic, popular history and suggests that the commemoration of the past should be more appropriately conceptualized as including all of these. Chatterjee's article integrates intellectual history with the history of nationalism and its culture, paying particular attention to colonial and emergent nations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In the Grip of Sacred History

DAN SMAIL

ON THE OTHER SIDE OF EDEN lies a vast stretch of human history punctuated by compelling stories and events.¹ The ancestral Eve, the Out-of-Africa hypothesis, the Great Leap Forward, the settling of the Americas, the debates that rage around megafaunal extinction and the demise of the Neanderthals: all these and more have gripped the imaginations of academics and amateurs alike. If humanity is the proper subject of history, then surely the Paleolithic is part of our history. Yet despite enormous strides in the field of paleoanthropology over the last several decades, the deep past of humanity still plays a marginal role in the grand historical narrative that is taught in secondary schools and colleges in the United States. Most textbooks used in Western Civilization courses include very little on the Neolithic era, and even less on the Paleolithic. Some books in world history extend human history back to the outset of the agricultural revolutions, breaching the date of six thousand years ago that dominates some Western Civilization textbooks. Yet even world history surveys currently do not deal significantly with the Paleolithic.²

If history is biography—if the study of history, to be satisfying, requires us to make contact with the thoughts and psyches of people with names—then there is little point in advocating a deep history of humankind. But if history is also the study of the structures and patterns that shape the human experience, if acts such as handling a flint arrowhead or tracing one's mitochondrial family tree back to a small African valley can fulfill our desire for wonder, then the exclusion of humanity's deep history cannot be so easily explained. Puzzling over this exclusion, the archaeologist Glyn

My thanks to Doris Goldstein, Lynn Hunt, the members of the Fordham history faculty seminar, and the undergraduates who have taken my course "A Natural History," especially Edward Djordjevic and Maria Dembrowsky, for reading and commenting on preliminary versions of these arguments. I would also like to thank David Nirenberg, Gabrielle Spiegel, and the high school teachers involved in the Big History project at Chatham High School (N.Y.), especially Mike Wallace, for sharing ideas.

¹ I borrow the expression from Hugh Brody, *The Other Side of Eden: Hunters, Farmers, and the Shaping of the World* (New York, 2000).

² The first edition of William H. McNeill's *The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community* (Chicago, 1963), especially important because of its subsequent influence, devoted eight pages to the Paleolithic in a book of some eight hundred pages. William J. Duiker and Jackson J. Spielvogel cover prehistory in two pages of their *Essential World History: Comprehensive Volume*, 3rd ed. (Belmont, Calif., 2001). A more trade-oriented title, J. R. McNeill and William McNeill's *The Human Web: A Bird's-Eye View of World History* (New York, 2003), covers the Paleolithic in sixteen pages, although their "web" model offers an intriguing device for joining the Paleolithic to the later periods. Michael Cook's general history, *A Brief History of the Human Race* (New York, 2003), suggests that the Paleolithic does not count as history in part because there are no documents from the period that allow us to "study past humans on the basis of what they had to say for themselves" (5). An important exception to this neglect of early human history can be found in David Christian, *Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History* (Berkeley, Calif., 2004).

Daniel once wrote: "Why do historians in a general way pay so little attention to this fourth division of the study of the human past; while recognizing ancient history do they not give more recognition to prehistory? . . . Historians are taking a long time to integrate prehistory into their general view of man."³ That was in 1962. Since then, the call for interdisciplinarity has encouraged historians to approach the past through tools provided by other disciplines. However, this interdisciplinarity has not yet been extended to the fields that constitute the realm of paleoanthropology. Deep history, for all intents and purposes, is still prehistory—a term, as Mott Greene has noted, that modern historians have been reluctant to let drop. "To abandon prehistory," he says, "would be to postulate continuity between the biological descent of hominids and the 'ascent of civilization' of the abstract 'mankind' of humanistic historical writing. Prehistory is a buffer zone."⁴

The purpose of this article is to explore some of the historiographical reasons for the continuing exclusion of deep history. I do not intend to offer suggestions for how we can go about actually emplotting the Paleolithic in textbooks, general histories, and lectures. That is the subject for future work.⁵ Instead, what I will argue here is that the narrative of Western Civilization as it is currently understood by historians in the United States has not fully escaped the chronological and geographical grip of sacred history. Sacred history, as promulgated by early modern European historians and their predecessors in the Judeo-Christian tradition, was a view of history that located the origins of man in the Garden of Eden in 4004 B.C. In the eighteenth century, the chronology proper to history shrank significantly, as the new fad for catastrophism brought historical attention to bear on the Universal Deluge. Since human societies were rebuilt from scratch after the Deluge—so the thinking went—it was the Deluge that marked mankind's true beginning. And in the philosophy of the Neapolitan historian Giambattista Vico (1668–1744), the Deluge made all prior history unknowable anyway, because it destroyed all traces from which we could write such a history. As an event that set the civilizational clock back to zero, the Deluge marked an epistemological break between humanity's origin and the present stream of history. Although the flood itself has long since receded in historical consciousness, the sense of rupture remains.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, with the discovery of geological time, Western Europe's chronological certainties came crashing down. Stephen Jay Gould has called the discovery of deep time a cosmological revolution of Galilean proportions, and the new chronology came to shape all the historical sciences.⁶ But how did historians respond to the long chronology? Like all educated people, the general historians of the later nineteenth century were aware of deep time. A few continued to affirm the truths of Judeo-Christian chronology in the face of the mounting evidence. Motivated by the professionalizing wave of the last decades of the nineteenth century, however, most historians in the United States were comfortable letting go

³ Glyn E. Daniel, *The Idea of Prehistory* (London, 1962), 134.

⁴ Mott T. Greene, *Natural Knowledge in Preclassical Antiquity* (Baltimore, Md., 1992), 3.

⁵ But see David Christian, "The Case for Big History," *Journal of World History* 2 (1991): 223–238; Fred Spier, *The Structure of Big History: From the Big Bang until Today* (Amsterdam, 1996).

⁶ Stephen Jay Gould, *Time's Arrow, Time's Cycle: Myth and Metaphor in the Discovery of Geological Time* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), 1; see also Stephen Toulmin and June Goodfield, *The Discovery of Time* (New York, 1965).

of the short chronology. Yet the historical narrative that emerged in the United States between the late nineteenth century and the 1940s did not fully abandon the narrow chronological space into which the diluvial paradigm had consigned secular history. Instead, the sacred was deftly translated into a secular key, as Sumeria and the invention of writing replaced the Garden of Eden as the point of origin for Western Civilization. Prehistory came to be an essential part of the story, but the era was cantilevered outside the narrational buttresses that sustain the edifice of Western Civilization. It was there only to illustrate what we are no longer.

Although the general histories published before World War II discarded the sacred, in other words, they nonetheless preserved the short chronology and the Mesopotamian geography of sacred history. The trend persisted in the postwar era. As the authors of *The Columbia History of the World* (1972) put it, "History begins in the Near East."⁷ Acknowledging the abyss of time, however, the authors of textbooks and general histories published between the 1860s and 1930s felt an obligation to justify their adherence to the short chronology. They noted the absence of written documents. They proposed the idea that history concerns nations, not rootless bands. They developed the myth of Paleolithic stasis, the idea of a timeless dystopia whose unchangingness was broken only, *deus ex machina*, by some ill-defined catalytic event. In these and other ways, they justified the absence of any narrational continuity between prehistory and history.

The continuing significance of these arguments derives from the fact that however toothless they have become, they continue to influence the ways in which we imagine history and frame curricula. What do we gain by exposing them? One might just as well ask why historians of women thought it necessary to explore the historiographical grip of patriarchy even as they undertook the task of writing a women's history. Historiographical revisions have to proceed both materially and historiographically. The big history proposed by David Christian and others cannot make headway unless we expose the chronogeographic grip of sacred history and reexamine the trends that have prevented deep history from taking its place in the curriculum of history.

In the pages that follow, I make no claim to completeness. Apart from Daniel Segal's important study of the use of social evolutionary theory in Western Civilization courses and Doris Goldstein's work on the Oxford School, very little work has been done on historians' reception of deep time.⁸ The project, moreover, is large, and I can claim only to have brushed the surface of the relevant sources. This is a prolegomenon. It hopes to inspire debate and suggest lines of research.

ALL HISTORIANS MUST GRAPPLE WITH THE QUESTION of where to begin the story. For historians of the particular, the problem of origins is not especially acute: choose some reasonably datable event, and have that mark the beginning of your particular history. General historians face a slightly different problem. General history, as de-

⁷ John A. Garraty and Peter Gay, eds., *The Columbia History of the World* (New York, 1972), 49.

⁸ Daniel A. Segal, "'Western Civ' and the Staging of History in American Higher Education," *AHR* 105, no. 3 (June 2000): 770–805; Doris Goldstein, "Confronting Time: The Oxford School of History and the Non-Darwinian Revolution," *Storia della Storiografia* 45 (2004): 3–27.

finied by Herbert Butterfield, is a rational account of man on earth that explains “how mankind had come from primitive conditions to its existing state.”⁹ I use the term to embrace the universal histories of the ancient world and medieval Europe, the general world histories of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the histories found in modern history textbooks, syllabuses, and lectures. Whatever their differences, all purport to begin at the beginning. But if one’s object is the whole history of humanity, where, exactly, is the beginning?

Musing on the point of origins, the Greek poet Hesiod invented a Golden Age and proposed decay as the dominant historical trajectory. For ancient and medieval historians writing in the Judeo-Christian tradition, the trajectory was similar, although sacred history and the story of Eden supplanted the Golden Age. Universal histories became less fashionable in early modern Europe, but the impulse to begin at the beginning did not wholly wane. Sir Walter Raleigh’s *History of the World in Five Books*, first published in the early seventeenth century, began in Eden and worked its way down to the Roman period. Jacques Bénigne Bossuet’s famed *An Universal History* (1681) also began the story with Genesis.¹⁰

The practice of writing mainstream professional histories rooted in Eden would persist well into the nineteenth century. But even in Raleigh’s day, historians and commentators such as Jean Bodin (1529–1596) were trying to bring a progressive element into the writing of history. Influenced by the natural or conjectural histories of the ancient world that had identified the aboriginal state of humankind as primitive, Bodin denied the existence of a Golden Age and made much of the lawlessness and violence of the early phases of society.¹¹ These ideas were shared by other sixteenth-century anthropologists, who proposed the idea of a progression from pastoral to agricultural society.¹² The schemes subsequently developed by philosophers, economists, and ethnographers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were also influenced by the growing number of reports concerning the savage peoples of the Caribbean, North America, Tierra del Fuego, and elsewhere. By the eighteenth century, there was a common understanding that humans had progressed through several economic stages—savagery, pastoralism, agriculture, and commerce were the usual suspects—and that each stage was associated with a particular set of political, social, legal, and intellectual institutions.

But how could the progressive fashion be squared with the chronological facts and the descending trajectory of sacred history? Peter Bowler has remarked that the idea that man acquired civilization in gradual stages required more time than was allowed by biblical chronology.¹³ Yet the authors of conjectural histories did not necessarily offend a biblical time frame. Writing in the eighteenth century, Condorcet and Adam Smith dodged the issue by refusing to assign any dates to their

⁹ Herbert Butterfield, *Man on His Past: The Study of the History of Historical Scholarship* (Cambridge, 1955), 103.

¹⁰ Sir Walter Raleigh, *The History of the World in Five Books* (London, 1687); Jacques Bénigne Bossuet, *An Universal History: From the Beginning of the World to the Empire of Charlemagne*, trans. James Elphinstone, 13th ed. (Dublin, 1785).

¹¹ Jean Bodin, *Method for the Easy Comprehension of History*, trans. Beatrice Reynolds (New York, 1966), 298; see also Robert Nisbet, *History of the Idea of Progress* (New York, 1980).

¹² In general, see Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1964).

¹³ Peter J. Bowler, *The Invention of Progress: The Victorians and the Past* (Oxford, 1989), 76.

armchair speculations. Others, notably the French physiocrat Turgot, were quite willing to squeeze the stages of progress into the short span of time made available by Holy Writ.¹⁴ Adam Ferguson similarly framed the history of mankind in the limited time period allowed for by sacred chronology.¹⁵ Few saw an essential contradiction with sacred history, because no one knew how long it took societies to evolve.

The chronological conundrums were easy to square. Sacred and conjectural histories, however, were profoundly incompatible in another way, for they disagreed on history's direction. Is it from Eden downward? Or from the primitive upward? Yet there was a solution to this problem. Embedded in the famous historical scheme promulgated by Turgot in *A Philosophical Review of the Successive Advances of the Human Mind* (1750) was a kind of biblical catastrophism, the idea that an event or events described in sacred history had wiped the slate clean and reset the clock of civilization to zero:

Holy Writ, after having enlightened us about the creation of the universe, the origin of man, and the birth of the first arts, before long puts before us a picture of the human race concentrated again in a single family as the result of a universal flood. Scarcely had it begun to make good its losses when the miraculous confusion of tongues forced men to separate from one another. The urgent need to procure subsistence for themselves in barren deserts, which provided nothing but wild beasts, obliged them to move apart from one another in all directions and hastened their diffusion through the whole world. Soon the original traditions were forgotten; and the nations, separated as they were by vast distances and still more by the diversity of languages, strangers to one another, were almost all plunged into the same barbarism in which we still see the Americans.¹⁶

This, the crucial compromise, allowed conjectural history and economic stage theory to be reconciled with sacred history. Sacred history provided historians with at least three catastrophes—the expulsion from the Garden of Eden, the Universal Deluge, and the destruction of the Tower of Babel—that could be said to have returned humankind to a primitive condition. The ascent of man, as predicted by theories of progress, could begin from any of the three points.

Of these, the Deluge easily loomed the largest. An event of monstrous significance, it has seldom failed to grip the European imagination.¹⁷ The Deluge was a prominent feature in the geological treatises of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and figures significantly in other writings. Its implications were not lost on historians and economists. In his *On the Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences* (1758), Antoine-Yves Goguet argued that the Deluge caused humans to forget the use of iron and other metals and return to the use of tools based on stone.¹⁸ Ferguson also made an allusion to the Deluge.¹⁹ And it was not just conjectural historians who played with the idea. Bossuet's great *Universal History* suggested how mankind was

¹⁴ Ronald L. Meek, ed. and trans., *Turgot on Progress, Sociology and Economics* (Cambridge, 1973), 42, 65.

¹⁵ Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, ed. Fania Oz-Salzberger (Cambridge, 1995), 74.

¹⁶ Meek, *Turgot on Progress*, 42.

¹⁷ See most recently Norman Cohn, *Noah's Flood: The Genesis Story in Western Thought* (New Haven, Conn., 1996).

¹⁸ See Donald K. Grayson, *The Establishment of Human Antiquity* (New York, 1983), 12–13, for similar arguments made by Goguet's contemporaries.

¹⁹ Ferguson, *An Essay*, 74.

reduced to nearly nothing after the Deluge and then, by degrees, slowly emerged from ignorance, transforming woods and forests into fields, pastures, hamlets, and towns, and learning how to domesticate animals.²⁰ This use of the Deluge as a re-setting event in both sacred history and geology would persist into the nineteenth century.²¹

Conjectural historians, it is true, were not much interested in origins. Sacred historians such as Raleigh and Bossuet, in turn, wrote much about the Deluge but were correspondingly less interested in outlining the stages of postdiluvial progress. It was the Neapolitan historian Giambattista Vico who, in his *New Science* (1725), most persuasively reconciled the Deluge with the theory of human progress.²² Vico was not widely known in his own day, but his *New Science* was rediscovered in the early decades of the nineteenth century, and his reputation was resurrected to the point where he, with Leopold von Ranke, has often been called the father of modern history. His emphasis on the Deluge was the key element of a philosophy designed to orient history around the proper interpretation of myths and legends, thereby avoiding idle speculation and armchair philosophizing. A consequence of this approach was to exclude sacred history from the terrain of the secular historian, on the theory that no documents apart from the sacred writings carried by Noah had survived the flood.²³

Vico was clearly attracted to the idea of progress. But whereas Bodin was disinterested in the Deluge, preferring instead to describe ante- and postdiluvial societies as identical in their primitiveness, Vico molded it into a powerful punctuating event.²⁴ The singular importance of the Deluge in Vico's history is reflected in the chronological table printed in *New Science*, which begins in the year 1656 A.M. (*anno mundi*), the year of the Deluge. In a telling phrase, Vico actually describes his work as "a new natural history of the universal flood."²⁵ By the light of this natural history, the Deluge was seen as a catastrophic event that forced humans into the most primitive of conditions, far more abject than anything experienced in the preceding 1,656 years of sacred history. His enthusiasm reflected in his redundancy, Vico writes in many places of a period of brutish wandering during which the three tribes of men were scattered throughout the world's forests and copulated promiscuously with mothers and daughters, unmindful of kinship. Much that Vico wrote was compatible, and designed to be compatible, with the anthropology of his day.

Far more than Turgot, Vico's concept of historical chronology was thoroughly permeated by a philosophy of catastrophism. Catastrophism, the dominant paradigm in eighteenth-century geology, was not antithetical to conjectural history. Concerned

²⁰ Bossuet, *Universal History*, 8–10.

²¹ For example, Sharon Turner, *The History of the Anglo-Saxons from the Earliest Period to the Norman Conquest* (1799–1805; repr., Philadelphia, Pa., 1841), 1: 27–28; David Ramsay, *Universal History Americanized; or, An Historical View of the World, from the Earliest Records to the Year 1808* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1819), 9–22. See also Charles Coulston Gillespie, *Genesis and Geology: A Study in the Relations of Scientific Thought, Natural Theology and Social Opinion in Great Britain, 1790–1850* (New York, 1951); George W. Stocking, Jr., *Victorian Anthropology* (New York, 1987), 33–34, 43.

²² Giambattista Vico, *New Science*, 3rd ed., trans. David Marsh (London, 1999).

²³ A trend under way since the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries; see Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval and Modern*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1994), 171–185.

²⁴ For the single bland reference to the flood in the pages where Bodin dismantles the myth of a Golden Age, see *Method*, 298.

²⁵ Vico, *New Science*, 33, 143.

with process, conjectural historians did not trouble themselves with origins. To make their schemes work, all they needed was a set of primitive or presocial conditions. They could make their peace with the idea that a catastrophe such as the Deluge had reset the clock to zero. In this view, history did not have to begin with human origins, where Eusebius, Otto of Freising, Raleigh, and other general historians had chosen to begin. Instead, the catastrophic paradigm authorized a history that began in the middle, on the heels of a catastrophe. The philosophy promoted so vividly by Vico, in other words, authorized the compression of historical time. This compression would persist long after the Deluge vanished from the historical imagination.

THE COMPRESSION OF HISTORICAL TIME made little practical difference as long as historical time itself was of short duration. Until the discovery and acceptance of deep time in the middle of the nineteenth century, human history as imagined in the Judeo-Christian tradition was coterminous with the history of the earth itself.²⁶ It is true that Aristotle and others had proposed the idea of an eternal earth, and speculations on the age of the world greatly engaged ancient and medieval philosophers. Historians writing in the Judeo-Christian tradition could hardly resist the temptation to assign a date, and assiduously combed the book of Genesis for clues. Genesis, alas, speaks of generations, not dates, and historians were forced to count generations in the manner of previous Greek, Syrian, and Jewish historians. In the fourth century, Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, had Adam created in the year 5198 B.C., and this was the date used by Jerome, Paulus Orosius, and many other Christian historians. In the seventeenth century, the busy recalculations of a number of scholars resulted in a diversity of dates, ranging from 3700 to 7000 B.C., although the date favored by James Ussher, 4004 B.C., soon emerged as the consensus.²⁷ A chronology beginning at this date was then added to the margins of English editions of the Old Testament so that readers could, at a glance, locate themselves in time. Bossuet's *Universal History* likewise provided chronologies in the margins that served to date events both by counting up, from Creation and by counting down to the birth of Jesus. (See Figures 1 and 2.)

The chronological scaffolding generated by this computational industry was an important intellectual step, because it provided a ready means for making instant comparisons between the chronologies of different civilizations. The idea was central to the work of some ancient historians and had a significant influence on early modern historians.²⁸ In the sixteenth century, Joseph Scaliger and Jean Bodin massaged the existing schemes into a grand system of universal time. The concordances promoted by this work suggested problems with conventional Judeo-Christian dating, for growing contact with Chinese, Indian, and Aztec civilizations was exposing Europeans to time scales that were not counted in the mere thousands of years. Scaliger, for example, pointed out that Chinese cosmology went back more than 880,000 years, and in 1658 the Jesuit Father Martini found that Chinese annals, suitably transposed

²⁶ What follows relies on Paolo Rossi, *The Dark Abyss of Time: The History of the Earth and the History of Nations from Hooke to Vico*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago, 1984).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 144.

²⁸ Breisach, *Historiography*, 10, 69–70, 81–82.

Wickedness of the world.		GENESIS.		Form of the ark.	
<p>Before CHRIST 3317.</p> <p>† Or, Methu- sala.</p> <p>h ch. 6, 9, & 17, 1, & 24, 30. 2 Kings 20, 3. Pa. 16, 8, & 110, 9, & 128, 1. 2Sa. 6, 8. Mal. 2, 6. 12 Kings 2, 11. Heb. 11, 5. 3130. † Heb. Lamech.</p> <p>2948.</p> <p>† Or, Noe. Luk. 3, 36. Heb. 11, 7. 1 Pet. 2, 20. 1 That is, Rest, or, Comfort. m ch. 3, 17, & 4, 11.</p> <p>2358.</p> <p>2448.</p> <p>n ch. 6, 10. o ch. 10, 21.</p>	<p>21 ¶ And Enoch lived sixty and five years, and begat Methuselah: 22 And Enoch walked with God after he begat Methuselah three hundred years, and begat sons and daughters: 23 And all the days of Enoch were three hundred sixty and five years: 24 And Enoch walked with God: and he was not; for God took him. 25 And Methuselah lived a hundred eighty and seven years, and begat Lamech: 26 And Methuselah lived after he begat Lamech seven hundred eighty and two years, and begat sons and daughters: 27 And all the days of Methuselah were nine hundred sixty and nine years: and he died. 28 ¶ And Lamech lived a hundred eighty and two years, and begat a son: 29 And he called his name Noah, saying, This same shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed. 30 And Lamech lived after he begat Noah five hundred ninety and five years, and begat sons and daughters: 31 And all the days of Lamech were seven hundred seventy and seven years: and he died. 32 And Noah was five hundred years old: and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japheth.</p>	<p>beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made them. 8 But Noah found grace in the eyes of the LORD. 9 ¶ These are the generations of Noah: Noah was a just man and perfect in his generations, and Noah walked with God. 10 And Noah begat three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. 11 The earth also was corrupt before God; and the earth was filled with violence. 12 And God looked upon the earth, and; behold, it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth. 13 And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and, behold, I will destroy them with the earth. 14 ¶ Make thee an ark of gopher wood; rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch. 15 And this is the fashion which thou shalt make it of: The length of the ark shall be three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits. 16 A window shalt thou make to the ark, and in a cubit shalt thou finish it above; and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof; with lower, second, and third stories shalt thou make it. 17 And, behold, I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; and every thing that is in the earth shall die. 18 But with thee will I establish my covenant; and thou shalt come into the ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives with thee. 19 And of every living thing of all flesh, two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee; they shall be male and female. 20 Of fowls after their kind, and of cattle after their kind, of every creeping thing of the earth after his kind; two of every sort shall come unto thee, to keep them alive. 21 And take thou unto thee of all food that is eaten, and thou shalt gather it to thee; and it shall be for food for thee, and for them. 22 ¶ Thus did Noah; according to all that God commanded him, so did he.</p>	<p>Before CHRIST 2448.</p> <p>h ch. 19, 18. Ex. 33, 12. 13, 14, 17. Luk. 1, 26. Act. 7, 40. 1 ch. 7, 1. Ex. 13, 14, 20. Rom. 1, 17. Heb. 11, 7. 2 Pet. 2, 5. 1 Or, upright. h ch. 5, 22. 1 ch. 5, 32. m ch. 7, 1, & 10, 9, & 13. 13. 2 Chr. 34, 27. Luk. 1, 6. Rom. 2, 13. & 3, 10. n Ex. 8, 17, & 23, 16. Hab. 2, 8, 17. och. 18, 21. Pa. 14, 2, & 33, 13, 14, & 63, 2, 3. p Jer. 51, 13. Ex. 7, 2, 3, 6. Amos 8, 2. 1 Pet. 4, 7. q ver. 17. 1 Or, from the earth. † Heb. nests.</p> <p>r ver. 13. ch. 7, 4, 21. 22, 23. 2 Pet. 2, 5.</p> <p>n ch. 7, 1, 7. 13. 1 Pet. 3, 20. 2 Pet. 2, 5.</p> <p>t ch. 7, 8, 9. 15, 16.</p> <p>u ch. 7, 9, 15. See ch. 2, 19.</p> <p>w Heb. 11, 7. See Ex. 40, 16. x ch. 7, 5, 9. 16.</p>		
<p>CHAPTER VI.</p> <p>1 The wickedness of the world, which provoked God's wrath, and caused the flood. 8 Noah findeth grace. 14 The order, form, and end of the ark.</p> <p>AND it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, 2 That the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose. 3 And the Lord said, My Spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be a hundred and twenty years. 4 There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown. 5 ¶ And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. 6 And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart. 7 And the Lord said, I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth; both man, and</p>		<p>CHAPTER VII.</p> <p>1 Noah, with his family, and the living creatures, enter into the ark. 17 The beginning, increase, and continuance of the flood.</p> <p>AND the Lord said unto Noah, Come thou and all thy house</p>		<p>2948.</p> <p>a ver. 7, 13. Matt. 23, 39. Luk. 17, 26. Heb. 11, 7. 1 Pet. 3, 20. 2 Pet. 2, 5.</p>	

FIGURE 1: Page from an 1868 edition of the Bible, illustrating marginal dates. Author's collection.

6

AN UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

P A R T I.

I Epoch, Adam, or the creation. The first age of the world.

THE first epoch immediately presents to you a grand and awful spectacle; God creating the heavens and earth by his word, and making man after his own image. With this begins Moses, the most ancient of historians, most sublime of philosophers, and wisest of legislators.

Years before Jesus Christ. 4004.

Thus he lays the foundation as well of his history, as of his doctrine and laws. Next he shews us all men contained in one man, and his wife herself extracted from him; matrimonial union, and the society of mankind established upon this foundation; the perfection and power of man, so far as he bears the image of God in his first estate; his dominion over animals; his innocence, together with his felicity in paradise, the memory whereof is preserved in the golden age of the poets; the divine command given to our first parents; the malice of the tempting spirit, and his appearance under the form of a serpent; the fall of Adam and Eve, fatal to all their posterity; the first man justly punished in all his children, and mankind cursed by God; the first promise of redemption, and the future victory of men over the devil who had undone them.

The

AN UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

7

A. C.
1100. v.
1-2.
3875.

The earth begins to be filled, and wickedness increases. Cain, the first son of Adam and Eve, shews the infant world the first tragical action; and from that time virtue dates her perfection from vice. There we see the contrary manners of the two brothers; the innocence of Abel, his pastoral life, and his offerings accepted; those of Cain rejected, his avarice, his impiety, his fratricide, and jealousy the parent of murders; the punishment of that crime, the conscience of the parricide racked with continual terrors; the first city built by this miscreant, now a vagabond upon the face of the earth, seeking an asylum from the hatred and horror of mankind; the invention of some arts by his children; the tyranny of passions, and the prodigious malignity of man's heart, ever prone to evil; the posterity of Seth, faithful to God, notwithstanding that depravation; the pious Enoch, miraculously snatched out of the world, which was not worthy of him; the distinction of the children of God from the children of men; that is, of those who lived after the spirit, from those who lived after the flesh; their intermixture, and the universal corruption of the world; the destruction of men decreed by a just judgment of God; his wrath denounced against sinners by his servant Noah; their impenitence and hardness of heart punished at last by the deluge; Noah and his family reserved for the restoration of mankind.

3017.

2468.

2348.

A. M.
129.

987.

1536.

1656.

This is the sum of what passed in 1656 years. Such is the beginning of all histories, wherein are displayed the omnipotence, wisdom and goodness of God; innocence happy under his protection; his justice in avenging crimes, and at the same time his long-suffering patience in waiting the conversion of sinners; the greatness and dignity of man in his

FIGURE 2: Page from Jacques Bénigne Bossuet's *An Universal History* (1785), illustrating marginal dates. Reproduced courtesy of Fordham University Library.

onto a Christian dating scheme, were reliably recording events that took place more than six hundred years before the Deluge.²⁹ Growing awareness of the great antiquity of Sumerian, Chaldean, and Egyptian civilization was equally problematic. Work on Egyptian chronology suggested that Egyptian civilization dated back nearly to the Deluge itself, perhaps even before. How could so sophisticated a civilization have arisen in so short a time? Bodin was much troubled by these problems. The answer that he and others proposed was that all non-Mosaic chronologies either were fabulous or were written in the spirit of envy.³⁰ A second solution was to prefer the Greek Septuagint over the Hebrew Bible, since the Septuagint allowed an additional 1,440 years. In such ways, the intellectual challenge posed by lengthy Egyptian, Indian, and Chinese chronologies was, at least temporarily, absorbed and overcome.

But challenges to the grip of sacred chronology were not coming from historians alone, for geology, paleontology, ethnology, and natural history also found Ussher's date too constricting. That marine fossils such as shells and sharks' teeth were found on mountaintops had always been something of a problem. One could suppose that they were just odd-looking rocks or freaks of nature laid down by a playful God.

²⁹ Rossi, *Dark Abyss*, 136, 140.

³⁰ Bodin, *Method*, 303–333.

Alternatively, they were carried aloft by the waters of the universal Deluge. Fossils embedded in rock were also a conundrum. By what process could a solid object enter another solid object? For those who admitted the natural origin of such fossils, the solution lay in the proposal that rocks formed in layers through a gradual process of sedimentation.³¹ The resulting realization that layered strata represented geological time did not immediately subvert biblical chronology, since no one knew how long it had taken the layers to form. Imaginative solutions were also devised for other emerging problems, including the tilting of the bedding planes, the discovery of strange creatures such as ammonites, and the presence of humans in the New World. Even so, by the 1750s, the loosening of the grip of sacred chronology had proceeded to a point where some were postulating an earth that was millions of years old, although such opinions were decidedly in the minority.³²

The idea of a very old earth was easily dismissed by orthodox Christian theologians and by distinguished scientists alike, for it created as many problems as it solved. Critics seldom failed to notice that mountains had not eroded away in all the time supposedly available. This particular obstacle was solved by the Scottish geologist James Hutton, who argued in the late eighteenth century that mountains were being continually uplifted and continents remade in a process that “has no vestige of a beginning, no prospect of an end.” Hutton did not insist on an eternal, uncreated earth. All he claimed was that no trace of the primeval earth could have survived the endless recycling of materials. Eschewing the search for origins, he focused instead on geological mechanisms, in much the same way that conjectural historians typically avoided questions of human origins and instead focused attention on law-like processes.³³

Evidence for the antiquity of the earth continued to mount in the early decades of the nineteenth century, and the field of geology developed apace. By the 1840s, geology’s basic chronology, based on the succession of strata, had been worked out by the British geologist Charles Lyell, who published his *Principles of Geology* in the 1830s and remained a powerful advocate of uniformitarian geology for the next forty years. Lyell’s ideas were contested in his own day, and in 1868 the estimate made by the future Lord Kelvin that a molten earth first consolidated a hundred million years ago—a figure later reduced to twenty to forty million years—put an end to any ideas of an eternal earth.³⁴ Yet the Aristotelian idea of an eternal earth has been vindicated in a sense by the current estimate that the earth is around four and a half billion years old, easily old enough to accommodate the gradual geological and biological processes on which people such as Lyell and Charles Darwin were most insistent.

Even as the field of geology was emerging as a science in the first half of the nineteenth century, antiquarians in Denmark, England, and France were excavating

³¹ The leading figure here was Nicholas Steno, discussed in Alan Cutler, *The Seashell on the Mountaintop: A Story of Science, Sainthood, and the Humble Genius Who Discovered a New History of the Earth* (New York, 2003).

³² See Rossi, *Dark Abyss*, 109; Claude Albritton, *The Abyss of Time: Changing Conceptions of the Earth’s Antiquity after the Sixteenth Century* (San Francisco, Calif., 1980), 73, 85; Grayson, *Establishment*, 31–35.

³³ Mott T. Greene, *Geology in the Nineteenth Century: Changing Views of a Changing World* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982), 19–45; Rossi, *Dark Abyss*, 113–118.

³⁴ Joe D. Burchfield, *Lord Kelvin and the Age of the Earth* (London, 1975).

strata in which eoliths (early human stone tools) lay alongside extinct animals such as cave bears and mammoths.³⁵ The implications were obvious and had been noted since the very last decade of the eighteenth century. Yet Lyell originally resisted the attempt to associate geological time with human antiquity. A British chauvinist, he dismissed the evidence for man's antiquity compiled by French archaeologists. A sensational archaeological discovery in 1859, this time on English soil, finally convinced the geologists to support the idea of Pleistocene humans. Paleontology and prehistoric anthropology sprang up as legitimate scientific disciplines in the 1860s, and the proposition that humans had moved through Stone, Bronze, and Iron ages emerged as the fundamental chronological scheme of archaeology. John Lubbock later subdivided the Stone Age into old and new, Paleolithic and Neolithic, the latter associated with the agricultural revolution. Ethnologists such as Lewis Henry Morgan found the long chronology wonderfully liberating and took to it with great enthusiasm.³⁶ A crucial element of the time revolution was Darwin's *The Origin of Species*, published in 1859, which offered a way to link the history of life and the descent of humanity to the emerging geological time scale, thereby unifying biological time.³⁷ *The Origin of Species* was soon followed by Lyell's *Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man* (1863) and Lubbock's *Pre-Historic Times* (1865), constituting the three works that lie at the heart of the time revolution of the 1860s.

THE STAGES OF THE DISCOVERY OF DEEP TIME are well known to historians of science, and figure in the standard disciplinary narratives of the great historical sciences. But what were historians doing as the understanding of time was transformed in the second half of the nineteenth century? Looking back from the early twentieth century, James Harvey Robinson could still reflect on the event with wonder: "Half a century ago, man's past was supposed to include less than six thousand years; now the story is seen to stretch back hundreds of thousands of years."³⁸ Other historians were at best indifferent. Yet despite the magnitude and implications of the revolution, the question of how historians accommodated deep time had not been seriously addressed until recently.

The later nineteenth and early twentieth century was the great age for patriotic histories of particular nations. In this climate, the urge to write universal histories was partially eclipsed. Even so, a good many works of general history circulated in the United States in the decades following the time revolution of the 1860s, including works imported from Europe as well as home-grown products.³⁹ Some of these were written for the general market. Others—a growing number—were explicitly designed for use in the classroom. Out of this pool of ideas and threads eventually

³⁵ In addition to works already cited, see A. Bowdoin van Riper, *Men among the Mammoths: Victorian Science and the Discovery of Human Prehistory* (Chicago, 1993).

³⁶ Thomas R. Trautmann, *Lewis Henry Morgan and the Invention of Kinship* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), esp. 32–35 and 205–230.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 213.

³⁸ James Harvey Robinson, *The New History: Essays Illustrating the Modern Historical Outlook* (New York, 1912), 26. On Robinson, see Segal, "Western Civ.," esp. 771–779.

³⁹ For a useful survey of the important general histories of this period, see Charles Kendall Adams, *A Manual of Historical Literature* (New York, 1882), 31–41.

emerged the narrative forms that would take shape as Western Civ textbooks, first published in the early decades of the twentieth century. In all these sources we can find clues revealing how some historians reacted to the challenge of deep time.

In an age when so eminent a figure as the geologist Louis Agassiz could persist in his adherence to the idea of divine creation, it would be surprising if all historians accepted the long chronology without demur. The last edition of Royal Robbins's *Outlines of Ancient and Modern History on a New Plan* (1875), first published in 1830, was uncompromisingly sacred and treated Darwin as an infidel.⁴⁰ Reuben Parsons's *Universal History* (1902), written for an American Catholic audience, included an unapologetic defense of sacred history.⁴¹ An especially significant source of resistance came from the great German historian Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886), who continued to affirm the truth of sacred history in his unfinished *Universal History*. On the other hand, the Oxford historians Edward Freeman and J. R. Green were remarkable for their cautious but sincere and early acceptance of the long chronology.⁴² Amos Dean, in his seven-volume *History of Civilization* (1868), acknowledged the probability “that human life has existed on the planet during a much longer period than has been generally supposed,” even though he perceived no investigative need to breach the barrier created by the Deluge.⁴³

Rather than assessing nineteenth-century historians according to the litmus test of belief, however, it behooves us to ask whether the long chronology made any difference to the framing of history. Daniel Segal has argued that few late-nineteenth-century historians made a serious effort to build a meaningful historical continuum bottomed in the deep past.⁴⁴ In the general histories published before 1900, prehistory was simply tacked on at the beginning, or even reduced to a footnote.⁴⁵ What they offered, moreover, was little enough. In his important *Outlines of Universal History* (1885), the American historian George Fisher gave just a few paragraphs summarizing recent archaeological discoveries. In a general history first published in 1883, the French historian Victor Duruy, one of Fisher's sources, offered a little more. Even so, his contribution, in the 1925 English edition, amounted to no more than 7 pages in a text 892 pages in length.⁴⁶ One of the most sustained efforts by a historian to summarize the discoveries of archaeology can be found in the tenth edition of the *Storia Universale*, published in 1884 by the Italian novelist and general historian Cesare Cantù. Cantù was deeply engaged with biological, archaeological, and geological discoveries; the prefatory material is studded with references to scholarship on geological and prehistorical time, and Cantù devoted four chapters to the primitive world and theories about early human society.⁴⁷ But this incorporation of the paleoanthropological evidence was a curiously ironic gesture, because Cantù

⁴⁰ Royal Robbins, *Outlines of Ancient and Modern History on a New Plan* (Hartford, Conn., 1875).

⁴¹ Reuben Parsons, *Universal History: An Explanatory Narrative*, vol. 1: *Ancient History from the Creation of Man until the Fall of the Roman Empire* (Yonkers, N.Y., 1902).

⁴² See Goldstein, “Confronting Time.”

⁴³ Amos Dean, *The History of Civilization*, 7 vols. (Albany, 1868), 1: 47, 51.

⁴⁴ Segal, “‘Western Civ,’” 774–775.

⁴⁵ E.g., Richard Green Parker, *Outlines of General History* (New York, 1848), 9.

⁴⁶ Victor Duruy, *General History of the World* (New York, 1925). First published in France in 1883, Duruy's *Histoire Générale* was translated for the U.S. market in 1898 and went through several editions until 1929.

⁴⁷ Cesare Cantù, *Storia Universale*, 10th ed. (Turin, 1884).

professed an adherence to the truths of sacred history and discussed the paleoanthropological evidence only so as to disprove it.

Cantù's skepticism aside, the problem of incorporating prehistory into the narrative was not just one of belief. It was also one of imagination. One could be open to the idea of deep history without knowing quite what to do with it. A remarkable solution to this narrational difficulty was to reimagine the European Middle Ages as a period of darkness so profound as to duplicate the social state of primitive savagery. In this new schema, ancient history stood in for the golden era of antediluvial sacred history, and medieval Europe was transformed into the primitive world of the immediate postdiluvial age. In an echo of a Huttonian geology that eschewed the search for origins and focused instead on process, general historians of the nineteenth century found that they had no need for genesis and could focus instead on the progress that mankind had made since the most recent catastrophe.

The very idea of a pseudo-primitive Dark Age influenced the ways in which nineteenth-century historians framed the history of civilization. The Enlightenment denigration of the European Middle Ages had made it easy to view the original inhabitants of Europe and the invaders of Rome as crude barbarians, little different from the primitive peoples that figured in conjectural histories and anthropological prehistories. Adam Ferguson made the parallel explicit, describing the Gauls, Germans, and Britons as resembling the natives of North America in their ignorance of agriculture and their tendency to paint themselves and wear the skins of animals.⁴⁸ Edward Gibbon himself wrote of a "deluge of Barbarians."⁴⁹ These barbarians gradually came to stand in for Paleolithic man in the developmental schemes of Western history. Medieval historians in the United States, deeply influenced by the idea of biological evolution and geological time, routinely referred to the early Germanic tribes using words such as "primitive."⁵⁰ Doris Goldstein, writing about Freeman and Green, has suggested that "their forays into what they described as the 'primeval' or the 'primitive' were closely related to their interest in the early history of the Teutonic tribes."⁵¹ Historians used the word in a positive developmental sense, as this 1899 paean to the era makes clear: "in the middle ages we are to see the beginnings of ourselves. We are the perfectly legitimate descendants of mediaeval men, and we have no ideas, no institutions, no manners that are not shot through and through with thread of mediaeval spinning."⁵² Nineteenth-century historians were deeply attracted to the idea that progress followed on the heels of a resetting event. All that changed was the event itself, as the aqueous Deluge was transformed into a deluge of barbarians.

This is not the place to explore in detail the refashioning of the European Middle Ages in nineteenth-century historiography. Here it is enough to suggest that medieval Europe's capacity to serve as a doppelganger for the primitive past helps

⁴⁸ Ferguson, *An Essay*, 75.

⁴⁹ Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, abridged by D. M. Low (New York, 1962), 524–525.

⁵⁰ In general, see Gabrielle Spiegel, "L'histoire scientifique et les utilisations antimodernistes du passé dans le médiévisme américain," *Cahiers du Centre de Recherches Historiques, Réflexions Historiographiques* 22 (1999): 87–108.

⁵¹ Goldstein, "Confronting Time," 25.

⁵² Arthur Richmond Marsh, "Special Introduction," in Henry Hallam, *History of Europe during the Middle Ages*, rev. ed. (New York, 1899), 1: iv–v.

explain why some historians failed to engage more seriously with the Paleolithic. Another problem with the Paleolithic lay in the inability of prehistorians to date their findings with confidence, since the lack of a chronological scaffolding made it impossible to attach prehistory to the grid of historical time, as J. L. Myres noted in 1911.⁵³ Yet the most prominent obstacle to the incorporation of prehistory centered on how nineteenth-century historians imagined the evidence appropriate for the study of history.⁵⁴ Since the seventeenth century, when schemes for lengthening the age of the earth first began to circulate, the “time beyond history” has been dismissed as unknowable. “All of that time was unknown and concealed,” remarked Philippe Le Prieur in 1656.⁵⁵ Turgot said much the same. Vico denied the possibility of approaching the time before the Deluge via the products of vernacular language, since all such languages postdated the Deluge. Nineteenth-century archaeologists spoke of the fog that obscured their vision of the pre-Christian era. Lubbock summed up the philosophy of those opposed to prehistoric archaeology in the opening paragraph of *Pre-Historic Times*:

The first appearance of man in Europe dates from a period so remote, that neither history, nor even tradition, can throw any light on his origin, or mode of life. Under these circumstances, some have supposed that the past is hidden from the present by a veil, which time will probably thicken, but never can remove . . . Some writers have assured us that, in the words of Palgrave, “We must give it up, that speechless past.”⁵⁶

That speechless past: no other phrase could capture so well the skeptical attitude toward the possibility of studying time beyond the veil.

Lubbock’s comment on the prejudices that hampered the acceptance of prehistoric archaeology aptly describe the epistemological stance taken by Leopold von Ranke. In the remarkable opening paragraph of his *Universal History*, published in the 1880s, Ranke deliberately refused to breach the veil of prehistory:

History cannot discuss the origin of society, for the art of writing, which is the basis of historical knowledge, is a comparatively late invention. The earth had become habitable and was inhabited, nations had arisen and international connections had been formed, and the elements of civilization had appeared, while that art was still unknown. The province of History is limited by the means at her command, and the historian would be over-bold who should venture to unveil the mystery of the primeval world, the relation of mankind to God and nature. The solution of such problems must be intrusted to the joint efforts of Theology and Science.⁵⁷

Or in the words of the French historians Charles Langlois and Charles Seignobos: “The historian works with documents. Documents are the traces which have been left by the thoughts and actions of men of former times . . . For want of documents

⁵³ J. L. Myres, *The Dawn of History* (New York, 1911), 8–10.

⁵⁴ Segal, “‘Western Civ,’” 774–775.

⁵⁵ Quoted in Rossi, *Dark Abyss*, 159.

⁵⁶ John Lubbock, *Pre-Historic Times, as Illustrated by Ancient Remains, and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1872), 1.

⁵⁷ Leopold von Ranke, *Universal History: The Oldest Historical Group of Nations and the Greeks*, ed. G. W. Prothero, trans. D. C. Tovey and G. W. Prothero (New York, 1885), ix.

the history of immense periods in the past of humanity is destined to remain for ever unknown. For there is no substitute for documents: no documents, no history."⁵⁸

No documents, no history. A feature of Vico's *New Science*, this epistemological stance was repackaged by Ranke and others in the nineteenth century and promulgated as a basis for scientific history. Admittedly, not all of Ranke's contemporaries shared this point of view.⁵⁹ So how did Ranke and others arrive at this stance? One can, with Herbert Butterfield, point out that Ranke was trying to preserve the realm of history from the speculations of philosophers.⁶⁰ But it is important not to lose sight of the fact that Ranke, like Vico, accepted the truths of sacred history. Early chapters of *Universal History* echo the sacred histories of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Ranke's firm belief that "the course of history revealed God's work," in Peter Novick's phrase, is well known.⁶¹ In other words, Ranke arguably promoted writing as the sole reliable basis of historical knowledge, not just because he sought to place history on a scientific footing, but also because this was the only way he knew how to exclude prehistorical artifacts from historical reckoning and thereby dodge the vexed theological questions created by biology and archaeology.

IN ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD EVIDENCE, an important strand of late-nineteenth-century scientific history embedded a resistance to deep time under the guise of a neutral professionalizing agenda. By the turn of the century, however, some of the intellectual obstacles to prehistory were fading. The discovery of cave paintings in the 1870s and 1880s was a jolt to those who doubted the humanity of Paleolithic humans, because the capacity to create art was seen as a symbol of a higher world view—evidence for the thinking, feeling human so difficult to detect in the eoliths and bones that had hitherto dominated the archaeological world.⁶² Lord Kelvin's thermodynamic principles had done away with the idea of an ageless earth, and although his dates proved wrong, it was nonetheless clear that the earth had a datable point of origin that was immensely old. Prehistorical dates were circulating widely in the works of acknowledged authorities such as Sir Arthur Keith, and although these, too, were inaccurate, they nonetheless provided a chronological scaffolding on which historians could begin to build.⁶³ (See Figure 3.) The tendency to focus exclusively on the political or constitutional history of nations was being challenged by the rise of social and economic history, fields that focused on how people lived in the past, not just on how they were governed.

In the wake of these changes, the New History of the 1910s and 1920s saw some remarkable attempts to bridge the gap between prehistory and history. In 1913, the

⁵⁸ Charles V. Langlois and Charles Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History*, trans. G. G. Berry (New York, 1898), 17. See also 145: "A document only contains the ideas of the man who wrote it . . . We thus arrive at this general rule of method: the study of every document should begin with an analysis of its contents, made with the sole aim of determining the real meaning of the author."

⁵⁹ Goldstein, "Confronting Time," 13, 18.

⁶⁰ Butterfield, *Man on His Past*, 103–104.

⁶¹ Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988), 27; see also Breisach, *Historiography*, 233.

⁶² John Pfeiffer, *The Creative Explosion: An Inquiry into the Origins of Art and Religion* (New York, 1982), 19–39; Grahame Clark, *World Prehistory in New Perspective* (Cambridge, 1977), 3–4.

⁶³ Sir Arthur Keith, *New Discoveries Relating to the Antiquity of Man* (1915; repr., New York, 1931).

English historian James Bryce spoke enthusiastically about the possibility of a chronological expansion of the historians' terrain.⁶⁴ In 1916, the Berkeley historian Frederick Teggart suggested that "the historian has come to see that there is no hard and fast boundary between 'historic' and 'prehistoric' times, between 'historical' and 'unhistorical' peoples; the history of Man includes man everywhere and at all times . . . Anthropology and History differ only in so far as each represents the use of a special investigative technique."⁶⁵ At the same time, in his *New History*, Robinson was arguing forcefully for a historical understanding that would embrace the Paleolithic, and castigated his peers for their failure to make the mental switch:

There may still be historians who would argue that all this has nothing to do with history,—that it is "prehistoric." But "prehistoric" is a word that must go the way of "preadamite," which we used to hear. They both indicate a suspicion that we are in some way gaining illicit information about what happened before the footlights were turned on and the curtain rose on the great human drama. Of the so-called "prehistoric" period we, of course, know as yet very little indeed, but the bare fact that there was such a period constitutes in itself the most momentous of historical discoveries.⁶⁶

If the time revolution of the 1860s had caused the bottom to drop out of history, "prehistory and its living representatives were a means of 're-bottoming' history." This is how Daniel Segal has characterized the result of Robinson's engagement with the long chronology.⁶⁷ In this schema, the primitive conditions of the Paleolithic are an essential element of the story of Western Civilization, because they serve as a convenient measure for our subsequent progress.

There is much truth to the argument that the New History was thoroughly permeated by a rejection of the short chronology. Certainly, the paragraph or two devoted to prehistory in nineteenth-century works such as Fisher's *Outlines of Universal History* generally grew to a short chapter or more in the textbooks and professional histories published in the United States after the 1920s.⁶⁸ Yet when Robinson actually applied this idea in his own textbook, *An Introduction to the History of Western Europe*, first published in 1903, the results proved to be quite otherwise. Consider the question posed at the very outset:

One of the most difficult questions that a historical writer has to settle is the point at which he is to begin his tale . . . How far back shall we go to get a start? Modern research seems to show that man was a wandering, hunting animal for hundreds of thousands of years before he learned to settle down and domesticate animals, cultivate the soil, and plant and reap crops.⁶⁹

So where did Robinson begin? The answer is perhaps inevitable: the European Middle Ages. Eschewing the need to return to the Paleolithic bottom, Robinson argued that because our civilization has descended directly from the fusion of Roman civ-

⁶⁴ Goldstein, "Confronting Time," 21–24.

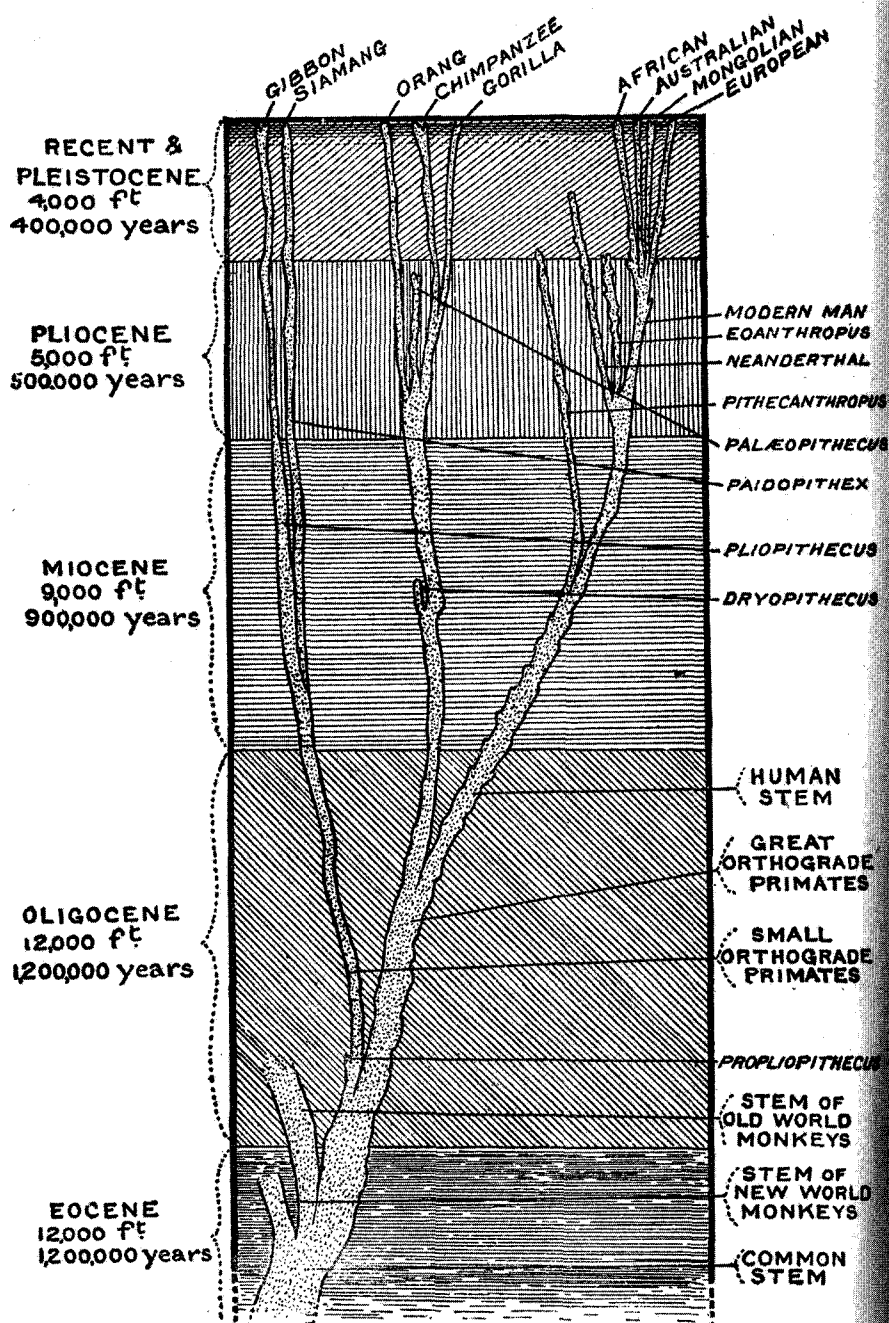
⁶⁵ Frederick J. Teggart, *Prolegomena to History: The Relation of History to Literature, Philosophy, and Science* (Berkeley, Calif., 1916), 276.

⁶⁶ Robinson, *New History*, 56.

⁶⁷ See Trautmann, *Lewis Henry Morgan*, 221; Segal, "'Western Civ.," 772, 775, 779.

⁶⁸ In general, see Segal, "'Western Civ.'" Robinson himself cited favorably the 250 pages devoted to anthropology in Eduard Meyer's *History of Antiquity*; see Segal, "'Western Civ.," 89.

⁶⁹ I consulted the 1924 revised and enlarged edition of *An Introduction to the History of Western Europe* (Boston, 1924).



Genealogical tree, showing the ancestral stems and probable lines of descent of the higher primates.

FIGURE 3: The family tree of hominins, from the 1920 edition of Sir Arthur Keith's *The Antiquity of Man*. Reproduced courtesy of Fordham University Library.

ilization and medieval Europe, there is no particular need to go any earlier.⁷⁰ Recapitulating this argument in *The Ordeal of Civilization* (1926), he noted that “the development of our present civilization began with the first inventions and findings-out of mankind, of which no records remain.” This is the great Rankean conundrum. “Fortunately,” Robinson went on to say, “we can take up the story with the decline and break-up of the Roman Empire.”⁷¹ Subsequent passages reveal Robinson’s assessment of where medieval Europe belongs on the scale of civilization:

It seemed for a few years as if the new German kings . . . would succeed in keeping order and in preventing the loss of such civilization as remained. But no such good fortune was in store for western Europe, which was now only at the beginning of the turmoil which was to leave it almost completely barbarized, for there was little to encourage the reading or writing of books, the study of science, or attention to art, in a time of constant warfare and danger.⁷²

Much like earlier historians who had chosen to begin history with the Deluge, Robinson sought to find the primitive in medieval Europe so as to have a more recent bottom on which to build history’s narrative of progress.

Robinson, in other words, never really overcame the idea of rupture, the idea that some gulf separates us from the Paleolithic. With rare exceptions, textbooks and general histories published over the twentieth century followed more or less in his footsteps.⁷³ The gulf between prehistory and history was justified in a variety of ways. Robinson himself, thinking in a Rankean mode, made an epistemological distinction between remains and written documents.⁷⁴ Other historians claimed that documentary archives are more authoritative because their contents were *explicitly* designed to record information about the past. In the words of the authors of *The Illustrated World History* (1935), these constitute “conscious records.”⁷⁵ Some have even claimed that the archive itself must be official, the product of intention. In a letter to a fellow historian written in 1927, J. Franklin Jameson rejected social history on the grounds that “you do not have definitely limited bodies of materials, handed down by authority, like statutes or other manageable series, but a vast blot of miscellaneous material from which the historian picks out what he wants.”⁷⁶

Another reason justifying the gulf between history and prehistory was lucidly expressed in Robert H. Labberton’s *Universal History*, first published in 1871 and reprinted over the next few decades. Aware of the true depth of the human race, Labberton nonetheless held that a society can be subject to the gaze of history only when the society itself has a historical consciousness.⁷⁷ In *The Columbia History of*

⁷⁰ Ibid., 8–9. On Robinson’s fusion of medieval with primitive, see also the brief remarks of Gilbert Allardyce, “The Rise and Fall of the Western Civilization Course,” *AHR* 87, no. 3 (June 1982): 704–705.

⁷¹ James Harvey Robinson, *The Ordeal of Civilization* (New York, 1926), 7.

⁷² Ibid., 35. See also 47 and 90.

⁷³ The most noteworthy exception among Western Civ textbooks is Harry Elmer Barnes, *The History of Western Civilization*, 2 vols. (New York, 1935), which was quite serious in its incorporation of the Paleolithic.

⁷⁴ Segal, “‘Western Civ,’” 779. One can still find variants on the Rankean argument; most recently, see Duiker and Spielvogel, *Essential World History*, 3.

⁷⁵ John Hammerton and Harry Elmer Barnes, eds., *The Illustrated World History: A Record of World Events from Earliest Historical Times to the Present Day* (New York, 1935), 7.

⁷⁶ Quoted in Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 89–90.

⁷⁷ Robert H. Labberton, *Labberton’s Universal History, from the Earliest Times to the Present* (New York, 1902), xxi. See also François Pierre Guillaume Guizot, *A Popular History of France, from the Earliest Times*, trans. Robert Black (Boston, 1869), 1: 15.

the World, published a century later, the argument appears in this form: "History exists only in a persisting society which needs history to persist."⁷⁸ The consciousness of history, according to this argument, was itself a catalytic device that propelled humans across the gulf.

Still other historians echoed an argument that Fisher made in 1885 in his *Outlines of Universal History*, designed explicitly for use as a textbook in American secondary schools:

History is concerned with the successive actions and fortunes of a community; in its broadest extent, with the experiences of the human family. It is only when men are connected by the social bond, and remain so united for a greater or lesser period, that there is room for history. It is, therefore, with *nations*, in their internal progress and in their mutual relations, that history especially deals. Of mere clans, or loosely organized tribes, it can have little to say.⁷⁹

In 1909, John Bagnall Bury elevated this to a more systematic philosophy, arguing that anthropology dealt with presocial humans, whereas history "deals only with the development of man in societies."⁸⁰ Bury argued that the characteristic feature of society was the "differentiation of function" or division of labor, evidently assuming that primitive societies made no such distinctions. Still another argument held that early humans were not fully human, and that some event transformed them suddenly into civilized man. Consider Hermann Schneider's general history of world civilization, first published in German in 1927 and translated into English in 1931:

There have been man-like creatures of the human breed (pre-humans, ape-men) for tens of thousands of years, nay, hundreds of thousands of years, before the Ice Age. Human beings proper have existed only since the end of the Ice Age; only then did ape-man develop into man on the road to civilization . . . Herein man surpasses the brutes; no animal before him ever took that step: here is the dividing-line between brutes and men.⁸¹

Schneider's views are an extreme version of a bias built into many world histories of the early twentieth century, namely, that humans were not quite human before civilization. It was civilization that made humanity, not humanity that made civilization.

This account embeds another perspective that was and remains common in a variety of twentieth-century general histories. In the nineteenth century, "prehistoric" meant "undocumented." A new shade of meaning was added in the twentieth, for "prehistoric" also came to mean a time before history, as if history had not moved in the eons before civilization. Current in some anthropological circles around the turn of the century was the belief that progress itself was highly unusual—authors such as Henry Sumner Maine and Walter Bagehot spoke instead of stationary societies and "fixity." Several decades later, Oswald Spengler wrote of a culture in stasis as being caught within a "historyless" period.⁸² Ideas such as these, when applied to the deep past, constitute the myth of Paleolithic stasis.

⁷⁸ Garraty and Gay, *The Columbia History of the World*, 49.

⁷⁹ George Park Fisher, *Outlines of Universal History, Designed as a Text-Book and for Private Reading* (New York, 1885), 1.

⁸⁰ John Bagnall Bury, "Darwinism and History," in Bury, *Selected Essays of J.B. Bury*, ed. Harold W. V. Temperley (Cambridge, 1930), 32 n. 1. Similar ideas can be found in Max Savelle, ed., *A History of World Civilization* (New York, 1957), 1: 28.

⁸¹ Hermann Schneider, *The History of World Civilization from Prehistoric Times to the Middle Ages*, vol. 1, trans. Margaret M. Green (New York, 1931), 3.

⁸² Breisach, *Historiography*, 398.

The myth of Paleolithic stasis configured humanity's deep past as a grim and changeless era. The authors of a world history textbook for use in Catholic secondary schools, published in 1958, conveyed the idea nicely:

Our imagination fails us when we try to see in the mind's eye the uncounted generations of Paleolithic people. We know what men have proved capable of accomplishing—their sciences and arts and great civilizations. Why, then, did they live for so long in the wilderness? It appears as if some great calamity had fallen upon human nature itself, as if some sentence of banishment and damnation had been laid on man by his Creator.⁸³

Paleolithic stasis, in this view, was a result of the Fall. But what broke the stasis and set man on the move? Rather than catastrophe, some general histories of the twentieth century proposed the idea of a catalyzing event that introduced progress or direction into a society hitherto without history. Mott Greene characterizes the argument in this way: “at some point a leap took place, a mutation, an explosion of creative power—the ‘discovery of mind,’ or the ‘birth of self-consciousness’—interposing a barrier between us and our previous brute, merely biological existence.”⁸⁴ For the author of *A Brief History of Civilization* (1925), the events that brought mankind out of the “darkness” included the arrival of the Aryan race on the scene.⁸⁵ Schneider waffled between environmental changes and the fortuitous blending of human stocks.⁸⁶ In the more recent *Penguin History of the World*, J. M. Roberts postulates a new capacity for making conscious choices, a transformation that broke through what hitherto had been the dominating influence of genes and environment.⁸⁷

An especially important catalyzing event was the invention of writing.⁸⁸ Eighteenth-century general historians were not particularly sensitive to the invention of writing as a historical event. By the nineteenth century, however, the invention of writing was beginning to figure prominently in historical accounts.⁸⁹ In 1928, Geoffrey Parsons introduced his chapter on the dawn of civilization in this way: “After 100,000 years of savagery and 10,000 years of barbarism the beginnings of writing and of civilization appeared at the eastern end of the Mediterranean.”⁹⁰ Schneider identified the art of working in metal and writing as crucial events in Near Eastern history.⁹¹ In later accounts, writing was thought to have allowed humankind to preserve valuable learning for posterity, and thus, for the first time, to have permitted human civilization to build upon itself in rapid Lamarckian fashion.⁹² Historians such as Ranke had long argued that writing alone made the past knowable.

⁸³ Ross J. S. Hoffman, ed., *Man and His History: World History and Western Civilization* (Garden City, N.Y., 1958), 28.

⁸⁴ Greene, *Natural Knowledge*, 3.

⁸⁵ John S. Hoyland, *A Brief History of Civilization* (London, 1925), 24, 48, 49.

⁸⁶ Schneider, *The History of World Civilization*, 7.

⁸⁷ J. M. Roberts, *The Penguin History of the World*, 3rd ed. (London, 1995), 4. This argument, common to many general histories, may have been influenced by Julian Jaynes's *The Origin of Consciousness in the Breakdown of the Bicameral Mind* (Boston, 1976).

⁸⁸ Sumeria was the earliest region to develop writing, a little more than five thousand years ago. Writing was independently invented elsewhere.

⁸⁹ E.g., Henry Thomas Buckle, *History of Civilization in England* (New York, 1860), 1: 214–218.

⁹⁰ Geoffrey Parsons, *The Stream of History* (New York, 1928), 142.

⁹¹ Schneider, *The History of World Civilization*, 37–38.

⁹² See, among others, Crane Brinton et al., eds., *A History of Civilization*, vol. 1: *Prehistory to 1715* (New York, 1955), 18; Shepard Bancroft Clough et al., eds., *A History of the Western World* (Boston, 1964), 14.

The belief in writing as a catalyzing event, however, was a much more profound concept. Writing, in this view, actually put civilization on the move and created history out of the historyless Paleolithic. Few historians, it seems, were troubled by the incongruities of this argument: that agriculture, villages, towns, even cities and empires arose before the invention of writing; that the earliest forms of writing consisted of such things as market transactions and tax records, with no moral, political, or legal lessons for future generations; that the great religious texts and myths circulated in oral form long before they were written down.

The emphasis given to the invention of writing in historical accounts was linked to another trend, a key element of the persisting chronogeography of sacred history. This was the growing inclination to locate the Garden of Eden in Mesopotamia. (See Figure 4.) In medieval Europe, virtually all observers had associated the Garden of Eden with the Far East. Over time, it shifted westward in popular geography, toward the Near East, where both Bodin and Vico were inclined to place it. Armenia was the location preferred by the church historian George Smith in his *The Patriarchal Age* (1847).⁹³ In Smith's case, the reasons for this shift are especially interesting. Armenia, he noted, is where Noah and his sons settled after the Deluge. In this vision, the Ark, scarcely drifting at all in the floodwaters, settled on Mount Ararat after the waters subsided. Smith was insistent on Armenia because it was close to the geographic roots of the Indo-European peoples—and hence better suited to his purpose, which was to argue that the historical splitting of the Indo-European linguistic family was identical to the Confusion of Tongues.⁹⁴ Twentieth-century history and archaeology would soon arrive at a consensus that Mesopotamia was the birthplace of writing. The Sumerian origins of writing joined with the relatively new myth of a Mesopotamian Eden in confirming the Near East as the cradle of humanity. The rise of Mesopotamia in twentieth-century historiography is palpable. General histories and textbooks published in the later nineteenth century typically had history begin in Egypt, then considered the oldest civilization.⁹⁵ In most postwar textbooks, however, Mesopotamia supplanted Egypt as the point of origins.⁹⁶

The deep gulf separating the Stone Age from civilization, a backward nowhere from a progressive Mesopotamia, was humanity's Rubicon. Crossing it at some point late in the Neolithic era, humanity entered on the road to civilization, creating history in the process. The Neolithic Rubicon performs a narrative function eerily similar to the Deluge. There are some obvious differences. The Deluge was a resetting

⁹³ George Smith, *The Patriarchal Age; or, The History and Religion of Mankind, from the Creation to the Death of Isaac* (London, 1847), 165–167.

⁹⁴ See *ibid.*, 384–415, esp. the discussion of Sir William Jones from 401 onward.

⁹⁵ Among the many exemplars of textbooks or pedagogies that begin the course of study with Egypt, see W. C. Taylor, *A Manual of Ancient and Modern History* (New York, 1852); John MacCarthy, *History of the World from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (New York, 1882); Philip Van Ness Myers, *Ancient History* (Boston, 1904); Labberton, *Labberton's Universal History*; and Herbert Darling Foster et al., eds., *A History Syllabus for Secondary Schools* (Boston, 1904). Lynn Thorndike includes two chapters on the prehistoric era in his *A Short History of Civilization* (New York, 1930) but then proceeds to Egypt. Some early texts, including Fisher, *Outlines of Universal History*, begin with China and India, then move to Egypt.

⁹⁶ Among the many examples, see Clough et al., *A History of the Western World* (1964), and Garraty and Gay, *The Columbia History of the World* (1972). The fourth and most recent edition of William H. McNeill, *A World History* (Oxford, 1999), begins with Mesopotamia, in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, as does Duiker and Spielvogel, *Essential World History*.

event, plunging humanity into the primitive conditions demanded by conjectural history. The Neolithic Rubicon was a passage from stasis to progress. But both sit astride the buffer zone between nonhistory and history. Both act as a rupture, generating a discontinuous narrative.

By this analysis, the Paleolithic “bottom” to the narrative of Western Civ has always been a false bottom. Robinson was earnest in his desire to integrate the Paleolithic into the stream of history, but in his own textbooks he was perfectly content to use the European Middle Ages as the Western world’s point of origin. Even as Robinson was perfecting his textbooks, however, others were having a go at rebuilding the narrative of history, and coming up with very different results. In the 1920s, the reading public was fascinated by the vertiginous prospects of deep history. Some measure of this fascination can be found in the phenomenal success of H. G. Wells’s *The Outline of History*, whose first edition was published in 1919. From his opening chapter, Wells rooted history in deep geological, even astronomical, time; he devoted far more attention to the Paleolithic and Neolithic than did other histories of his day. Moving continuously from geological and biological time to historical time, the narrative does not postulate a rupture. Several books and series published in the wake of *Outline* were equally ambitious and equally seamless. A remarkable exemplar is “The Corridors of Time,” a series of ten books published between 1927 and 1956 by Yale University Press. Beginning with a volume entitled *Apes and Men*, the series develops a natural history of humanity that runs down to the agricultural revolution and beyond. In *The Stream of History*, a general history published by Scribner’s in 1928, Geoffrey Parsons devoted 142 pages, a quarter of the total, to prehistory. These and other works entered the space first opened by Wells.⁹⁷ The modern-day descendants of this narrative include best-selling trade histories written by Jared Diamond and other authors without a disciplinary affiliation with history.⁹⁸

As William T. Ross has pointed out, *Outline*, with its frank Darwinian message, was aimed at a middlebrow audience “obstinately unwilling to subordinate itself to any older ‘blue-blood’ elite.”⁹⁹ The response was immense: the work sold 150,000 copies in its initial English edition and 500,000 copies in the subsequent U.S. edition. The work’s appeal lay in the message that biology, not genius, was responsible for getting us where we are today.¹⁰⁰ This was an explicit attack on the university-educated political elite, who were inclined to explain history’s progressive direction as a function of six thousand years of careful political stewardship. Political elites were not necessarily anti-Darwinian. They favored the older narrative, suitably shorn of its sacred underpinnings, for the political myth it conveyed. Leaderless, man is doomed to live in an unchanging Paleolithic world. Properly submissive to the benevolent rule of far-seeing college-educated elites, mankind ascends the ladder of civilization.

The captivating possibility of Ross’s argument is that the historians responsible for writing and teaching the first generation of Western Civ textbooks had political

⁹⁷ See also G. Elliot Smith, *Human History* (New York, 1929).

⁹⁸ Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York, 1997). See also John Reader, *Africa: A Biography of the Continent* (New York, 1998); Tim Flannery, *The Eternal Frontier: An Ecological History of North America and Its Peoples* (New York, 2001).

⁹⁹ William T. Ross, *H.G. Wells’s World Reborn: The Outline of History and Its Companions* (Selinsgrove, Pa., 2002), 16.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 20.



FIGURE 4: The Garden of Eden in Mesopotamia. From Athanasius Kircher, *Arca Noë*. Reproduced courtesy of Fordham University Library Special Collections.

motivations for placing the Paleolithic on the other side of a gulf. Adopting the long chronology, after all, might invite the dangerous idea that political hierarchies emerged as the result of natural or Darwinian processes. To believe this would be to doubt the civilizing function of education, the blessing that is writing—even the beneficent role of academia itself.

BY THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY, most professional historians had abandoned sacred history. Yet the chronogeography of sacred history and its attendant narrative of rupture has proven to be remarkably resilient. History still cleaves to its short chronology. The otherwise meaningless date of 4000 B.C. continues to echo in our histories.¹⁰¹ Authors still use the narrative device of rupture to create an artificial point of origin, reducing the Paleolithic to the status of a prologue to history, humanity's "apprenticeship." And history's point of origin is still a Mesopotamian origin. Although we may have abandoned the sacred, we have not yet escaped the grip of sacred history.

The obstacles that once prevented the absorption of deep time have, for the most part, disappeared. New research in the genetic and archaeological archives has transformed a once undifferentiated past of several million years into a past punctuated by extraordinary events and adventures, making it difficult for anyone to maintain a belief in a changeless Paleolithic. The mid- to late Paleolithic has now been dated with considerable precision, making available the scaffolding that nineteenth-century historians never had. Recent archaeological research has demonstrated the existence of late Paleolithic villages and towns numbering in the hundreds, even thousands, of people, proving that complex political organization owes nothing to agriculture, still less to the invention of writing. More recent civilizations and societies, equally undocumented but nonetheless knowable through archaeological research and oral history, figure prominently in the many branches of world history, illustrating how historians no longer consider documents essential to the framing of history. Ancient history is unimaginable without the archaeological evidence; medieval history is very nearly so; and the effort to reconstitute the histories of the peoples without writing is one of the signal achievements of twentieth-century history. An appreciation for oral composition and social memory suggests just how little the technology of writing has actually added to our ability to recall and duplicate the lessons of the past. One could go on. Even with the minimal evidence at his disposal in 1919, Wells showed how it was possible to build a history that seamlessly links the deep past to the recent past. Rather than Ranke's epistemological rupture, demarcating the unknowable from the knowable, one should imagine a cone of increasing evidence, swollen but not fundamentally transformed in recent millennia by the addition of writing. To learn to think with this cone, all one need do is acknowledge that writing is not superior to the other historical traces that our colleagues in the other historical disciplines use to approach the past.

What do we gain from incorporating the deep history of humanity more firmly into history texts and syllabuses? To do so is to foster a new interdisciplinarity, one that will not only reframe our narratives of the deep past but also contribute to the histories of Postlithic societies. Important features of modern political and social behavior—gossip and communication, altruism and cooperation, dominance hierarchies, women and sex, disease, even religion—are illuminated when set into relief

¹⁰¹ For a few examples, see Harry Elmer Barnes, *An Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World*, 3rd rev. ed., vol. 1: *From Earliest Times through the Middle Ages* (New York, 1965), 39; C. Harold King, *A History of Civilization: Earliest Times to the Mid-Seventeenth Century—The Story of Our Heritage* (New York, 1956), 4–5. The first unit of New York State's Global History and Geography curriculum for ninth and tenth grade begins in 4000 B.C. (see <http://www.emsc.nysed.gov/ciai/socst/pub/sscore2.pdf>, p. 94, accessed June 10, 2005).

on the canvas of the Paleolithic.¹⁰² Authors working from the perspectives of paleoanthropology, geography, climatology, population genetics, and evolutionary psychology have begun to plot the early history of humankind in astonishingly vivid detail, and in the process have developed powerful new arguments tying the deep past to the present. Postlithic history will be enriched by these perspectives.

Aside from the benefits of building a genuine interdisciplinary history of humanity, we are left with the political or moral implications of failing to break the grip of a history that roots humanity's origins in Mesopotamia some six thousand years ago. We now know that our deep past is an African past, because that is where our species evolved. Around fifty thousand years ago, small groups of fully modern humans left that continent and subsequently colonized the world in a breathtaking expansion that began in South Asia and Australia, extended to East Asia and Europe, and finally reached the Americas at the end of the last ice age. Out-of-Africa populations soared as humans escaped African pathogens and learned how to exploit new ecological niches. Those who went north gradually lost their darker skin, and other groups experienced equally minor morphological changes as they adapted to new environments. In the last several hundred years, some of us were dragged violently off the ancestral continent. But we are all African.¹⁰³ That is where any genealogical tree will eventually take you. Every history curriculum in secondary schools and colleges that tacitly accepts a Near Eastern origin around six thousand years ago contains the unintended echo of the Judeo-Christian mythology of the special creation of man in the Garden of Eden. The full incorporation of humanity's African past in the grand historical narrative, in other words, is not just part of an idiosyncratic attempt to colonize the discipline of paleoanthropology. It is an intellectual and moral imperative.

¹⁰² In order, see Robin Dunbar, *Grooming, Gossip, and the Evolution of Language* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996); Elliot Sober and David Sloan Wilson, *Unto Others: The Evolution and Psychology of Unselfish Behavior* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); Christopher Boehm, *Hierarchy in the Forest: The Evolution of Egalitarian Behavior* (Cambridge, 1999); Sarah Blaffer Hrdy, *Mother Nature: A History of Mothers, Infants, and Natural Selection* (New York, 1999); and David Sloan Wilson, *Darwin's Cathedral: Evolution, Religion, and the Nature of Society* (Chicago, 2002).

¹⁰³ For this formula, see Reader, *Africa*.

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A German Alabama in Africa: The Tuskegee Expedition to German Togo and the Transnational Origins of West African Cotton Growers

ANDREW ZIMMERMAN

IN 1900, BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, the founder and principal of Tuskegee Institute in Tuskegee, Alabama, sent three Tuskegee graduates under the leadership of a faculty member to establish an experimental cotton farm in German Togo. One of those graduates, John W. Robinson, founded a cotton school in the German colony in 1904 that trained hundreds of students, recruited from every region of the country, to grow cotton for the European market. German colonial officials required graduates of this school to return to their home districts and continue growing cotton using the methods they had learned, in expectation that their countrymen would choose to imitate them. Between 1901 and 1909, the cotton exported to Europe from Togo improved in quality and increased in quantity by almost sixty-fold. European and American observers praised the German government for employing African American experts to bring the techniques and equipment used by black cotton growers in the post-Reconstruction U.S. South to black peasants in West Africa.

This praise for the mobility of technology presupposes an unspoken acceptance of the immobility of the racial category *black*, the economic category *peasant*, and the botanical category *cotton*. The claim by the expedition's admirers that American techniques were brought to Togo, under the auspices of German authority, to transform Togolese farming also tacitly assumes the stability and independence of nations. Such reified concepts and nationalist categories have long been the stock-in-trade of professional historians. From the perspective of the history of any one nation, the Tuskegee expedition to Togo looks like a minor, if widely imitated, program of technical assistance. Such a perspective, however, renders the true dimen-

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sions of the expedition virtually invisible, hidden in plain view, like the purloined letter in Edgar Allen Poe's story, for lack of a "set of principles of search" appropriate to "the principle of its concealment."¹ If transnational history rejects the assumption that national subjects exist outside and apart from their transnational interactions—that is, if it clearly distinguishes itself from mere international relations—then the Tuskegee expedition appears as a quilting point, stitching together and thus permanently transforming three powerful networks: German social science, New South race politics, and African cash cropping. At their points of intersection, these three networks produced objects whose apparent stability both conceals and results from a dynamic and transnational history: blackness, peasants, and cotton.

The importance of the Tuskegee expedition to German Togo has been further concealed by the unhappy coincidence that the major areas it involved—Germany, the United States, and Africa—have until recently been cut off from transnational history by claustrophobic exceptionalisms. While German exceptionalism, the so-called German *Sonderweg*, has been widely and usefully criticized,² the study of German imperialism has been hobbled by the view that overseas expansion had more to do with the domestic politics and culture of Germany than with the societies it ruled or with its contributions to a political and economic hegemony far greater and longer-lived than its own brief colonial history.³ The exceptional treatment of sub-Saharan African history has long consisted in excepting it from history altogether. In rejecting this racist and imperialist position, many Africanists have also rejected Marxist political economy, because it makes individual agency problematic and highlights the transnational origins of apparently local phenomena.⁴ This new, postim-

¹ Edgar Allen Poe, "The Purloined Letter" (1844), in *Tales of Terror and Detection* (New York, 1995), 76–91, 85. Poe's story was the focus of a seminar by Jacques Lacan that is an important source for this article: Lacan, "Seminar on 'The Purloined Letter,'" trans. Jeffrey Mehlman, *Yale French Studies* 48 (1972): 38–72.

² Most importantly in David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford, 1984).

³ Recently, historians in Germany have called for a more thoroughly transnational account of German history. See Jürgen Osterhammel, *Geschichtswissenschaft jenseits des Nationalstaats: Studien zu Beziehungsgeschichte und Zivilisationsvergleich* (Göttingen, 2001), and Sebastian Conrad, "Doppelte Marginalisierung: Plädoyer für eine transnationale Perspektive auf die deutsche Geschichte," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 28 (2002): 145–169.

⁴ The classic statement of this Africanist position is T. O. Ranger, "Introduction," in Ranger, ed., *Emerging Themes of African History* (Nairobi, 1968), ix–xxii. For a recent statement of the Africanist position, see Allen Isaacman, "Peasants and Rural Social Protest in Africa," *African Studies Review* 33 (1990): 1–120. For examples of Africanist approaches that attack Marxism for denying African agency, see Jonathon Glassman, *Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion, and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856–1888* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1995), and Alan Isaacman, *Cotton Is the Mother of Poverty: Peasants, Work, and Rural Struggle in Colonial Mozambique, 1938–1961* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1996). Steven Feierman has warned against allowing world history to swallow up African history in "Africa in History: The End of Universal Narratives," in Gyan Prakash, ed., *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements* (Princeton, N.J., 1995), 40–65. For surveys of the controversy between Africanist and political-economic approaches, see Ralph A. Austen, "Africanist Historiography and Its Critics: Can There Be an Autonomous African History?" in Toyin Falola, ed., *African Historiography: Essays in Honour of Jacob Ade Ajayi* (Ikeja, Nigeria, 1993), 203–217, and Bill Freund, "Africanist History and the History of Africa," chap. 1 in *The Making of Contemporary Africa* (Bloomington, Ind., 1981), 1–15. For important critiques of the anti-Marxist Africanist position, see E. A. Alpers, "Re-Thinking African Economic History," *Kenya Historical Review* 2 (1973): 163–188; Henry Bernstein and Jacques Depelchin, "The Object of African History: A Materialist Perspective," 2 pts., *History in Africa* 5 (1978): 1–19 and 6 (1979): 17–43; Frederick Cooper, "Africa and the World Economy," *African Studies Review* 24 (1981): 1–86; Bridget O'Laughlin, "Proletarianisation, Agency and Changing Rural Livelihoods: Forced Labour

perialist African exceptionalism thus reproduces some of the isolationism that marked the earlier historiography that it had originally displaced.⁵ While U.S. history has also suffered from national exceptionalism, African American history has long been in the vanguard of transnational history.⁶ It is therefore not surprising that most accounts of the Tuskegee expedition to Togo have focused on the African American side of the story, centering on the fraught relationship between, as Louis R. Harlan phrased it, "Booker T. Washington and the White Man's Burden."⁷ There has been little interest, however, in the interactions of the expedition with economies, societies, and households in Togo, Germany, and the United States.⁸ I hope that the

and Resistance in Colonial Mozambique," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28 (2002): 511–530; and Arnold Temu and Bonaventure Swai, *Historians and Africanist History: A Critique* (London, 1981). There has been excellent work refusing the false opposition between African agency and political economy, including Megan Vaughan, *The Story of an African Famine: Gender and Famine in Twentieth-Century Malawi* (Cambridge, 1987), and Sara Berry, *No Condition Is Permanent: The Social Dynamics of Agrarian Change in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Madison, Wis., 1993).

⁵ Historians focusing on Togo have thus given little attention to the expedition as an external influence on internal African history. See C. Adick, *Bildung und Kolonialismus in Togo* (Weinheim, 1981), 192–193; Arthur J. Knoll, *Togo under Imperial Germany, 1884–1914: A Case Study in Colonial Rule* (Stanford, Calif., 1970), 144–147; Donna J. E. Maier, "Persistence of Precolonial Patterns of Production: Cotton in German Togoland, 1800–1914," in Allen Isaacman and Richard Roberts, eds., *Cotton, Colonialism, and Social History in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1995), 71–95, 82; and Edward Graham Norris, *Die Umerziehung des Afrikaners: Togo, 1895–1938* (Munich, 1993), 141–149.

⁶ See Robin D. G. Kelley, "How the West Was One: The African Diaspora and the Re-Mapping of U.S. History," in Thomas Bender, ed., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002), 123–147. For a brilliant account of modernization in the United States and the Atlantic world in the transnational context of the African diaspora, see David McBride, *Missions for Science: U.S. Technology and Medicine in America's African World* (New Brunswick, N.J., 2002).

⁷ Louis R. Harlan, "Booker T. Washington and the White Man's Burden," *AHR* 71, no. 2 (January 1966): 441–467. See also Harlan's excellent two-volume biography of Washington, *Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856–1901* (London, 1972) and *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901–1915* (London, 1983).

⁸ The most recent scholarship on the expedition, by the Togolese historian Pierre Ali Napo, has focused on its African American participants, applauding this first Tuskegee involvement in African development projects. Professor Napo's monograph marked the centenary of the expedition, for which Tuskegee University signed a Convention of Cooperation with the University of Lomé and unveiled a plaque dedicated to the members of the expedition at the University's École Supérieure d'Agronomie. Pierre Ali Napo, *Togo, Land of Tuskegee Institute's International Technical Assistance Experimentation: 1900–1909* (Accra, 2002), translation of *Le Togo, Terre d'Expérimentation de l'Assistance Technique Internationale de Tuskegee University en Alabama, USA 1900–1909* (Lomé, 2001). Like Napo, Kendahl L. Radcliffe treats the expedition as a case of African American assistance to Africa in "The Tuskegee-Togo Cotton Scheme, 1900–1909" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1998). Booker T. Washington enjoys a better reputation in Africa, where he has long been regarded as an advocate of black self-help, than he does in the United States, where he is often blamed for accommodating white racism. See W. Manning Marable, "Booker T. Washington and African Nationalism," *Phylon* 35 (1974): 398–406; Donald Spivey, "The African Crusade for Black Industrial Schooling," *Journal of Negro History* 63 (1978): 1–17; and Michael O. West, "The Tuskegee Model of Development in Africa: Another Dimension of the Africa/African-American Connection," *Diplomatic History* 16 (1992): 371–387. For a recent collection of generally laudatory accounts of Washington, see W. Fitzhugh Brundage, ed., *Booker T. Washington and Black Progress: Up from Slavery 100 Years Later* (Gainesville, Fla., 2003). For more negative appraisals of Washington, see James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988); Brian Kelly, "Sentinels for New South Industry: Booker T. Washington, Industrial Accommodation and Black Workers in the Jim Crow South," *Labor History* 44 (2003): 337–357; and Donald Spivey, *Schooling for the New Slavery: Black Industrial Education, 1868–1915* (Westport, Conn., 1978). On Tuskegee in Africa after the Togo expedition, see Kenneth James King, *Pan-Africanism and Education: A Study of Race Philanthropy and Education in the Southern States of America and East Africa* (Oxford, 1971), and Donald Spivey, *The Politics of Miseducation: The Booker T. Washington Institute of Liberia, 1929–1945* (Lexington, Ky., 1986). For the influence of Tuskegee in South Africa, see James Campbell, "Models and Metaphors: Industrial Education in the United States and South Africa,"

psychoanalytic and Marxist approach I take to archival material from these three nations will allow the Tuskegee expedition to appear in its full, transnational importance, beyond national or regional particularisms.

Including multiple subjects in a single analysis not only rectifies earlier empirical oversights, but also challenges the notion that history proceeds from any subject, whether identified as an individual, a nation, a class, or any other grouping reckoned as homogeneous. Joan Wallach Scott has taught that employing gender as a category of historical analysis does not merely set the history of women alongside the history of men, but rather fragments the unified subject that anchors, as a vanishing point, the linear perspective of realist historical representation.⁹ Transnational history pushes the discipline to abandon the subject as ultimate historical cause, whether this subject takes the form of the individual of biography, the trucking and bartering *homo economicus* of liberal approaches, the collective class subject of populism, or the collective national subject of area studies.

Class essentialism, though often mistakenly associated with Marxism, in fact appears most prominently in the populist approach to peasants that has dominated much agrarian history in recent decades. James C. Scott has taught students of agriculture to treat *peasant* as an essential characteristic of small producers, so that peasant resistance consists in peasants' defending their conditions as peasants.¹⁰ Marxist scholars, by contrast, have shown how colonial states encouraged the formation of apparently autonomous peasantries as a basis for political oppression and economic exploitation. These scholars study the dynamics of class conflict rather than the stasis of classes; they have therefore encouraged analysts to speak of peasantization rather than of peasants.¹¹ Neoclassical economics shares the economic

in Ran Greenstein, ed., *Comparative Perspectives on South Africa* (New York, 1998), 90–134. For Booker T. Washington in the larger context of African American interest in Africa, see Tunde Adeleke, *Un-African Americans: Nineteenth-Century Black Nationalists and the Civilizing Mission* (Lexington, Ky., 1998), and Elliot P. Skinner, *African Americans and U.S. Foreign Policy toward Africa, 1850–1924: In Defense of Black Nationality* (Washington, D.C., 1992).

⁹ See Joan Wallach Scott, "Women's History," "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," and "Some More Reflections on Gender and Politics," in Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, rev. ed. (New York, 1999), 15–50, 199–222. For Scott's most recent treatment of Lacanian psychoanalysis for history, see "Fantasy Echo: History and the Construction of Identity," *Critical Inquiry* 27 (2001): 284–304.

¹⁰ See especially James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, Conn., 1985). "Peasants," Christine Pelzer White has observed, "do not necessarily want to remain peasants, and do not necessarily place highest priority on preserving their status as poor petty commodity producers in a richer world." White, "Everyday Resistance, Socialist Revolution and Rural Development: The Vietnamese Case," *Journal of Peasant Studies* (hereafter *JPS*) 13 (1986): 49–63, 62.

¹¹ The *JPS* has generally been so critical of peasant essentialism that one of its editors, Henry Bernstein, eventually bade "farewell to the peasantry," leaving the journal to locate the "economic form agricultural petty commodity production" (formerly known as peasant production) in "the shifting places of agriculture in the international divisions of labour of imperialism." Henry Bernstein, "Farewells to the Peasantry," *Transformation* 52 (2003): 1–19, 14, and Bernstein and Terence J. Byres, "From Peasant Studies to Agrarian Change," *Journal of Agrarian Change* 1 (2001): 1–56. Bernstein had long maintained that there was no peasant mode of production, and that peasants in Africa were, in fact, "wage labor equivalents." See Bernstein, "African Peasantries: A Theoretical Framework," *JPS* 6 (1979): 421–443. Under the editorship of Tom Brass, the *JPS* has turned even more fiercely against peasant essentialism. See collected *JPS* articles by Tom Brass in *Towards a Comparative Political Economy of Unfree Labour: Case Studies and Debates* (London, 1999) and *Peasants, Populism and Postmodernism: The Return of the Agrarian Myth* (London, 2000). Other excellent work on the political economy of peasants in Africa includes Victor L. Allen, "The Meaning of the Working Class in Africa," *Journal of Modern African*

essentialism of populist peasant studies but replaces the stable, collective subject called *peasant* with a stable, ratiocinating, and profit-maximizing individual. Many of these liberal and neoliberal historians have followed Anthony G. Hopkins in explaining West African cash cropping with a so-called “vent-for-surplus” theory, maintaining that Africans possessed reserves of land and labor that remained untapped until European colonialism supplied a “vent” through which their surplus products could be exported to international markets.¹² By assuming a transhistorical political-economic status quo, both peasant essentialism and neoclassical political economy make impossible the study of the historical formation and dissolution of classes and subjects.¹³ They are, finally, ahistorical because they both, to borrow a phrase from Marx, assume “as a fact . . . what has to be explained.”¹⁴

Studies 10 (1972): 169–189; Colin Bundy, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry* (Berkeley, Calif., 1979); Frederick Cooper, “Back to Work: Categories, Boundaries and Connections in the Study of Labour,” in Peter Alexander and Rick Halpern, eds., *Racializing Class, Classifying Race: Labour and Difference in Britain, the USA and Africa* (New York, 2000), 213–235; Bill Freund, *The African Worker* (Cambridge, 1988); O’Laughlin, “Proletarianisation, Agency and Changing Rural Livelihoods”; and Anne Phillips, *The Enigma of Colonialism: British Policy in West Africa* (London, 1989). There has also been some movement in the development community to reject both modernization theory and the “farmer first” populism meant to challenge it. See Ian Scoones and John Thompson, “Knowledge, Power, and Development: Towards a Theoretical Understanding,” in Scoones and Thompson, eds., *Beyond Farmer First: Rural People’s Knowledge, Agricultural Research and Extension Practice* (London, 1994), 16–32.

¹² Anthony G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa* (New York, 1973). For an account sharing affinities with vent-for-surplus but addressing the limitations of an imperialist “vent,” see Ralph Austen, “The Colonial Economies I: Étatis-Peasant Regimes,” chap. 6 in Austen, *African Economic History* (London, 1987), 122–154.

¹³ The vent-for-surplus approach informs the best account of the development of the Togolese cotton industry, Maier, “Persistence of Precolonial Patterns of Production.” Maier does not sanitize labor conditions in Togo under German rule, and elsewhere discusses the extensive use made of slave and forced labor in the colony. See Maier, “Slave Labor and Wage Labor in German Togo, 1885–1914,” in Arthur J. Knoll and Lewis H. Gann, eds., *Germans in the Tropics: Essays in German Colonial History* (New York, 1987), 73–91. The essays in Isaacman and Roberts, *Cotton, Colonialism, and Social History in Sub-Saharan Africa*, are an excellent introduction to the marvelous work on imperialist cotton projects in Africa. Few of the other authors in that volume endorse the vent-for-surplus theory, which does not work well for the case of cotton, whose labor requirements often interfered with the growing of essential food crops, as John Tosh shows in “The Cash Crop Revolution in Tropical Africa: An Agricultural Reappraisal,” *African Affairs* 79 (1980): 79–94. Isaacman is perhaps the most important importer of the approaches of James Scott to African studies, while Roberts takes a more political-economic approach. See Roberts, *Two Worlds of Cotton: Colonialism and the Regional Economy in the French Soudan, 1800–1946* (Palo Alto, Calif., 1996). For excellent political-economic accounts of colonial cotton, which by no means ignore the perspective of African cotton growers, see also Thomas J. Bassett, “The Development of Cotton in Northern Ivory Coast, 1910–1965,” *Journal of African History* 29 (1988): 267–284; Bassett, *The Peasant Cotton Revolution in West Africa: Côte d’Ivoire, 1880–1995* (Cambridge, 2001); Osumaka Likaka, *Rural Society and Cotton in Colonial Zaire* (Madison, Wis., 1997); and Elias C. Mandala, *Work and Control in a Peasant Economy: A History of the Lower Tchi Valley in Malawi, 1859–1960* (Madison, Wis., 1990). All three also have essays in the Isaacman and Richards volume.

¹⁴ Karl Marx, “Estranged Labour,” in *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*, available online at <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1844/manuscripts/labour.htm>. For the importance of historicizing the economic category *peasant*, see Michel-Rolph Trouillot, “Discourses of Rule and the Acknowledgment of the Peasantry in Dominica, W. I., 1838–1928,” *American Ethnologist* 16 (1989): 704–718. The study of African political economy, as well as the political economy of imperialism and neo-imperialism, has had a dramatic history since World War II, from underdevelopment and world systems theory, to the study of articulated modes of production, to accounts stressing the flexibility of capitalist relations of production. Important texts for the present essay include, in addition to literature already cited, the critiques of world system theory by Ernesto Laclau, “Feudalism and Capitalism in Latin America,” *New Left Review* (hereafter *NLR*) 1/67 (May–June 1971): 19–38, and Robert Brenner, “The Origins of Capitalist Development: A Critique of Neo-Smithian Marxism,” *NLR* 1/104 (July–August

In contrast to populist and liberal approaches, Marxism and psychoanalysis allow historians to deal with agency and identity without presupposing the agency of ahistorical subjects. Sigmund Freud's division of the self into a conscious and an unconscious and Marx's postulate that "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles"¹⁵ place a split, a rift, in the place where others have posited such privileged agents of historical causation as the nation, society, the working class, the peasantry, culture, or the great man.¹⁶ Psychoanalytic Marxism takes subjectivities, knowledge, and ideologies seriously in terms of their parapraxes (or "Freudian slips") and their apparent failures and shortcomings—that is, their actual participation in history. These failures, it will always turn out, are in fact successes—successes not in the sense that outcomes conform to intentions, but rather in the sense that the repressed always returns, the truth always emerges in spite of a speaker's intentions.

Rather than rejecting the study of culture and identity, psychoanalytic Marxism can follow psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan in regarding them across the registers of the symbolic, the imaginary, and the real. Roughly, the *symbolic* is the world of ideology and culture; the *imaginary* is the self with which the individual identifies in relation to that culture; and the *real* is the stumbling block that trips up both the symbolic and the imaginary. The real is not a biological or physical outside to culture and identity, but rather an internal limit created through the impossibility of a failsafe symbolic or imaginary. Psychoanalysis pushes understandings of subjectivity beyond the almost functionalist theories of Louis Althusser and Michel Foucault, both of whom taught that society reproduces itself through the formation of subjects whose very condition of possibility is subjugation to society.¹⁷ The real is what makes the world of surprises, mistakes, and misunderstandings that we inhabit on a day-to-day basis so unlike the flattened world of an all-determining "culture," the matrix in

1977): 25–92; the literature surveyed in Aidan Foster-Carter, "The Modes of Production Controversy," *NLR* I/107 (January–February 1978): 47–77; David Seddon, ed., *Relations of Production: Marxist Approaches to Economic Anthropology*, trans. Helen Lackner (London, 1978); Harold Wolpe, ed., *The Articulation of Modes of Production: Essays from Economy and Society* (London, 1980); and the special issue "Mode of Production: The Challenge of Africa," ed. Bogumil Jewsiewicki and Jocelyn Letourneau, *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 19 (1985).

¹⁵ Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*, chap. 1, "Bourgeois and Proletarians," available online at <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/ch01.htm>.

¹⁶ Jacques Lacan followed Freud in describing psychoanalysis as a "Copernican revolution" because of its decentering of the ego in psychic life analogous to Copernicus's decentering of Earth in astronomy. See Jacques Lacan, *The Ego in Freud's Theory and in the Technique of Psychoanalysis, 1954–1955*, trans. Sylvana Tomaselli, notes by John Forrester (New York, 1991), 3. On the connections between Marxism and psychoanalysis, see especially Slavoj Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (New York, 1989); Frederick Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1981); and Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, 2nd ed. (London, 2001). Judith Butler has derived an antisubstantivist account of the subject from Friedrich Nietzsche rather than Marx and Freud. See Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York, 1990).

¹⁷ Especially helpful for this article has been Joan Copjec's Lacanian critique of Foucault and all models in which "the psychical and the social are conceived as a reallight unit ruled by a principle of pleasure." See *Read My Desire: Lacan against the Historicists* (Cambridge, 1994), 29. For a clear and powerful presentation of the advantages of incorporating Lacanian psychoanalysis into the questions asked by Althusser and Foucault, see Marshall W. Alcorn, Jr., "The Subject of Discourse: Reading Lacan through (and beyond) Poststructuralist Contexts," in Mark Bracher et al., eds., *Lacanian Theory of Discourse: Subject, Structure, and Society* (New York, 1994), 19–45.

which historians and other social scientists have found themselves since the linguistic or cultural turn.

Mistakes (parapraxis) and class conflict are the main explanatory principles in this article. I begin in the register of the symbolic with a discussion of the New South ideology of the "Negro" globalized through an international misunderstanding of Booker T. Washington's famous address at the 1895 Atlanta Exposition. An axiom of psychoanalysis, formulated by Lacan, is that "the sender . . . receives from the receiver his own message in reverse form," and that this "reverse form" reveals the truth of the message, separated from the obfuscations designed to make that message acceptable to the speaker him- or herself.¹⁸ This is a situation common in analytic practice, when analysands come to understand their own words as analysts hear them, full of meanings that the analysands insist (correctly) that they never intended.¹⁹ Thus, for Lacan, the unconscious is in the field of the other: it is not some interior part of the mind, but something that appears from without, for example, in misunderstood messages or in bungled actions. Such parapractical causality, in which history operates through the failure of intention, occurred repeatedly in the Tuskegee expedition to German Togo, from development schemes that yoked Africans like oxen, to programs of free labor that incorporated flogging, to, even today, free markets that force African cotton growers into poverty. These failures do not merely give the lie to liberal ideology: they reveal its truth.

I connect parapraxes to class conflict in my discussion of how the Tuskegee expedition and the German government identified Togolese as "Negroes" who would be subjected to labor-coercive regimes analogous to those imposed upon African American cotton growers. Lacan famously theorized identity formation as the result of a "mirror stage," in which infants misrecognize their own fragmented, polymorphously perverse bodies as the images of whole persons shown to them in a mirror.²⁰ This origin of identity in the image is part of why Lacan classifies identity in the register of the imaginary. German and Tuskegee personnel were faced with imposing an identity on individuals who already possessed self-images (themselves based on prior misrecognitions), who no longer experienced themselves as fragmented bodies without identities. The imperialist effort to transform Togolese into "Negroes" thus involved not only holding up an image, but also fragmenting the political power, the modes of production, and even the bodies of the individuals whom they would then invite to identify with this image. This process indicates the violence and instability at the heart of colonial identities, violence that in this case took the form of class conflict.²¹ Class conflict stands in for the real as an unmasterable, unassimilable kernel that simultaneously drives and undermines the symbolic register of ideology

¹⁸ Lacan, "Seminar on 'The Purloined Letter,'" 72.

¹⁹ Bruce Fink: *A Clinical Introduction to Lacanian Psychoanalysis: Theory and Technique* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 22–25.

²⁰ Jacques Lacan, "The Mirror Stage as Formative of the *I* Function, as Revealed in Psychoanalytic Experience" (1949), in *Écrits: A Selection*, trans. Bruce Fink (New York, 2002), 3–9.

²¹ Kalpana Seshadri-Crooks, *Desiring Whiteness: A Lacanian Analysis of Race* (London, 2000), has made the brilliant and provocative argument that race works because the symbolic (racial ideology) illegitimately links itself to the real, connecting race to the body as if race were like sex rather than a purely symbolic or ideological category. Homi K. Bhabha has drawn attention to the role of the imaginary in colonial identity and the possibilities this foundational misrecognition presents for anti-imperialist resistance. See Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, 1994), esp. "Sly Civility," 93–101.

and the imaginary register of identity.²² In this case, class conflict explains why intentions failed, why practices became parapraxes, and thus why the Tuskegee expedition succeeded in creating a cotton-growing peasantry in Togo as a result of its real failures to do so.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON'S FAMOUS SPEECH at the 1895 Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition helped inspire German interest in the southern United States as a model for race and labor relations in African colonies. The exposition presented the "New South," the South that would replace the Old South of slavery and secession, as "cotton states" uniquely blessed with hard-working African Americans.²³ Almost certainly in the audience that day was Baron Beno von Herman auf Wein, the agricultural attaché to the German embassy in Washington, D.C. Baron von Herman became an early advocate of developing cotton growing in the German colonies and would be the major intermediary between Washington and the German government.²⁴

Washington's "Atlanta compromise" speech became famous, and later infamous, for an image that seemed to accept racial segregation while maintaining African Americans as subordinate laborers in a white-dominated economy: "In all things that are purely social," he declared, "we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."²⁵ Less than a month after his Atlanta speech, Washington privately disavowed a segregationist interpretation of his message: "If anybody understood me as meaning that riding in the same railroad car or sitting in the same room at a railroad station is social intercourse they certainly got a wrong idea of my position."²⁶ Indeed, at Atlanta, Washington did not emphasize segregation so much as African American immobility, admonishing African Americans to "cast down your bucket where you are." African Americans, he maintained,

²² In this I follow Slavoj Žižek and Frederick Jameson. See Žižek, "Repeating Lenin" (2001), available online at <http://www.lacan.com/replenin.htm>. "History," writes Jameson, "is what hurts, it is what refuses desire and sets inexorable limits to individual as well as collective praxis, which its 'ruses' turn into grisly and ironic reversals of their overt intentions." Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*, 102.

²³ Referring to the region as "cotton states" would have disappointed those who agreed with the late Pennsylvania Radical Republican William D. Kelley that the South should abandon cotton to become "New." William D. Kelley, "Cotton Growing and Agriculture Contrasted," in Kelley, *The Old South and the New: A Series of Letters* (New York, 1888), 112–162. The classic work on the New South is C. Vann Woodward's *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913*, rev. ed. (Baton Rouge, La., 1972). On New South ideology, see Paul M. Gaston, *The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking* (New York, 1970); James M. McPherson, *The Abolitionist Legacy: From Reconstruction to the NAACP* (Princeton, N.J., 1975); George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817–1914* (New York, 1971), 198–227, 283–319; and Ronald T. Takaki, "Civilization in the New South," chap. 9 in *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*, rev. ed. (New York, 2000), 194–214. For an excellent account of how the postemancipation historiography of slavery supported New South free-labor racism, see John David Smith, *An Old Creed for the New South: Proslavery Ideology and Historiography, 1865–1918* (1985; repr., Athens, Ga., 1991).

²⁴ Baron von Herman, Washington, D.C., to Chancellor [Reichskanzler] Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, October 25, 1895, Bundesarchiv, Berlin (hereafter BArch) R901/14543. For Herman's later advocacy of colonial cotton modeled on U.S. cotton, see his letters to Chancellor Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, September 28, 1899, BArch R901/350, and April 28, 1900, BArch R901/14552.

²⁵ Washington's speech is quoted in Walter G. Cooper, *The Cotton States and International Exposition and South* (Atlanta, Ga., 1896), 98–99.

²⁶ Booker T. Washington to Edna Dow Littlehale Cheney, October 15, 1895, in Louis R. Harlan, ed., *The Booker T. Washington Papers* (Urbana, Ill., 1972–1989), 4: 56–57.

should remain in the South and accept in the short term, at least, the menial positions accorded them, beginning, as he put it, "at the bottom of life . . . and not the top." This was a profoundly conservative view of class hierarchy that, although no endorsement of racism, did nothing to challenge already existing racist hierarchies.²⁷ It was this conservatism, combined with what Washington termed the "wrong idea of my position," that made him attractive to white elites around the world employing the racist politics of imperialism to develop capitalist modes of production in Africa and elsewhere.²⁸

At Atlanta, Washington endorsed a paradoxical image of African Americans that was already common in the "redeemed" U.S. South, namely that "Negroes" should be subjected to extraordinary political and economic control in order that they might be free. This image was given its classic formulation at two conferences on the "Negro question" held in 1890 and 1891 in Mohonk, in upstate New York.²⁹ General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, founder of the Hampton Institute and mentor to Washington, opened the first conference with a lecture that illustrates how the contradictory identity "Negro" placed those to whom it was ascribed in a kind of permanent state of exception that allowed racist labor repression to persist in a capitalist economy based on free labor:

The Negroes are a laboring people. They do not like work, however, because they have had it forced on them . . . They work under pressure. The great thing is to give them an idea of the dignity of labor; that is, to change their standpoint.³⁰

To resolve this logical mess into a coherent idea supposedly lurking behind it would be to miss the pincers movement with which Armstrong, like many white elites, sought to capture African Americans. "Negroes," according to Armstrong, had an inherent tendency to work that was perverted by being forced to work under sla-

²⁷ For the ways in which class divisions shaped African American politics, see especially Judith Stein, *The World of Marcus Garvey: Race and Class in Modern Society* (Baton Rouge, La., 1986). See also Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., *Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880-1920* (Fayetteville, Ark., 2000); Kevin K. Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996); and Fon Louise Gordon, *Caste and Class: The Black Experience in Arkansas, 1880-1920* (Athens, Ga., 1995). The classic work on this topic is E. Franklin Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie* (1955; repr., New York, 1997).

²⁸ Germans were among the earliest foreign enthusiasts for Washington. Representative is the preface to the German translation of *Up from Slavery* by Ernst Vohsen, a member of the Colonial Council [Kolonialrat] of the German Foreign Office and later a founding editor of the journal *Koloniale Rundschau*. Quoting the famous hand image from Washington's 1895 speech, Vohsen proclaimed: "The author's words are also valid for us in Africa." Ernst Vohsen, "Vorwort," in Booker T. Washington, *Vom Sklaven Empor: Eine Selbstbiographie*, trans. Estelle Du Bois-Reymond (Berlin, 1902), v-vii, vii. For later European colonial interest in Washington, see King, *Pan-Africanism and Education*, and Spivey, *The Politics of Miseducation*.

²⁹ On the Mohonk conferences, see Leslie H. Fishel, Jr., "The 'Negro Question' at Mohonk: Microcosm, Mirage, and Message," *New York History* 74, no. 3 (July 1993): 277-314. On the "Negro" in "New South" ideology, see the classic works by C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1974); August Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington* (1963; repr., Ann Arbor, 1988); and Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind*. See more recently Grace E. Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940* (New York, 1998), and Leon Litwack, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow* (New York, 1998).

³⁰ Samuel Chapman Armstrong, "Industrial Training," in Isabel C. Barrows, ed., *First Mohonk Conference on the Negro Question* (1890; repr., New York, 1969), 12-15, 13. The Second Mohonk conference made points similar to the first. See Isabel C. Barrows, ed., *Second Mohonk Conference on the Negro Question* (1891; repr., New York, 1969).

very.³¹ Negro freedom, therefore, demanded that Negroes remain compelled to work (“under pressure”) so that they could recover from having been forced to work under slavery. The end of slavery thus required, paradoxically, continued extra-economic coercion of African Americans. In this sense, the “Negro” was no exception to, but rather a particularly clear illustration of, the position of ostensibly free labor in capitalism. Even in the early twentieth century, the legal framework of free labor in many parts of the world included not only contracts and wages, but also master-servant codes, vagrancy laws, and other elements that were gradually eliminated, not by any supposed “logic of capitalism,” but rather by the political struggles of organized labor.³²

Baron von Herman accepted, perhaps without fully understanding, a connection between black people and cotton growing endorsed at the Atlanta Exposition.³³ The belief that cotton required black labor, although empirically false—significant numbers of whites also grew cotton as tenant farmers³⁴—contained a grain of truth: the production of cotton for the mechanized textile industry did require the levels of control exercised over black cotton growers in both slavery and freedom. Spinning and weaving after the industrial revolution required precisely standardized fibers, since even slight variations in staple length required costly recalibration of machinery. Yet the substance commonly referred to as “cotton” could consist of any number of varieties of the four species of the genus *Gossypium* that had been cultivated from Asia to the Americas since antiquity.³⁵ Because cotton is a perennial that hybridizes easily, growers had to be compelled to destroy their plants and resow their fields each year with carefully selected seeds.³⁶ The two most important factors in determining the price of a bale of a given variety of cotton, color and trash content, depended on control of the time, pace, and process of cotton picking. Cotton bolls lost their uniform white color if growers left them on the stalk to be stained by sun, rain,

³¹ Armstrong had learned this model of education from his father, Richard Armstrong, the minister of public instruction in Hawaii from 1848 to 1860. On colonial industrial education in Hawaii, see Carl Kalani Beyer, “Manual and Industrial Education for Hawaiians during the Nineteenth Century,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 38 (2004): 1–34.

³² For excellent accounts of free labor as it was practiced rather than simply imagined, see Douglas Hay and Paul Craven, “The Criminalization of ‘Free’ Labour: Master and Servant in Comparative Perspective,” *Slavery & Abolition* 15 (1994): 71–101; Hay and Craven, “Master and Servant in England and the Empire: A Comparative Study,” *Labour* 31 (1993): 175–184; Robert J. Steinfeld, *The Invention of Free Labor: The Employment Relation in English and American Law and Culture, 1350–1870* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991); and Steinfeld, *Coercion, Contract, and Free Labor in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2001).

³³ Baron von Herman, Washington, D.C., to Chancellor Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, June 24, 1897, BARCh R901/349.

³⁴ See Charles W. Johnson, Edwin R. Embree, and W. W. Alexander, *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy: Summary of Field Studies and Statistical Surveys, 1933–35* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1935), 11.

³⁵ On the biology and cultivation of cotton, see C. Wayne Smith and J. Tom Cothren, eds., *Cotton: Origin, History, Technology, and Production* (New York, 1999). On the importance of botanical factors in African economic history, see Tosh, “The Cash Crop Revolution in Tropical Africa”; Paul Richards, “Ecological Change and the Politics of African Land Use,” *African Studies Review* 26 (1983): 1–72; and Richards, *Indigenous Agricultural Revolution: Ecology and Food Production in West Africa* (Boulder, Colo., 1985).

³⁶ On seed control and the dangers of hybridization of cotton, see J. F. Duggar, *Descriptions and Classification of Varieties of American Upland Cotton*, Alabama Agricultural Experiment Station of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, Bulletin no. 140 (Opelika, Ala., 1907), and W. Lawrence Balls, *Studies of Quality in Cotton* (London, 1928). For discussions of cotton planting and picking, see James Thomas Broadbent, *Cotton Manual for Manufacturers and Students* (Boston, 1905).

mildew, frost, or soil. Before the widespread mechanization of cotton picking after World War II, careless hand picking resulted in excessive amounts of trash—leaves, stems, and dirt—mixed in with the fiber. American cotton was prized for a strong, medium staple that could withstand punishing processing in mechanized mills. As important as these inherent properties, however, was the fact that American cotton growers were subject to greater levels of discipline than growers in any other colonial economy before the turn of the century. The industrial cotton demanded by European industry was not a fruit of sun and soil alone, but also an artifact of discipline supported by American racism.³⁷

THE RACIALIZED LABOR RELATIONS of the New South drew international attention from German social scientists, who hoped that they would provide models for the control of ethnic minorities and free agricultural labor in Germany. Economists and sociologists founded the Verein für Sozialpolitik (Social Policy Association) in 1872 to guide the state in managing the transition from feudalism to free labor in a way that would limit proletarianization and the growth of socialism.³⁸ In the 1880s, the organization turned its attention to the question of free agricultural labor in eastern Germany. Although serfdom had been officially abolished in Prussia by the liberal reforms of 1807, eastern landlords had preserved much of their political and economic authority until their employees, many of them former serfs, began moving in large numbers to industrial areas of western Germany and to the United States. Migration to the United States from eastern areas of Germany was especially intense in the period 1880–1893, and landlords in these regions became increasingly dependent on migrant laborers from Russian and Austrian Poland.³⁹ In the 1880s, the Prussian state began persecuting its Polish residents, starting with mass expulsions

³⁷ The role of coercion in cotton production would only be more pronounced in Africa, for, as Philip W. Porter demonstrates, cotton has lower yields in tropical climates than in mid-latitudes. This deficit was made up, he suggests, by lower labor compensation and increased labor coercion. See Porter, "A Note on Cotton and Climate: A Colonial Conundrum," in Isaacman and Roberts, *Cotton, Colonialism, and Social History in Sub-Saharan Africa*, 43–49.

³⁸ See Gustav Schmoller, "Eröffnungsrede," *Verhandlungen der Eisenacher Versammlung zur Besprechung der sozialen Frage am 6. und 7. October 1872* (Leipzig, 1873), 1–6. On the Verein für Sozialpolitik, see James J. Sheehan, *The Career of Lujo Brentano: A Study of Liberalism and Social Reform in Imperial Germany* (Chicago, 1966); Erik Grimmer-Solem, *The Rise of Historical Economics and Social Reform in Germany, 1864–1894* (Oxford, 2003); and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, "The Verein für Sozialpolitik and the Fabian Society: A Study in the Sociology of Policy-Relevant Knowledge," in Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, eds., *States, Social Knowledge, and the Origins of Modern Social Policies* (Princeton, N.J., 1996), 117–162. On German social policy and social reform, see Kevin Repp, *Reformers, Critics, and the Paths of German Modernity: Anti-Politics and the Search for Alternatives, 1890–1914* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), and George Steinmetz, *Regulating the Social: The Welfare State and Local Politics in Imperial Germany* (Princeton, N.J., 1993).

³⁹ On German emigration and population movements within Germany, see Klaus J. Bade, "German Emigration to the United States and Continental Immigration to Germany in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Central European History* 13 (1980): 348–377, and Bade, "'Preussengänger' und 'Abwehrpolitik': Ausländerbeschäftigung, Ausländerpolitik und Ausländerkontrolle auf dem Arbeitsmarkt in Preussen vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 24 (1984): 91–162. On Polish migrant labor, see Ulrich Herbert, "The Manpower Shortage and *Ueberfremdung*: The Danger of Foreign Infiltration, 1880–1914," chap. 1 in *A History of Foreign Labor in Germany, 1880–1980: Seasonal Workers/Forced Laborers, Guest Workers*, trans. William Templer (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1990), 9–86. On the broader debate about industrial and agricultural labor, see Kenneth D. Barkin, *The Controversy over German Industrialization, 1890–1902* (Chicago, 1970).

of those without Prussian citizenship. In 1886 it began a program of "internal colonization," settling German tenant farmers in West Prussia and Posen, regions with large populations of Prussian citizens of Polish origin.⁴⁰

In this period, Georg Friedrich Knapp, a Strassburg economist and one of the founders of the Verein, began drawing policy lessons from parallels between the Prussian situation and the history of African American slavery and emancipation.⁴¹ For Knapp, agrarian labor always involved domination and submission, whether in slavery or after emancipation. In the United States, the transition from slave to free labor had not done away with the real or perceived inferiority of African American agricultural workers, so that the problem of slavery had become the problem of a "racially alien proletariat."⁴² "The Negro question" in the New World and in Germany's own African colonies was, for Knapp, "the labor question for the agricultural-industrial large enterprise of the plantation." Even though formally free labor existed in Germany, Knapp held that it was still necessary for the state "gradually to lift up the rural proletarians of the eastern provinces, so that we might recognize them as equal compatriots."⁴³ Knapp and other members of the Verein were especially interested in developing tenancy arrangements that would keep small farmers attached to the land in a postfeudal era of free movement and free labor.⁴⁴

To an extent greater than any other Verein member, Max Weber placed ques-

⁴⁰ On Prussian anti-Polish efforts, see Richard Blanke, *Prussian Poland in the German Empire (1871–1900)* (New York, 1981), and William W. Hagen, *Germans, Poles, and Jews: The Nationality Conflict in the Prussian East, 1772–1914* (Chicago, 1980).

⁴¹ The comparative study of free labor thus goes back to the nineteenth-century emergence of free labor itself, and the "Prussian road" has long served comparative history of slavery and emancipation in the U.S. South. See Jonathan M. Wiener, "Class Structure and Economic Development in the American South, 1865–1955," *AHR* 84, no. 4 (October 1979): 970–992, and Wiener, *Social Origins of the New South: Alabama, 1860–1885* (Baton Rouge, La., 1978). Wiener's argument is shaped by Barrington Moore, *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston, 1966), and V. I. Lenin, "The Agrarian Programme of Social-Democracy in the Russian Revolution, Autoabstract" (1908), available online at <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1908/jul/18.htm>. See also Steven Hahn, "Class and State in Postemancipation Societies: Southern Planters in Comparative Perspective," *AHR* 95, no. 1 (February 1990): 75–98, and Anthony Winson, "The 'Prussian Road' of Agrarian Development: A Reconsideration," *Economy and Society* 11 (1982): 381–408. For comparative histories of unfree land- and laborlords in the United States and Prussia and Russia, respectively, see Shearer Davis Bowman, *Masters and Lords: Mid-Nineteenth-Century U.S. Planters and Prussian Junkers* (New York, 1993), and Peter Kolchin, *Unfree Labor: American Slavery and Russian Serfdom* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987). One reason that German and American conditions have seemed so eminently comparable may be the great influence of German social science on American social science. See especially Jürgen Herbst, *The German Historical School in American Scholarship: A Study in the Transfer of Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1965); Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Era* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); Axel R. Schäfer, "W.E.B. Du Bois, German Social Thought, and the Racial Divide in American Progressivism, 1892–1909," *Journal of American History* 88 (2001): 925–949; and Schäfer, *American Progressives and German Social Reform, 1875–1920: Social Ethics, Moral Control, and the Regulatory State in a Transatlantic Context* (Stuttgart, 2000).

⁴² Georg Friedrich Knapp, "Notes on U.S. History and Slavery," July 30, 1900, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (hereafter GStA) VI. HA Nachlass Knapp, K. II, Bl. 41–43. On Knapp, see Kerstin Schmidt, "Georg Friedrich Knapp: Ein Pionier der Agrarhistoriker," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 37 (1989): 228–242, and Hartmut Harnisch, "Georg Friedrich Knapp: Agrargeschichtsforschung und Sozialpolitisches Engagement im Deutschen Kaiserreich," 1993 *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 95–132.

⁴³ Georg Friedrich Knapp, *Die Landarbeiter in Knechtschaft und Freiheit: Vier Vorträge* (Leipzig, 1891), 16–20, 86. See also Knapp, *Die Bauernbefreiung und der Ursprung der Landarbeiter in den älteren Theilen Preußens*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Munich, 1927).

⁴⁴ See Knapp's 1893 address to the Verein, "Landarbeiter und innere Kolonisation," in *Einführung in einige Hauptgebiete der Nationalökonomie* (Munich, 1925), 124–142.

tions of race at the center of agrarian policy. Weber feared that, especially in eastern Prussia, Polish migrant labor would always be more economically attractive than the labor of settled German farmers, because Poles had lower standards of living and a "lower cultural level," and thus demanded lower wages. This meant, Weber warned, a lowering of the "cultural level" of the entire German East, and it also endangered the integrity, and even military defensibility, of Germany's border with Russia.⁴⁵ Like other Verein members, Weber applauded the Prussian program of settling German tenants in the East as a way to prevent proletarianization on the land and thus check the spread of social democracy, but he also placed peculiar emphasis on the anti-Polish aspects of this policy.⁴⁶ While Weber was not the first Verein member to take race and ethnicity as categories of economic analysis, he did foreground these topics in his political and social scientific work.

These interests in ethnicity and labor led Weber to visit Tuskegee, and also to seek out W. E. B. Du Bois at Atlanta University during his 1904 visit to the United States.⁴⁷ Weber especially valued his visit to Tuskegee for the insight it gave him into "the great national problem of all American life, the showdown between the white race and the former slaves."⁴⁸ Weber persuaded Du Bois to contribute an article on "The Negro Question in the United States" to the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, the journal of the Verein.⁴⁹ Ten years earlier, Du Bois had begun a dissertation in Berlin under a colleague of Weber's in the Verein, Gustav Schmoller, comparing African American farmers in the United States with peasants in Germany. Although he never completed this dissertation, returning to the United States to receive a doctorate in history from Harvard in 1895, Du Bois did conduct study trips to observe German peasants and wrote a seminar paper on "the labor question in the southern United States."⁵⁰ In his 1906 article for the *Archiv*, Du Bois enu-

⁴⁵ I discuss the centrality of racism to Max Weber's social thought in "Decolonizing Weber," in the special issue "Decolonizing German Theory," ed. George Steinmetz, *Postcolonial Studies* 9, no. 1 (2006), forthcoming. Weber's major publications on East Elbian agricultural laborers include *Die Verhältnisse der Landarbeiter im ostelbischen Deutschland*, *Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik*, vol. 58 (Leipzig, 1893), and "Die ländliche Arbeitsverfassung" (1893) and "Entwicklungstendenz in der Lage der ostelbischen Landarbeiter (1894)," both in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1924), 444–469, 470–507. See also Weber's 1895 inaugural address at Freiburg, "Der Nationalstaat und die Volkswirtschaftspolitik" (1895), in Johannes Winkelmann, ed., *Gesammelte Politische Schriften*, 3rd ed. (Tübingen, 1971), 1–25. On Weber's work on this topic, see especially Wolfgang J. Mommsen, *Max Weber and German Politics, 1890–1920*, trans. Michael S. Steinberg (1959; repr., Chicago, 1984). Fritz Ringer's recent account, in my view, unjustly minimizes the importance of anti-Polish racism in Weber's politics and social science. See Fritz Ringer, *Max Weber: An Intellectual Biography* (Chicago, 2004).

⁴⁶ The Verein für Sozialpolitik economist Max Sering, for example, directly advised the Prussian commission in charge of settling German farmers. See Max Sering to Landwirtschaftsminister, March 6, 1891, GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 87B, no. 9369, Bl. 1–2, and Max Sering, "Politik der Grundbesitzverteilung in den großen Reichen," *Verhandlungen des Landes-Oekonomie-Kollegiums am 9. Februar 1912* (Berlin, 1912), in GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 87B, no. 9329, Bl. 13–41.

⁴⁷ On Weber's trip to the United States, see Marianne Weber, *Max Weber: A Biography*, trans. Harry Zohn (1926; repr., New York, 1975), 279–304, and Lawrence Scaff, "Max Weber's Amerikabild and the African American Experience," in David McBride et al., eds., *Crosscurrents: African Americans, Africa, and Germany in the Modern World* (Columbia, S.C., 1998), 82–94.

⁴⁸ Weber, *Max Weber*, 295.

⁴⁹ W. E. B. Du Bois, "Die Negerfrage in den Vereinigten Staaten," *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* 22 (1906): 31–79, 43.

⁵⁰ Du Bois details his German education in a letter to D. C. Gilman, October 28, 1892, in Herbert Aptheker, ed., *The Correspondence of W.E.B. Du Bois*, vol. 1: *Selections, 1877–1934* (Amherst, 1973), 20–21. On Du Bois's seminar paper, see David Levering Lewis, *W.E.B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race*,

merated the regimes of labor coercion that had replaced slavery in the United States. He focused especially on the sharecropping system, which held the Negro in "a system of corvée labor, bound to the soil under paternal domination."⁵¹ He thus developed connections already made by Knapp between agricultural labor in Prussia and the "Negro question" in the United States. Like his German teachers and colleagues, Du Bois concerned himself with the ways in which forms of tenancy and ethnic relations shaped agricultural labor and class conflict, even if he was far more concerned about the exploitation and oppression fostered by racism and ethnocentrism.

Conferences held in Paris and London in the summer of 1900, only months before the first members of the Tuskegee expedition arrived in Togo, placed Africa at the center of the transatlantic discussions about free labor and the "Negro question."⁵² Both conferences situated the "Negro question" in the context of European imperialism and emphasized its relevance to broader discussions of social policy. At the International Exposition in Paris, the U.S. commission included in its "Social Economy Building" an "exhibition on the present condition and progress of the Afro-American" as a model of "racial adjustment." "To the statecraft of Europe," the exhibition's African American organizer explained, "the 'Negro Problem' is destined to become a burning reality in their African colonies, and it is our privilege to furnish them the best evidence at hand to prove that the only solution that will ever succeed is that of an equal chance in the race of life without regard to 'color, race or previous condition.'"⁵³ For Du Bois, who attended both the Paris and the London conferences, the conditions of African Americans presented questions about social policy and "the larger aspects of human benevolence" analogous to such institutions as Belgian working men's circles, the Red Cross Society, and German state insurance programs.⁵⁴ Most speakers at the Pan-African Congress in London that summer spoke far more critically of European imperialism and U.S. racism, but they still related both to larger questions about race, labor, and justice. In the concluding declarations of the London conference, Du Bois first proclaimed: "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line."⁵⁵ While the participants in

1868–1919 (New York, 1993), 137–143. On the importance of Du Bois's study in Germany for the development of his social science, see Francis L. Broderick, "German Influence on the Scholarship of W.E.B. Du Bois," *Phylon Quarterly* 19 (1958): 367–371, and Barrington Steven Edwards, "W.E.B. Du Bois, Empirical Social Research, and the Challenge to Race, 1868–1910" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2001), esp. 111–146.

⁵¹ Du Bois, "Die Negerfrage," 43.

⁵² For these conferences, as well as the international Pan-African movements generally, see Imanuel Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement: A History of Pan-Africanism in America, Europe and Africa*, trans. Ann Keep (1968; repr., New York, 1974).

⁵³ Thomas J. Calloway (no known relation to James Calloway), United States Commission to the Paris Exposition of 1900, "The American Negro Exhibit" (Washington, D.C., December 21, 1899), George Washington Carver Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., Reel 2.

⁵⁴ W.E.B. Du Bois, "The American Negro at Paris," *American Monthly Review of Reviews* (New York) 22 (November 1900): 575–577, in Herbert Aptheker, ed., *Writings by W.E.B. Du Bois in Periodicals Edited by Others* (Millwood, N.Y., 1982), 1: 86–88, 86.

⁵⁵ Alexander Walters, Henry B. Brown, H. Sylvester Williams, and W. E. B. Du Bois, "To the Nations of the World" (1900), in W. E. B. Du Bois, *An ABC of Color: Selections Chosen by the Author from Over a Half Century of His Writings* (New York, 1969), 19–23, 20. That Du Bois wrote this document is attested to not only by Du Bois himself, but also by Alexander Waters, in *My Life and Work* (New York, 1917), 257.

the Paris and London conferences, as well as the members of the Tuskegee expedition to Togo, expressed different ethical and political views of European colonialism and the "Negro question," they all shared and disseminated the assumption that Africans and African Americans, because they were of the same "race," could enjoy similar social reforms, labor relations, and emancipation from white domination.

Influenced by the international misunderstandings of his 1895 address, Washington came to regard the New South, and especially its race relations, as a model for colonialism as much as a solution for the problems left by America's erstwhile "peculiar institution."⁵⁶ The newly transnational conception of the Negro, proclaimed in Paris and London and, as we shall see, worked out in theory and practice in German and other colonial circles, had exercised a reciprocal influence on the discourse in the United States. The international fame that Washington gained in Atlanta in 1895 by advising African Americans to "cast down your bucket where you are" gave him the opportunity to cast his own bucket around the world, from the Philippines to West Africa.⁵⁷ In the first decade of the twentieth century, he became an international authority on the racist politics of empire, the very politics he had privately disavowed in 1895 as the "wrong idea of my position." "[I]n the effort to solve the Negro problem by means of industrial education," he wrote in 1909, "we have succeeded in working out in this country a practical and useful method of dealing with other primitive races."⁵⁸ In 1914, he declared the southern states a model for colonial societies: "There are millions of Black people throughout the world," Washington explained to the Southern Sociological Conference. "Everywhere, especially in Europe, people are looking to us here in the South, Black and White, to show to the world how it is possible for two races, different in color, to live together on the same soil, under the same laws, and each race work out its salvation in justice to each other."⁵⁹ Washington had come to regard Tuskegee and the New South as models for colonial societies everywhere.

GERMAN COLONIAL INTERESTS seized on the New South ideology of the "Negro," available already in German social scientific writing, during the revival in fin-de-siècle Togo of earlier European attempts to develop African and other colonial cotton growing for the world market.⁶⁰ Many European powers had long hoped to break

⁵⁶ Edgar Gardner Murphy similarly offered the New South as a general model for imperialist race relations in "Ascendancy," chap. 11 in *The Basis of Ascendancy: A Discussion of Certain Principles of Public Policy Involved in the Development of the Southern States* (New York, 1909), 209–248, 222–223.

⁵⁷ Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., connects the internationalization of African American politics to the U.S. occupation of the Philippines, in which many African American soldiers served. See his *Black Americans and the White Man's Burden, 1898–1903* (Urbana, Ill., 1975). Booker T. Washington made a similar connection in Washington, N. B. Wood, and Fannie Barrier Williams, *A New Negro for a New Century: An Accurate and Up-to-Date Record of the Upward Struggles of the Negro Race* (Chicago, 1900).

⁵⁸ Booker T. Washington, "Relation of Industrial Education to National Progress," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 33, no. 1 (1909): 1–12, 8–9.

⁵⁹ Booker T. Washington, "The Southern Sociological Congress as a Factor for Social Welfare," in James E. McCulloch, ed., *Battling for Social Betterment: Southern Sociological Congress, Memphis, Tennessee, May 6–10, 1914* (Nashville, Tenn., 1914), 155–159, 158–159.

⁶⁰ Sven Beckert traces the turn to non-U.S. sources of cotton based on formally free labor to political and economic responses to the U.S. Civil War in "Emancipation and Empire: Reconstructing the World-

the U.S. monopoly on cotton fiber through what Germans called a “cotton *Kulturkampf* against America.”⁶¹ French colonists began promoting cotton growing in Senegal as early as 1817.⁶² In the 1840s, the East India Company brought cotton experts from Mississippi to India to transform cotton growing in the land that had first taught the world how to grow, spin, and weave the fiber.⁶³ In 1859–1860, Martin Delany traveled to Abeokuta, Yorubaland, to found a settlement of African Americans who, he promised, would improve cotton fiber exports, allowing Africans and African Americans to “enrich themselves, and regenerate their race.” Nothing came of this scheme.⁶⁴ In the nineteenth century, Egypt developed a fine, long-stapled cotton that has been used ever since to produce especially soft fabrics, but in quantities too limited to cover the massive needs of the European textile industry.⁶⁵ Colonial producers redoubled their efforts to increase colonial cotton exports during the cotton supply crisis caused by the U.S. Civil War, and growers from India to the region of the Slave Coast that would later become German Togo earned quick profits by selling to British merchants. All of these booms, however, turned to major busts for those Indians and Africans who had invested everything in cotton, as British manufacturers returned immediately after the war to the superior fiber supplied by American growers.⁶⁶

Driven at least in part by an interest in the New South, Germans concerned with Africa began increasingly to privilege the term “Negro” (*Neger*) over the older anthropological term “natural peoples” (*Naturvölker*) or the colonial term “natives” (*Eingeborenen*).⁶⁷ While Germans had used the term “Neger” even in the early nine-

wide Web of Cotton Production in the Age of the American Civil War,” *AHR* 109, no. 5 (December 2004): 1405–1438.

⁶¹ See “Deutsche Baumwolle,” *Tägliche Rundschau* (Berlin), February 27, 1913, BArch R8024/58, Bl. 86. Thaddeus Sunseri discusses this campaign in relation to Tanzania in “The *Baumwollfrage*: Cotton Colonialism in German East Africa,” *Central European History* 34 (2001): 31–51.

⁶² See Roberts, *Two Worlds of Cotton*.

⁶³ See Tarasankar Banerjee, “American Cotton Experiments in India and the American Civil War,” *Journal of Indian History* 37 (1969): 425–432, and K. L. Tuteja, “American Planters and the Cotton Improvement Programme in Bombay Presidency in Nineteenth Century,” *Indian Journal of American Studies* 28 (1998): 103–108. See also Arthur W. Silver, *Manchester Men and Indian Cotton, 1847–1872* (Manchester, 1966).

⁶⁴ See Martin R. Delany, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States; and, Official Report of the Niger Valley Exploring Party*, intro. by Toyin Falola (Amherst, N.Y., 2004), 298–299, 351–355. For an excellent account of this expedition, see James T. Campbell, “Redeeming the Race: Martin Delany and the Niger Valley Exploring Party, 1859–60,” *New Formations* 45 (Winter 2001–2002): 125–149. The Church Missionary Society already exported cotton from Abeokuta before Delany arrived. See Judith A. Byfield, *The Bluest Hands: A Social and Economic History of Women Dyers in Abeokuta (Nigeria), 1890–1940* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2002).

⁶⁵ For a good contemporary account by a German cotton expert, see Moritz Schanz, *Cotton in Egypt and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Manchester, 1913). See also W. Lawrence Balls, *The Cotton Plant in Egypt: Studies in Physiology and Genetics* (London, 1912).

⁶⁶ On the relation of this cotton economy to famine in India, see Laxman D. Satya, *Cotton and Famine in Berar, 1850–1900* (New Delhi, 1997). On the Indian cotton boom during the U.S. Civil War, see Frenise A. Logan, “India: Britain’s Substitute for American Cotton, 1861–65,” *Journal of Southern History* 24 (1958): 472–480, and Logan, “India’s Loss of the British Cotton Market after 1865,” *Journal of Southern History* 31 (1965): 40–50. On the export of cotton from precolonial Togo, see Ferdinand Goldberg (in Klein Popo) to the Foreign Office [Auswärtiges Amt], August 1, 1890 (copy), BArch R150, Togo National Archives (hereafter TNA) FA 1–332, Bl. 21–34, and Maier, “Persistence of Precolonial Patterns of Production,” 75.

⁶⁷ I treat the concept of “natural peoples” extensively in *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago, 2001). For an example of the new colonial discourse of improvement that displaced

teenth century, in early-twentieth-century colonial discourse it designated an individual capable of improvement, in contrast to the "natural person," who was doomed either to extinction or to a travestied approximation of civilization. German colonial reformers looked to Booker T. Washington and the Tuskegee Institute for guidance in what they called *Erziehung des Negers zur Arbeit*: "Teaching the Negro to Work."⁶⁸ The proponents of Tuskegee-style education in Togo, and later throughout Africa, hoped to make Africans just like U.S. "Negroes," only more so—more productive, more docile, more rational and free, and more obedient and constrained.⁶⁹ The concept of the "Negro" buttoned together a number of ideological discourses about race and ethnicity, free labor, and agricultural production in the United States, Africa, and Germany.

Direct imperialist intervention in Togolese relations of production began when the German Foreign Office learned in 1889 that inhabitants of the hinterland grew cotton, and that regional markets offered "very durable cotton cloth" but sold fiber at prices too high to make a profitable export trade.⁷⁰ The region that became German Togo had essentially been a no-man's-land between the Asante empire to the west and the kingdom of Dahomey to the east.⁷¹ The Ewe were the major ethnic

the old discourse of "natural peoples," see "Zum neuen Jahr," *Koloniale Rundschau* 2 (1910): 1–2. For a study relating anthropological conceptions of African Americans to legislation about race in the United States, see Lee D. Baker, *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896–1954* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998).

⁶⁸ The most striking evidence of this use of Washington is in the prefaces to the German translations of his works, all of which explicitly make the connection between Tuskegee and colonial development. See Vohsen, "Vorwort," in Washington, *Vom Sklaven Empor*; Johannes Wichern, "Vorwort," in Washington, *Charakterbildung: Sonntags-Ansprachen an die Zöglinge der Normal- und Gewerbeschule von Tuskegee*, trans. Estelle Du Bois-Reymond (Berlin, 1910), ix–xv; and Julius Richter, "Vorwort," in Washington, *Handarbeit: Fortsetzung des Buches "Sklaven Empor" und Schilderung der Erfahrungen des Verfassers bei dem gewerblichen Unterricht in Tuskegee*, trans. Estelle Du Bois-Reymond (Berlin, 1913), v–vi. German journals focusing on colonial policy and reform repeatedly invoked Booker T. Washington. See, for example, Hermann Gerhard, "Die Negerfrage in den Vereinigten Staaten," *Politisch-Anthropologische Revue* 5 (1906/1907): 268–281; Friedrich Wohltmann, "Neujahrsgedanken 1907," *Der Tropenpflanzer* 11 (1907): 1–13; Moritz Schanz, "Negererziehung in Nordamerika und Booker T. Washington," *Der Tropenpflanzer* 12 (1908): 214–226, 270–280; Schanz, "Die Negerfrage in Nordamerika," *Der Tropenpflanzer* 13 (1909): 573–585; and anon., "Amerikanische Neger über Negererziehung in Afrika," *Koloniale Rundschau* 1 (1909): 498. See also Anton Markmiller, "Die Erziehung des Negers zur Arbeit: Wie die koloniale Pädagogik afrikanische Gesellschaften in die Abhängigkeit führte (Berlin, 1995), and Fatima El-Tayeb, *Schwarze Deutsche: Der Diskurs um 'Rasse' und nationale Identität, 1890–1933* (Frankfurt, 2001).

⁶⁹ See, for example, Reichskolonialamt, *Die Baumwollfrage*, 94–96.

⁷⁰ Foreign Office to Eugen von Zimmerer, Kaiserliche Kommissar of Togo, Klein Popo, September 24, 1889, BArch R150, TNA FA 1–332, Bl. 1–2; Jesko von Puttkamer, Klein Popo, to Chancellor Bismarck, March 26, 1890, BArch R1001/8220, vol. 1, 1889–1899, Bl. 7–8.

⁷¹ On the role of the Asante empire in defining the Togo-Ghana border, see Marion Johnson, "Ashante East of the Volta," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 8 (1965): 33–39, and Paul Nugent, *Smugglers, Secessionists and Loyal Citizens on the Ghana-Togo Frontier: The Lie of the Borderlands since 1914* (Oxford, 2002). The best general histories of Togo are the volumes written by the department of history at the University of Lomé, Togo, under the direction of Nicoué Ladjou Gayibor: *Histoire des Togolais: Des Origines à 1884* (Lomé, 1997) and *Le Togo Sous Domination Coloniale (1884–1960)* (Lomé, 1997). See also the essays collected in François de Medeiros, ed., *Peuples du Golfe du Bénin: Aja-Ewe—Colloque de Cotonou* (Paris, 1984). By far the most in-depth account of German colonialism in Togo is the dissertation by Pierre Ali Napo, "Le Togo à l'époque allemande (1884–1914)," 5 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Sorbonne, 1995). For one-volume histories of Togo, see Ralph Erbar, *Ein Platz an der Sonne? Die Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der deutschen Kolonie Togo, 1884–1914* (Stuttgart, 1991); Knoll, *Togo under Imperial Germany*; and Peter Sebald, *Togo 1884–1914: Eine Geschichte der deutschen 'Musterkolonie' auf der Grundlage amtlicher Quellen* (Berlin, 1988).

group in the south of this region, which would produce the most cotton for export. The territory came to be known as “Togo” or “Togoland” when the German Gustav Nachtigal signed a “treaty of protection” with King Mlapa of Togoville, a village on the north shore of Lake Togo, on July 5, 1884, thus establishing an official German presence on the Slave Coast between the British sphere to the west and the French to the east. As the Germans extended their authority hundreds of miles into the hinterland, they preserved the name “Togo” for their territory and thus extended, by implication, the sovereignty that King Mlapa had signed over in 1884.

Germans hoped to improve the raw cotton exports of Togo by establishing what they called *Volkskultur* (literally, people’s agriculture) instead of European-run plantations. In reality, the only part of indigenous West African “culture” that the Germans wanted to preserve in what they defined as *Volkskultur* was the simple fact of cotton growing.⁷² Everything else—from the seeds used, to the techniques and relations of production in cotton growing, to the processing of the raw cotton—they hoped to banish from Togo.⁷³ Proponents of *Volkskultur* held that the advantages of commercial cotton farming were so self-evident that simply training Africans to be rational farmers would lead them to produce cotton for the world market of their own free will. The unspoken corollary of this assertion was that if African farmers refused to grow cotton, they would be forced to do so—forced, in a sense, to be free. Those involved in creating *Volkskultur* understood that capitalist farming, even under the guise of *Volkskultur*, required, in the words of one colonial official central to the Tuskegee cotton expedition, “gentle and even possibly strong pressure” from the state.⁷⁴ *Volkskultur* relies on a mistaken identity—the identification of freedom and coercion—that lies at the heart of every liberal and neoliberal understanding of the market. This mistaken identity of freedom and coercion was both supported and understood through a second mistaken identity, that of the Togolese *Volk*, whose *Kultur* (that is, agriculture and civilization) the German policy of *Volkskultur* would foster. German businesses and the German state identified this *Volk* not with any of the many ethnic groups of Togo, but rather with the racial concept “Negro.”⁷⁵ Defining the inhabitants of the Togo Protectorate as “Negroes” meant that the New South that German observers had come to admire could be extended directly into the region.

Booker T. Washington helped Germans import both American-style cotton and the New South concept of the “Negro” to Togo. Since 1889, German diplomatic personnel in the United States had gathered information about cotton growing for the Colonial Section of the Foreign Office and sought out American cotton experts

⁷² Historian Peter Sebald has argued that *Volkskultur* in Togo amounted to colonial domination little different from plantation agriculture, in that both shaped agricultural production to suit the political and economic demands of imperialism. Sebald is right, but his thesis risks burying the specific relations of production represented by *Volkskultur* in the larger fact of imperialist oppression and exploitation. See Sebald, *Togo*, esp. 437.

⁷³ On the competition between European and African textile manufacturers for raw materials and markets and the use of military violence in supporting the European industry, see especially Marion Johnson, “Cotton Imperialism in West Africa,” *African Affairs* 73 (1974): 178–187.

⁷⁴ Geo. A. Schmitt, Atakpame Station, to Imperial German Government of Togo, Lomé (hereafter Lomé Government), August 7, 1900, BArch R150, Togo National Archives FA 1–332, Bl. 111–118.

⁷⁵ Missionaries, by contrast, identified the ethnic groups, in part to privilege what they regarded as the incipient monotheism of the Ewe. See, for example, Jakob Spieth, *Die Religion der Eweer in Süd-Togo* (Göttingen, 1911).

to send to West Africa.⁷⁶ Baron von Herman himself contacted Washington in August of 1900 to "select for us two negro-cottonplanters and one negro-mechanic" to work in Togo for the Kolonialwirtschaftliches Komitee (Colonial-Economic Committee, hereafter KWK), an association of textile manufacturers that was working closely with the German state to develop African cotton exports. These three "negro" experts would "come over to said company's land . . . to teach the negroes there how to plant and harvest cotton in a rational and scientific way." Washington agreed to send "kindly disposed, respectful gentlemen" who would allay KWK fears that these "negro-planters might find some difficulties . . . in finding the necessary authority towards the native population and in having at the same time the necessary respect towards the German government official."⁷⁷ He sent three Tuskegee graduates, Allen L. Burks, Shepherd L. Harris, and John W. Robinson, under the leadership of a German-speaking Tuskegee faculty member, James N. Calloway.

The identity "Negro" played a contradictory role in German understandings of the expedition. As "Negroes" like the "Negroes" of Togo, Tuskegee personnel might have a better relation with their charges.⁷⁸ At the same time, these Tuskegee-educated African Americans represented a superior "Negro," whose example could improve the inhabitants of the Togo Protectorate. If the Tuskegee personnel were both like and unlike white colonizers, the Togolese whom they were supposed to teach to grow cotton were both already and not yet Negroes. The identity "Negro" was brought to Togo not only as a set of characteristics to be imposed on an unwilling population, but also as an impossible paradox: those identified as Negroes had to be forced to become what they were supposed already to be.

The Tuskegee expedition hoped to transform an economy already shaped by long-standing commercial relations among German and Ewe traders and a diffuse domestic division of labor that Germans and Americans regarded as economically and morally inferior to patriarchal monogamy.⁷⁹ Ewe women generally had their own houses and fields, which they farmed with the assistance of their dependent children. Several women shared a single husband, who lived separately from his wives. This

⁷⁶ Office of the Imperial Chancellor, Friedrichsruh, to Wirklichen Geheimen Legationsrath Herrn von Holstein, September 21, 1889, BArch R1001/8142, Bl. 14. See also the reports and newspaper clippings collected in subsequent volumes of this series on cotton, R1001/8142–8153. See also the consular reports on cotton in the United States sent to the Foreign Office itself, BArch R901/349–377.

⁷⁷ Herman to Washington, September 3, 1900, and Washington to Herman auf Wain, September 20, 1900, in Harlan, ed., *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, 5: 633–636, 639–642.

⁷⁸ The Colonial Section [Kolonialabteilung] of the German Foreign Office expressed the opinion in a marginal note that it found employing "colored young" personnel to train indigenous farmers in Togo "very practical," although it did not specify why. See KWK to Foreign Office, Colonial Section, October 11, 1900, BArch R1001/8221, Bl. 11–13. One of the founders of the KWK later explained that they chose Tuskegee personnel because they thought "the Negro would more easily influence their fellow tribesmen [*Stammesgenossen*] and would be better able to bear the climate." Otto Warburg, "German Colonies," in Wyndham R. Dunstan, *Report on the Present Position of Cotton Cultivation: Presented to the International Congress of Tropical Agriculture, Brussels, May 1910* (Paris, 1910), 261–278, 267–268.

⁷⁹ The best information on Ewe economics comes from works by Protestant missionaries. See especially Jakob Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme: Material zur Kunde des Ewe-Volkes in Deutsch-Togo* (Berlin, 1906), 55–64, 208–211, 356. Spieth collected most of his information in Ho, Togo. See also Diedrich Westermann, *Die Glidi-Ewe in Togo: Züge aus ihrem Gesellschaftsleben* (Berlin, 1935), 71–82. Westermann obtained the information for this book from Bonifatius Foli, an Ewe from Glidi in southeastern Togo. Heinrich Klose, "Industrie und Gewerbe in Togo," *Globus* 85 (1904): 69–73, 89–93, has good information on the Togolese textile industry. On early African-German commercial relations in Togo, see Hugo Zöllner, *Das Togoland und die Sklavenküste* (Berlin, 1885), 243.

left women time for farming, marketing, and craft production. Women dominated the Ewe side of the trade with German merchant houses, which consisted primarily of exchanges of palm kernels and oil for European manufactured goods, tobacco, and liquor. Children also had significant economic independence; they could own their own cattle and were generally permitted to sell or keep at least some of the products of their labor. Still, mothers could expect their unmarried daughters to work in their households, and their sons to transfer wealth to them in the form of gifts. Fathers could get cash for their own agricultural or craft production, but they could also put up a wife or child as collateral on a loan, the terms of which required that the human "collateral" work a specified number of days for the creditor.⁸⁰ Husbands, for their part, had to provide their wives with economically significant gifts if they hoped to enjoy their companionship and care, for women's economic independence and separate residences did not allow for constant coercion.⁸¹ Despite the personal autonomy that Ewe households afforded their members, the authority of parents over children and husbands over wives bound families together in ways that also allowed for economic coercion and cooperation.

German economic activity in Togo had a differential impact on the economic activity of women, men, and children.⁸² Cotton textiles formed an important part of the household division of labor in southern Togo.⁸³ Only women grew cotton, which they ginned and spun by hand with the assistance of their children. Men sometimes

⁸⁰ On human collateral, see Heinrich Seidel, "Pfandwesen und Schuldhaft in Togo: Nach den Erhebungen im Missionsbezirke Amedschovhe dargestellt," *Globus* 79 (1901): 309–313. Beverly Grier studies similar economic arrangements in Ghana in "Pawns, Porters, and Petty Traders: Women in the Transition to Cash Crop Agriculture in Colonial Ghana," *Signs* 17 (1992): 304–328. On Ewe economics and the gender division of labor in the relatively exceptional city of Anlo, Ghana, see Sandra E. Greene, *Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Change on the Upper Slave Coast: A History of the Anlo Ewe* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1996).

⁸¹ This female independence both intrigued and disturbed the missionary's wife, Anna Knüßli. See her *Afrikanisches Frauenleben wie ich es in Togo gesehen habe*, *Bremer Missionsschriften*, vol. 19 (Bremen, 1907).

⁸² The links between Ewe households and the political economy of imperialism suggest that Claude Meillassoux was correct to see an articulation between household and capitalist modes of production, but also that he should have emphasized the dynamic interaction of the two modes. See especially his *Maidens, Meal and Money* (1975; repr., Cambridge, 1981). On the relations of household transformations, the gendered division of labor, and the political economy of imperialism, see Ester Boserup's classic *Woman's Role in Economic Development* (New York, 1970), and more recently Jean Marie Allman and Victoria Tashjian, "I Will Not Eat Stone": *A Women's History of Colonial Asante* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2000); John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, vol. 1: *Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago, 1991) and especially vol. 2: *The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* (Chicago, 1997); Jane I. Guyer, "Household and Community in African Studies," *African Studies Review* 24 (1981): 87–137; Nancy Rose Hunt, *A Colonial Lexicon of Birth Ritual, Medicalization, and Mobility in the Congo* (Durham, N.C., 1999); Karen Tranberg Hansen, ed., *African Encounters with Domesticity* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1992); Diana Jeater, *Marriage, Perversion, and Power: The Construction of Moral Discourse in Southern Rhodesia, 1894–1930* (Oxford, 1993); Lisa A. Lindsay and Stephan F. Miescher, eds., *Men and Masculinities in Modern Africa* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2003); Henrietta L. Moore and Megan Vaughan, *Cutting Down Trees: Gender, Nutrition and Agricultural Change in the Northern Province of Zambia, 1890–1990* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1994); M. Anne Pitcher, "Conflict and Cooperation: Gendered Roles and Responsibilities within Cotton Households in Northern Mozambique," *African Studies Review* 39 (1996): 81–112; and Vaughan, *The Story of an African Famine*.

⁸³ Colleen Kriger shows how ethnographic accounts of cotton textile production have overlooked women's work by failing to consider the household in "Economy, Society and Material Culture in Nigeria: Textile Production and Gender in the Sokoto Caliphate," *Journal of African History* 34 (1993): 361–401. Women were especially burdened by the coercive cotton drives of Mozambique, while men were forced into cane fields, as Leroy Vail and Landeg White argue in "'Tawani, Machambero!' Forced Cotton and Rice Growing on the Zambezi," *Journal of African History* 19 (1978): 239–263.

did help women pick cotton, but they neither grew nor spun it. Women sold yarn to weavers, all of whom were male, and from whom they in turn bought cloth. While cheap English fabric did not compete well with the sturdier and more luxurious local weaves, chemically dyed yarn gradually pushed out the products of local spinners. The Ewe, like many West African textile producers, dyed yarn with locally grown indigo, a time-consuming and labor-intensive process that made it difficult for African spinners to compete successfully with their European counterparts.⁸⁴ This shift to yarn supplied by American growers and European spinners struck at an important source of Ewe women's income, while leaving male weavers relatively unaffected.

Ewe men gained new economic opportunities under German rule, even as their wives and daughters saw their economic opportunities shrink. With the growth of the state and the mercantile economy, men with little property or education could earn as much in wages from a day carrying goods as they could from the produce of one or even two weeks of farming.⁸⁵ Mission schools throughout West Africa had long provided young men with opportunities for economic advancement within the institutions of European power and with personal autonomy from domestic authorities.⁸⁶ The academic instruction these schools offered gave men the skills necessary to become clerks for merchant houses or government offices. Some also offered training in skilled trades that similarly gave young men greater personal and economic autonomy than did labor within agricultural households. One Togolese teacher at a mission school expressed a common view when he complained that his students "see school as a form of protection from fieldwork. They believe they can laze about here undisturbed, protected from their fathers, who want to take them along to the field."⁸⁷ In fact, white-collar or skilled work, in Togo as elsewhere, offered higher wages and personal freedom than farming did. Students left the fields and entered the schools not because they were lazy, but rather because they desired wealth and independence, and perhaps in hopes of becoming one of the Ewe "dandies" and "gentlemen" who marked the urban environment of Lomé.⁸⁸ Many

⁸⁴ See Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*, 404–406.

⁸⁵ James N. Calloway, "Tuskegee Cotton-Planters in Africa," *Outlook* 70 (March 29, 1902): 772–776.

⁸⁶ The question of whether West African education should have trained farmers and craftsmen rather than clerks continued even after the end of colonialism. I find the account by Philip Foster, *Education and Social Change in Ghana* (Chicago, 1965), most persuasive. See also Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, Africa—A Study in the Ecology of Higher Education* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), and C. K. Graham, *The History of Education in Ghana from the Earliest Times to the Declaration of Independence* (London, 1971). Stephanie Newell demonstrates that academic education did not function merely as vocational education for clerks, but also allowed for the emergence of a genuine literary culture; Newell, *Literary Culture in Colonial Ghana: "How to Play the Game of Life"* (Bloomington, Ind., 2002). West Africans did far more with their literary education than seek white-collar jobs, as Robert W. July makes clear in *Origins of Modern African Thought: Its Development in West Africa during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New York, 1967). Africans could also use industrial education to challenge the imperialist aims of missionaries. See Carol Summers, *Colonial Lessons: Africans' Education in Southern Rhodesia, 1918–1940* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2002). See also T. O. Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism: A Socio-Historical Study of an East African Mission at the Grassroots* (Bloomington, Ind., 1982). Education also played varying roles in the domestic relations between men and women. See Summers and the contrasting case of the Belgian Congo presented by Gertrude Mianda in "Colonialism, Education, and Gender Relations in the Belgian Congo: The Évolué Case," in Jean Allman, Susan Geiger, and Nakanyike Musisi, eds., *Women in African Colonial Histories* (Bloomington, Ind., 2002), 144–163.

⁸⁷ Teveril Dzansi, Dzokpe, "Wie haben wir uns gegen neu eintretende Schüler zu verhalten?" Archives of the Norddeutsche Missionsgesellschaft, Staatsarchiv Bremen (hereafter NDM), 31/3.

⁸⁸ See the interview with Martin Aku from Lomé in Diedrich Westermann, *Afrikaner erzählen ihr Leben* (Essen, 1938), 337–405. Mission educators also noted that upward mobility depended on learning

Germans expressed contempt for such men, whom they derided as “black fops” or “trouser-niggers,” but of course the functioning of local government and merchant houses depended on such white-collar blacks.⁸⁹

Missionaries, colonial officials, and the members of the Tuskegee expedition all sought to impose bourgeois domestic ideals to correct what they regarded as a crisis in the Ewe household. One African missionary teacher explained that “Blacks cannot bring up their children” because women in female-dominated households became “the *Herr* [both master and man] over the children” and undermined paternal authority.⁹⁰ Even though many African and European observers worried that women had too much domestic and economic power, transformations brought about by German rule, as we have seen, in fact limited the economic opportunities of women more than those of men or male children. German colonial officials and Tuskegee personnel sought neither to restore and preserve Ewe households nor to liberate Africans from the confines of the household. Rather, they tried to impose a patriarchal monogamous household on Ewe men, women, and children. They wanted to wreck not only the economic activities of women and children, but also those of the supposedly dominant male, who would become a peasant farmer rather than a clerk, an urban dandy, or at least a better-paid porter.

From the moment the four members of the Tuskegee expedition landed at Lomé, Togo, on December 30, 1900, they began working closely with German efforts to destroy Togolese economic autonomy and impose these patriarchal households. The government first directed the expedition to Tove, a collection of six villages about sixty miles inland. Tove would have been a poor choice had the goal of the expedition been restricted to encouraging already existing cotton cultivation. Unlike most of southern Togo, Tove had no significant textile industry; it had long been a major center of pottery production, an industry, like cotton growing and spinning elsewhere, that was dominated by women.⁹¹ As German explorer Heinrich Klose observed the year before the Tuskegee expedition arrived, the people of Tove had been relatively immune from foreign competition because, unlike textiles, ceramic pottery was too heavy and fragile to be shipped cheaply from Europe to compete with the local industry.⁹²

The people of Tove had also long been politically independent from both Germans and other Ewe polities. They had refused to fight against the Asante in the 1874 war, and even permitted the invaders to reside in their villages for several months during the conflict.⁹³ In 1888, Curt von François, perhaps the first German government official to visit Tove, found the inhabitants there “less friendly” than those in

reading and writing. See Spiess and Poppinga, Stationskonferenz Ho, Bemerkungen zu Schossers Vorschläge, March 1908, NDM, 39/4.

⁸⁹ For example, see Heinrich Klose, *Togo unter deutscher Flagge* (Berlin, 1899), 171, 257, and Hans Gruner's Nazi-era Memo on Togo, April 14, 1938, BArch R1001/4308, Bl. 186–193.

⁹⁰ Robert Klu, Waya, “Warum können die Schwarzen ihre Kinder nicht erziehen?” September 18, 1909, NDM, 31/3.

⁹¹ On Tove, see Carl Spiess, “Die Landschaft Tove bei Lome in Togo,” *Deutsche Geographische Blätter* 25 (1902): 75–79.

⁹² Klose, *Togo unter deutscher Flagge*, 162.

⁹³ Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*, 33–34.

other areas, complaining that they fired rifles in the direction of his tent.⁹⁴ The area around Tove did not come under German political domination until an 1894–1895 expedition led by Hans Gruner and Lieutenant Ernst von Carnap.⁹⁵ The two carried out “punitive expeditions” and exemplary executions to establish German hegemony in the region. In 1895, a minor skirmish (which originated when people in Tove mocked a German botanist) escalated into a small war that had Germans in the hinterland partially cut off for a short time. Gruner used the conflict as an occasion to burn five of the six villages, destroy the local pottery industry, kill about thirty individuals, wound many more, and require tribute from the survivors.⁹⁶ His troops reportedly decapitated their victims and shipped the heads to Germany.⁹⁷ Thanks to these actions, German merchants were able to establish stations in the area around Tove for the first time. For years after the uprising, the destruction was still evident in the area, with collapsing, empty houses and shattered pottery strewn along the main road. The inhabitants of Tove remained hostile to Germans, but they tended to hide in the bush rather than openly confront their invaders.⁹⁸

Less than six years after the German conquest of Tove, Calloway, Robinson, Burks, and Harris arrived in the area. Hans Gruner, the officer responsible for the 1895 massacre, commanded the nearby Misahöhe Station and was one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the Tuskegee expedition.⁹⁹ Because there were no draft animals to pull the expedition’s wagons of cotton seed and agricultural implements from Lomé, porters had to pull the wagons themselves. Washington twisted this incident into an illustration of the backwardness of Africans who had not yet received the benefits of Tuskegee-style education. He rendered the episode increasingly absurd and insulting with each retelling, until he finally had the Togolese disassembling the wagons and carrying them on their heads because they had never seen wheels.¹⁰⁰ The four Tuskegee pioneers set up a model plantation of at least seventy-five acres, leased mostly from the king of Tove.¹⁰¹ Gruner had local political leaders recruit two hundred men, women, and children to work the Tuskegee fields at a wage meager even by colonial standards.¹⁰² All twenty-two oxen and twenty-two horses sent to

⁹⁴ Curt von François, *Ohne Schuß durch dick und dünn: Erste Erforschung des Togohinterlandes*, ed. Götz von François (Esch-Waldems, 1972), 19. This book is based on François’s travel journals.

⁹⁵ For a brief history of this expedition by a contemporary German, see Moritz Schanz, *West-Afrika* (Berlin, 1903), 298–299.

⁹⁶ See Hans Gruner, Report on “Tove-Unruhen,” April 1, 1895, K. 7, Mapped 34, Nachlass 250 (Hans Gruner), Staatsbibliothek Berlin (hereafter NL Gruner), 5–7, and Klose, *Togo unter deutscher Flagge*, 166–167. In 1974, Marion Johnson reported: “People still tell in Togo of the smashing of local pottery to create a market for the German imported hardware—and show the broken potsherds to prove it.” Johnson, “Cotton Imperialism in West Africa,” *African Affairs* 73 (1974): 178–187, 184.

⁹⁷ F. M. Zahn (Bremen) to Foreign Office, Colonial Section, November 8, 1895, sending “Kwittah Terrible Revelations,” *Gold Coast Chronicle*, July 26, 1895, 3, BArch R1001/4307, Bl. 65–66. German anthropologists did, in fact, successfully encourage such battlefield trophy-taking to augment metropolitan scientific collections. See my *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, chap. 7.

⁹⁸ Spiess, “Die Landschaft Tove bei Lome in Togo,” 75, and Klose, *Togo unter deutscher Flagge*, 163.

⁹⁹ On the importance of Gruner to the expedition, see Calloway (Misahöhe) to KWK, January 11, 1901 (copy), BArch R1001/8221, Bl. 37.

¹⁰⁰ See Booker T. Washington, *The Story of the Negro: The Rise of the Race from Slavery* (1909; repr., New York, 1969), 1: 37–38.

¹⁰¹ See Calloway to KWK, March 12, 1901 (Copy), BArch R1001/8221, Bl. 51.

¹⁰² The wage paid to the employees of the expedition at Tove ranged between 8 and 16 percent of what the expedition had paid its porters. See Calloway, “Tuskegee Cotton-Planters in Africa,” and KWK, *Baumwoll-Expedition nach Togo: Bericht 1901*, BArch R901/351.



FIGURE 1: Togolese men pulling wagons of cotton, n.d. The wagon covers bear the initials "KWK" for *Kolonialwirtschaftliches Komitee*, the organization that sponsored the Tuskegee expedition to Togo. Because of the difficulty of keeping draft animals alive in Togo, humans were often required to take their place on animal-drawn farm equipment. Ironically, the progress of Togolese cotton production could involve a regression of humans to the work roles of animals. *Staatsarchiv Bremen*, reproduced by permission of the *Norddeutsche Missionsgesellschaft*.

Tove soon died of sleeping sickness. So deep was the Tuskegee commitment to introducing plows into African agriculture that when there were no draft animals available, rather than return to the familiar hoe, Calloway had the Tove employees hitch themselves to plows to prepare the fields. In the name of progress and racial uplift, Tuskegee personnel placed Africans in the position of animals.¹⁰³ This was not merely economic exploitation, but also a visible sign of the political submission of Tove to the German state and to the Tuskegee mission.

In fact, Africans yoked like draft animals to wagons, plows, cotton presses, and other equipment marked many Tuskegee agricultural "improvements." (See Figure 1.) The Tuskegee program for Africa, like many German and other European plans, centered around introducing animal-powered equipment into African agriculture, especially shifting African farming from the hoe to the plow.¹⁰⁴ (See Figure 2.) For many imperialist observers, plows had more than just the apparently obvious advantage over hoes of increasing the efficiency with which fields could be prepared. Many hoped that men would carry out plow agriculture and thus end the agricultural employment of women and children, leading to male-dominated, monogamous do-

¹⁰³ See Calloway, "Tuskegee Cotton-Planters in Africa."

¹⁰⁴ A French commentator who would later be a leading member of the *Association Cotonnière Coloniale* attributed the Tuskegee-Togo expedition's single-minded preference for plows over hand tools to American technophilia. In fact, the obsession with moving from hoe to plow was, and still is, a common feature of many agricultural development schemes. See Emile Baillaud, "Cultivation of Cotton in Western Africa," *Journal of the African Society* 2 (1902-1903): 132-148.



FIGURE 2: Tove cotton field, 1905. This photograph was shot at one of the rare times when the Tuskegee expedition had living draft animals healthy enough to pull plows. Normally, tsetse flies ensured that Togolese employees or students did the work of draft animals. The figure in khaki and sun helmet in the center may be one of the members of the Tuskegee expedition. While the expedition had already moved to Notsé at the time this photograph was shot, Tove continued as an experimental cotton farm and seed production center throughout the German colonial period. Staatsarchiv Bremen, reproduced by permission of the Norddeutsche Missionsgesellschaft.

mesticity.¹⁰⁵ Using plows also would require Africans to care for draft animals, which, reformers thought, would encourage greater personal responsibility.¹⁰⁶ Although tsetse flies quickly killed off draft animals in Togo, as in many other regions of tropical Africa, introducing plows and other animal-driven farm equipment remained the principal goal of Tuskegee interventions in African agriculture, even if this meant treating Africans themselves as draft animals. The image of African men yoked to plows like oxen in the name of progressive farming presents the sort of negative modernity highlighted by Franz Kafka's "Metamorphosis": the technocratic civili-

¹⁰⁵ For descriptions of, and complaints about, Togolese agriculture, see Ferdinand Goldberg (in Klein Popo) to the Foreign Office, August 1, 1890 (copy), BArch R150, TNA, FA 1-332, Bl. 21-34; Unsigned Report about cotton growing, n.d. (ca. 1904), BArch R150, TNA, FA 1-89, Bl. 8-57; "Bericht Regierungsrat Dr. Busse über die pflanzenpathologische Expedition nach Kamerun und Togo 1904/05," n.d. (ca. 1905), BArch R150, TNA, FA 1-326, Bl. 129-138; "Bericht über die Ackerbauschule Nuatjä für das Berichtsjahr 1908/09," BArch R1001/6543; Pape to Lomé Government, August 19, 1909, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1-388, Bl. 72-73.

¹⁰⁶ Eduard Hahn was the most important German academic authority on the civilizational advantages of plows over hoes. See his *Die Entstehung der Pflugkultur (unsres Ackerbaus)* (Heidelberg, 1909). For an even more direct recommendation by the KWK to introduce plows into Africa in order to make the "Negroes" there as efficient as farmers in the United States, as well as a discussion of the moral implications of plow use, see Otto Warburg, "Einführung der Pflugkultur in den deutschen Kolonien," *Verhandlungen des Kolonial-Wirtschaftlichen Komitees* (1906), 4-9. See also Karl Supf, "Deutsch-koloniale Baumwoll Unternehmungen, Bericht VII (Frühjahr 1906)," *Der Tropenpflanzer* 10 (1906): 355-369, and Otto Warburg, "Ergebnisse und Aussichten der kolonialen Landwirtschaft," *Der Tropenpflanzer* 10 (1906): 1-15.

zation designed to improve humans in fact places them in the position of animals. This image was no ironic reversal of good intentions, but rather a parapraxis indicating a truth that no one at the time was willing to speak: the Tuskegee expedition, like many imperialist development programs, ended up dominating those people it was charged with helping, not in spite of, but precisely by means of, its failure to achieve the results it claimed it sought.¹⁰⁷

Both Booker T. Washington and the KWK had initially hoped that the original four members of the expedition would be joined by additional African American settlers who would inspire Togolese farmers by their good example. Four additional Tuskegee graduates, one accompanied by his wife, did arrive in Togo in 1902, but two of the men drowned while trying to land in the rough surf.¹⁰⁸ The survivors—Walter Bryan, Horace Griffin, and Griffin's wife—set up farms near Tove. It is unlikely that these Tuskegee cotton farms inspired anybody in Togo to follow their example: the Griffins could not get anyone to work for them, and Bryan could not get American cotton varieties to grow at all.¹⁰⁹ John Robinson introduced and bred new cotton seeds that would produce industrial-grade cotton fiber in Togo, which expedition members and German officials distributed gratis to growers throughout the protectorate. Tuskegee personnel and German officials encouraged cotton monoculture until they realized that cotton grew better in Togo when interplanted with corn, as was commonly done by local farmers.¹¹⁰ Government purchasers bought cotton at markets set up in every district in the colony at prices that were apparently high enough to attract cotton from some Gold Coast growers.¹¹¹ Still, the German government forbade the export of cotton to the Gold Coast, so that all cotton grown in Togo was ginned in Tove and then sent, via Lomé merchants, to Europe.¹¹² The Tuskegee expedition did manage to triple the cotton exports of Togo in its first two

¹⁰⁷ For an excellent account of how development succeeds (in producing domination) by failing (to achieve its stated goals), see James Ferguson, *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development," Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho* (1990; repr., Minneapolis, 1994). For a more explicitly psychoanalytic analysis of success through failure, see the analysis of ostensibly socialist education in Yugoslavia by Renata Salecl, "Deference to the Great Other: The Discourse of Education," in Bracher et al., *Lacanian Theory of Discourse*, 163–175.

¹⁰⁸ On the drowning, see James N. Calloway to Booker T. Washington, May 8, 1902, in Harlan, *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, 6: 455–456.

¹⁰⁹ Geo. A. Schmidt, District Officer of Atakpame, to Lomé Government, November 10, 1902 (copy), BArch R1001/8222, vol. 2, Bl. 15–22.

¹¹⁰ For a description of Togolese intercropping, see "Bericht über die Ackerbauschule Nuatjä für das Berichtsjahr 1908/09" (n.d.), BArch R1001/6543. As Paul Richards has written, "Intercropping . . . is one of the great glories of African science. It is to African agriculture as polyrhythmic drumming is to African music and carving to African art." Richards, "Ecological Change and the Politics of African Land Use," 27.

¹¹¹ N. M. Penzer, *Cotton in British West Africa, Including Togoland and the Cameroons* (London, 1920), 22.

¹¹² On the activities and results of the Tuskegee work at Tove, see Cotton Expedition, Tove, circular to Misahöhe, Atakpame, Kete-Kretsch, Basari-Sokode Stations, June 15, 1901, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–332, Bl. 121–124; KWK, telegram to Lomé Government, November 12, 1901, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–332, Bl. 119; Karl Supf, KWK, to Colonial Section of the Foreign Office, November 15, 1901 (copy), BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–332, Bl. 130; James Calloway, "Inspektion der Baumwollfarmen und Baumwollmärkte" and "Bericht des Kolonial-Wirtschaftlichen Komitees," in *Bericht II: Deutsch-koloniale Baumwoll-Unternehmungen 1902/03*, Supplement to *Tropenpflanzer* 4 (1903): 82–89; "Baumwoll-Expedition nach Togo," *Verhandlungen des Kolonial-Wirtschaftlichen Komitees*, January 22, 1903, 12–16. On the seed distribution and price supports, see Smend, Misahöhe Station, and Martin, Kpandu Mission, Memo, September 21, 1903 (copy), BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–332, Bl. 194–195.

years at Tove, both through the products of its own plantations and farms and by purchasing cotton from African smallholders.¹¹³

Washington, the Tuskegee personnel in Togo, and German colonial officials all imagined that cotton *Volkskultur* would introduce a patriarchal, monogamous domesticity to Togo. Gruner explained to a meeting of local political notables and missionaries that growing cotton would improve family life by allowing a man to make a living as a “free farmer on his own plot, at home with his family.” Men would no longer have to travel long distances to earn money as day laborers or porters, and “the women would cease to ramble around.” “Orderly family relations,” Gruner concluded, “could take hold.”¹¹⁴ In 1906, Danella Foote, who had married John Robinson during his brief leave in the United States, joined the wife of Horace Griffin in exercising what Calloway and Washington both regarded as a positive moral influence on Togolese women.¹¹⁵ These Tuskegee wives supposedly gave Togolese women housekeeping tips and inspired them to become “better consumers.”¹¹⁶ According to Washington, by 1904, inhabitants of Tove observed the Sabbath and went to church in holiday attire. Their houses, according to Washington, had proper beds, shutters, doors, and bathrooms, so that their inhabitants no longer bathed in public view.¹¹⁷ Of course, women in Togo continued to grow and sell cotton and likely contributed significantly to the increasing exports of the fiber from the protectorate. (See Figure 3.) The Germans did, however, manage to impede some women’s industries, such as spinning and pottery, and did force some men to grow cotton. They imagined that this would result in cultural transformations that would bring the normal bourgeois Christian family to Togo. Indeed, their actions may have revealed an uncomfortable truth about the normal bourgeois Christian family. Germans could call this attempt to radically restructure the Togolese economy *Volkskultur* only because they identified Africans with the imaginary “Negroes” concocted by New South ideologues—inherently pathological agents requiring outside force to become what they supposedly had always, essentially, been.

IN 1904, THE EXPEDITION’S ORGANIZERS abandoned their original plans for Tuskegee graduates to settle in Togo as exemplary “Negro” cotton farmers. Instead, one of the Tuskegee members, John Robinson, would set up a cotton school to train selected Togolese to serve as examples to their countrymen. The German state located this new cotton school in Notsé (the German colonial name was Nuatjä). Tove remained

¹¹³ Figures on Togo’s cotton output are from Dunstan, *Report on the Present Position of Cotton Cultivation*, 46–47. On cotton purchasing and export regulations, see Smend and Martin, Missionar, Kpandu, Memo, September 21, 1903 (Copy), BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–332, Bl. 194–195.

¹¹⁴ Minutes of Meeting of Gruner with Chiefs of the District, Missionary Schosser, two teachers from Mission Agu, and five teachers from the Catholic mission, Misahöhe Station, April 15, 1904, BArch R1001/8222, Bl. 140–141.

¹¹⁵ On Danella Foote, see John W. Robinson, “A Tuskegee Graduate in West Africa,” *Colored American Magazine* 10, no. 5 (May 1906): 355–359.

¹¹⁶ Calloway, “Inspektion der Baumwollfarmen und Baumwollmärkte,” 113.

¹¹⁷ Booker T. Washington, *Working with the Hands* (1904; repr., New York, 1969), 226–320; Washington, “The African at Home,” chap. 3 in *The Story of the Negro*, 6: 36–56. See also Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Negro in the South: His Economic Progress in Relation to His Moral and Religious Development* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1907), 33–36.



FIGURE 3: Market day in Notsé, 1906. The man posing near the center of the photograph may be a buyer employed by the German government as part of the Tuskegee cotton program. Even in Notsé, which had become the center of Tuskegee efforts in 1904, women still dominated cotton marketing. In all likelihood, much of the cotton sold here was grown by these women, a gendered division of labor that Tuskegee personnel and the German government hoped to change. Staatsarchiv Bremen, reproduced by permission of the Norddeutsche Missionsgesellschaft.

a KWK experimental farm, and in 1912 it became a specialized seed production and distribution center.¹¹⁸ Calloway and the remaining Tuskegee graduates returned to the United States, leaving Robinson in charge of the new school.¹¹⁹

Locating the Tuskegee cotton school at Notsé, like stationing the expedition at Tove, attacked prior Ewe history and identity to clear the way for the imposition of the new identity “Negro.” More than fifteen years earlier, in 1888, the North German missionary E. Bürgi had found that the people of Notsé, a group of seven villages, had had little prior contact with Europeans or with other Ewe. The locals had welcomed Bürgi and his Ewe porters, but the missionary found the king of Notsé so

¹¹⁸ See “Jahresbericht der Saatvermehrungstelle Tove-Glekovhe für die Zeit vom 20. Februar–31. Dezember 1912,” December 31, 1912 (copy), BArch R1001/8226, Bl. 7–9. Under the French, the agricultural school reopened at Tove, and it remains in operation today.

¹¹⁹ Technically, Calloway was replaced with a white official, and Robinson was made an assistant to this official. In practice this amounted to replacing Calloway with Robinson as head of the Tuskegee expedition. See the minutes of the conference at the Agu plantation of the German Togo Company, March 31, 1903 (copy), BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–332, Bl. 142–147, 151–155. John Robinson, “Sonderbericht der Versuchsstation Tove,” in *Bericht II: Deutsch-koloniale Baumwoll-Unternehmungen 1902/03*, Supplement (*Beiheft*) to *Tropenpflanzer* 4 (1903): 90–109. On Robinson, see Julius Zech, Governor of Togo to KWK, August 22, 1904, in “Deutsch-koloniale Baumwoll-Unternehmungen: Sonderbericht über die Baumwollschule in Nuatschä,” BArch R1001/8673, 3–5, and in BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–363, Bl. 22–37. See also Robinson, “Cotton Growing in Africa,” in Booker T. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee and Its People: Their Ideals and Achievements* (1905; repr., Freeport, N.Y., 1971), 184–199.

"shamelessly beggarly" that he fled after only one day of preaching.¹²⁰ As late as 1891, Bürgi still seemed to be the only German who had recently visited Notsé, and he did not attribute any special significance to the area.¹²¹ By the turn of the twentieth century, however, it became widely known among Germans in Togo that the Ewe all traced their historical origins to an exodus from the sadistic rule of a King Agokoli of Notsé.¹²² In Togo today, an annual Ewe cultural festival draws visitors to Notsé every September, and parts of Agokoli's palace and the city wall have been excavated and reconstructed.

King Agokoli of Notsé, probably in the sixteenth century, sought to aggrandize his power, bypassing the mediating roles of his royal counselors and forcing his people to perform cruel and difficult tasks, including building a wall around the city. Versions of the history collected in 1914 by Hans Gruner himself had Agokoli hiding spikes in the ground to lacerate the feet of pedestrians, so that their blood would soak the earth to make mud for the walls.¹²³ He also had all the Notsé elders killed, fearing that they would lead a popular uprising against him. To escape the tyranny of Agokoli, women agreed to empty washing and cooking basins on a specific place on the earthen wall, softening it until it could be breached in the dark of night. The Ewe fled throughout the region between the Mono and Volta rivers, settling down into independent states that all traced their origin to Notsé. By beginning their history with an exodus from a walled city, from an absolute authority, and from submission to the labor demands of others, the Ewe understood themselves as a society marked by local, familial, and individual independence.¹²⁴ Ewe households, as we have seen, also reflected this dispersed political organization. Ewe historical memory ran counter to the despotism of state formation, capital accumulation, and patriarchal monogamy. The German colonial state and the Tuskegee expedition would send Ewe back to Notsé not only to train them to grow cotton, but also to transform them into "Negroes," subject to the new Agokoli of colonial capitalism.

Every district in the colony, not only in Ewe territory, was required to send stu-

¹²⁰ E. Bürgi, "Reisen an der Togoküste und im Ewegebiet," *Dr. A. Petermanns Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt* 34 (1888): 233–237. Sandra Greene cites an 1877 account by a North German missionary that describes the history of Notsé. From my own research, however, it appears that neither Bürgi nor the German administration realized the city's significance before the twentieth century. See Sandra E. Greene, "Notsie Narratives: History, Memory and Meaning in West Africa," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 101 (2002): 1015–1041.

¹²¹ E. Bürgi to "Hochgeehrter Herr Inspektor," November 26, 1891, NDM, 41/4.

¹²² See, for example, Carl Spiess, "Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Ewe-Volkes in Togo: Seine Auswanderung aus Notse," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* 5 (1902): 278–283. For a recent Togolese account, see Nicoué Lodjou Gayibor, "Le remodelage des traditions historiques: La légende d'Agokoli, Roi de Notse," in Claude-Hélène Perrot, ed., *Sources orales de l'histoire de l'Afrique* (Paris, 1989), 209–215. Both Sandra Greene and Birgit Meyer point to how missionaries attempted to unify the Ewe by, among other things, standardizing the Ewe language and emphasizing Notsé as the origin of all Ewe. The German colonial officials and the Tuskegee personnel who set up the cotton school at Notsé accepted this narrative, as did their Ewe informants. See Sandra E. Greene, *Sacred Sites and the Colonial Encounter* (Bloomington, Ind., 2002); Greene, "Notsie Narratives"; and Birgit Meyer, "Christianity and the Ewe Nation: German Pietist Missionaries, Ewe Converts and the Politics of Culture," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 32 (2002): 167–199.

¹²³ Gruner, "Wissenschaftliche Notizen (Geschichte)," January 12, 1914–February 7, 1914; February 15, 1914–March 26, 1914; April 18, 1914–July 17, 1914, NL Gruner, K. 8, no. 42.

¹²⁴ F. Agbodeka, "The Origins of the Republic Idea in Eweland: The North Western Region," in Medeiros, *Peuples du Golfe du Bénin*, 159–162.

dents to the Notsé cotton school¹²⁵ to learn what the school's supporters regarded as rational and free farming: rational because it was male-dominated plow monoculture of cotton; free because it was motivated by market incentives. Students were to spend three years learning about "rational agricultural implements" (especially plows), draft animals, natural fertilizers, crop rotation, and cotton seed selection.¹²⁶ Once the school had been in operation long enough to have several classes at different levels, Robinson set up an instructional hierarchy. He trained the first- and second-year students to use agricultural implements, especially the plow, and taught them about fertilizer, plant varieties, and pest control on several large common fields. The school gave each of the third-year students a personal plot where they could spend about a third of their time, keeping any profits they earned. The first-year students served as field hands and apprentice farmers on these personal plots. Advanced students thus gained experience managing farm employees, teaching agricultural skills, and responding to market pressures.¹²⁷

Education was a central issue in colonial domination and resistance in Togo, not only because Germans sought to control and exploit African labor through agricultural education, but also because many Togolese sought to escape both the imperial race-class hierarchy and African domestic hierarchies through the academic education offered at mission schools. The Tuskegee school in Notsé, to a far greater extent than Washington's own Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, scrupulously avoided any instruction that might appear to give the students academic qualifications. Washington endorsed the Notsé cotton school in part because, unlike mission schools, it did not give its students the academic skills necessary to become merchants—a career, he claimed, that led Africans to take many wives and consort with unscrupulous Europeans.¹²⁸ The German government did offer elementary education to train Togolese clerks, but regarded even this education as a threat to the colonial social order. German governors had long complained that missionary education offered too much academic training rather than "the love of practical work," as one put it.¹²⁹

In 1907, the North German Mission Society sought to reorient its own schools in Togo toward manual and agricultural labor. The head office in Bremen sent the German translation of Washington's *Up from Slavery* to missionaries in Togo and encouraged them to familiarize themselves with the program at Notsé and to apply Tuskegee ideals to their own schools.¹³⁰ Missionaries sent a number of African teach-

¹²⁵ Originally called the "Cotton School" (*Baumwollschule*), the institution was renamed a "farming school" (*Ackerbauschule*) in 1906 and "State Agricultural Institute" (*Landeskulturanstalt*) in 1912. Despite these name changes, cotton farming remained the main focus of the school. The Lomé government, which had always provided significant financial and other support to the school, took over the institution in 1908. See Zech to KWK, August 23, 1907 (copy), BArch R1001/8673, Bl. 9.

¹²⁶ Smend, Misahöhe Station, to KWK, November 9, 1903, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1-332, Bl. 221-231.

¹²⁷ For versions of the study plan of the school, which varied slightly from year to year, see Governor Zech (Lomé) to KWK, August 22, 1904, in "Deutsch-koloniale Baumwoll-Unternehmungen: Sonderbericht über die Baumwollschule in Nuatschä," BArch R1001/8673, Bl. 3-5; Zech, "Lehrplan für die Baumwollschule in Nuatjä," 1906, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1-363, Bl. 161-162; "Bericht über die Ackerbauschule Nuatjä für das Berichtsjahr 1908/09," BArch R1001/6543, 121. The study plan is also described in Norris, *Die Umerziehung des Afrikaners*, 141-149.

¹²⁸ Washington, *Working with the Hands*, 226-230.

¹²⁹ Puttkamer, Klein Popo, to Bismarck, February 10, 1888 (copy), BArch R1001/4076, Bl. 12-16.

¹³⁰ A. W. Schreiber, Missionsinspektor, Bremen, to the Stations-Conferenzen, July 9, 1907, NDM, 39/4.

ers to Notsé for a one-month summer course to learn agricultural methods that they might transmit to their students. Essays by these teachers suggest that neither they nor their students found much value in agricultural education.¹³¹ One teacher who did try to pass on what he had learned at Notsé discovered the extent of student resistance to Tuskegee-style education. A student he asked to assist him in this rare lesson in agriculture refused to use his right hand to plant seeds, because he regarded the soil as unclean. The student also refused to fetch manure from the chicken coop for fertilizer, and when the teacher went instead, the class erupted in laughter. The teacher threatened to punish his students to convey the importance of agricultural education. By doing so, he perhaps demonstrated a greater understanding of the true program of the cotton school than any of its boosters.¹³²

Local German officials, under pressure from the government (and perhaps eager to increase cotton production in their own districts), forced students to attend the cotton school.¹³³ The governor of Togo asked few questions about recruitment methods, and found, not surprisingly, that students and graduates of Notsé “enjoyed diminished prestige among the other natives” because of the “compulsion under which they stand.”¹³⁴ Only two students ever attended the cotton school voluntarily, and their willingness so surprised the governor that he ordered an investigation. It turned out that they were orphans in poor health, with apparently no other options for securing a livelihood.¹³⁵ The head of a government station in the north of the colony wrote bluntly that students could be recruited only through “involuntary measures [*Zwangsmassregeln*] and punishments.”¹³⁶ A number of Notsé farming students were taken from the nearby penal colony at Chra, as were, in all likelihood, the many laborers who also worked in the school fields.¹³⁷ The cotton school at Notsé represented a political, economic, and symbolic assault on the independence of the Ewe

¹³¹ See Reinhold Dzansi, Agu, “Thema: Der Landwirtschaftliche Kurs in Nuatjä,” n.d., and Aaron A. Anku, Peki Dzake, “What Profit Brought the Agricultural Course at Aburi to You?” October 15, 1909, NDM, 31/3.

¹³² Theophilus R. Asieni, “Wie verwerte ich meine Kenntnisse, die ich auf Ackerbauschule in Notschie erworben habe?” n.d., NDM, 31/3.

¹³³ See Governor Zech to All Station and District Officers, March 4, 1904; Zech to KWK, August 22, 1904, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1-363, Bl. 9-10, 22-37. For an example of recruiting students that suggests that district officials tried to spread the burden somewhat equitably among villages in their areas, see Atakpame District Office [Bezirksamt] to Lomé Government, November 8, 1909, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1-388, Bl. 110. The chiefs of Anecho unsuccessfully protested recruitment to the school in 1909. See Anecho District Office to Lomé Government, October 29, 1909, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1-388, Bl. 103.

¹³⁴ Lomé Government to the Imperial Colonial Office [Reichskolonialamt], May 4, 1912, BArch R1001/8673, Bl. 177-178.

¹³⁵ Governor Zech to the Imperial Colonial Office, January 25, 1908, BArch R1001/8673, Bl. 24-25. On the two volunteers, Friedmund Adom and Gotthold Gogon, see Missionary Diehl, Norddeutsche Missions-Gesellschaft, to Misahöhe District Office, February 18, 1907 (copy); Governor Zech to the Misahöhe District Officer [Bezirksleiter], March 15, 1907; Zech to the Baumwollinspektion of the KWK in Lomé, April 16, 1907; Friedmund Adom and Gotthold Gogon, signed declaration, Misahöhe, April 6, 1907; Diehl, Agu, April 5, 1907; BArch R150, TNA, FA 1-363, Bl. 226, 227-229, 251-252, 255-256, 257-258.

¹³⁶ Sansanne-Mangu Station to Governor Zech, February 28, 1906, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1-363, Bl. 85-91.

¹³⁷ By 1911, with four graduating classes, there were at least seventeen graduates from Chra. Sengmüller to Lomé Government, November 8, 1911 (copy), BArch R1001/8673, Bl. 186. Chra was the main penal colony of Togo, where convicts from all over the protectorate served life sentences along with their families. For information on the region, see Martin Schlunk, *Die Norddeutsche Mission in Togo*, vol. 1: *Meine Reise durchs Eweland* (Bremen, 1910), 53-54.

and other groups living in Togo under German rule. Paradoxically, John Robinson and the German officials who set up the school carried out this coercive program to create independent peasant cultivation. This fusion of coercion (whether legal, physical, or economic) and freedom was underwritten by the New South discourse of the "Negro," admired by German colonists, and imported to Africa by Calloway, Robinson, and the other Tuskegee personnel.

THE STUDENTS AT THE COTTON SCHOOL did not, evidently, come to identify themselves as "Negroes," at least insofar as they did not voluntarily grow cotton after graduation. This refusal to be what they supposedly were led Germans and Tuskegee personnel to further develop their program of coerced, but formally free, agricultural labor. German colonial officials and the American John Robinson each contributed a model of semifree agricultural smallholding from their own national tradition to the new identity they hoped to foist upon the graduates of the Notsé cotton school. Robinson proposed that graduates be treated as "croppers," applying to Togo the system of coercive tenancy that marked so much African American agricultural labor between the Civil War and World War II.¹³⁸ During the U.S. Civil War, freedpeople demanded, and often succeeded in appropriating for themselves, parcels of the land they had worked as slaves, thus gaining some political and economic autonomy.¹³⁹ After the war, southern and northern elites, assisted by an increasingly conservative Freedmen's Bureau, managed to divert African American demands for self-sufficient, independent farms into a coercive system of sharecropping. The law generally classified croppers as employees rather than renters, so that landlords could intervene in the labor process, forcing tenants to grow cotton rather than food crops. The system of crop liens further entwined tenants in a system of labor coercion carried out in the monetary terms of the market economy. This system, brutally unfair as it was, resulted from an implicit compromise in which landlords exploited the economic autonomy that African Americans had forced them to accept.¹⁴⁰ Such a system, Robinson imagined, would allow the German government to control otherwise free African farmers so that they would continue growing cotton using the methods they had learned at the Notsé cotton school.

German policymakers captured the identity of the graduates of the Notsé school

¹³⁸ Robinson made this suggestion in December 1904. It was reported in Atakpame Station to Lomé Government, September 25, 1905, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1-304, Bl. 60-63.

¹³⁹ On land redistribution under the Freedmen's Bureau, see Claude F. Oubre, *Forty Acres and a Mule: The Freedmen's Bureau and Black Land Ownership* (Baton Rouge, La., 1978).

¹⁴⁰ For contemporary observations of the tenant system, see Thomas J. Edwards, "The Tenant System and Some Changes since Emancipation," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 49 (1913): 38-46, and Johnson et al., *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy*. Especially helpful for the present discussion of sharecropping has been William Cohen, *At Freedom's Edge: Black Mobility and the Southern White Quest for Racial Control, 1861-1915* (Baton Rouge, La., 1991); Pete Daniel, *In the Shadow of Slavery: Peonage in the South, 1901-1969* (1972; repr., Urbana, Ill., 1990); Daniel, "The Metamorphosis of Slavery, 1865-1900," *Journal of American History* 66 (1979): 88-99; Daniel A. Novak, *The Wheel of Servitude: Black Forced Labor after Slavery* (Lexington, Ky., 1978); Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2001); Edward Royce, *The Origins of Southern Sharecropping* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1993); Wiener, *Social Origins of the New South*; and Gavin Wright, *Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy since the Civil War* (New York, 1986).

with the term *Ansiedler*, which was already used in Prussia to describe the ethnic Germans settled under government supervision to counter the perceived "Polonization" of the kingdom's eastern portions. The "Settlement Commission" (Ansiedlungskommission) of the Prussian Ministry of Agriculture purchased and subdivided large estates in Posen and West Prussia, on which they had settled more than 85,000 German farmers and agricultural laborers by 1908.¹⁴¹ Each estate was placed under an administrator, who advised the settlers on farming, set up rental contracts that also stipulated their tasks, and supervised "political, general economic, social, and communal things."¹⁴² Creating peasants, or semi-independent smallholders, whether in Europe, the United States, or Africa, required constant supervision and control.¹⁴³

Gustav Schmoller, a Verein member and former academic advisor to W. E. B. Du Bois, brought the discussions of internal colonization, agricultural settlements, and the political and economic benefits of small farming to the attention of colonial planners several years before the Notsé student settlement scheme.¹⁴⁴ Like most members of the Verein, Schmoller advocated tenancy contracts to control rural workers by keeping them tied to the land. After a presentation at the 1902 German Colonial Congress by Baron von Herman, who had recruited Booker T. Washington for the Togo project, Schmoller called attention to the relevance of the agricultural sociology of the Verein für Sozialpolitik to the colonial question of "plantation versus native culture." Schmoller endorsed small-scale cultivation to further the "entire mental and economic development of the natives" and improve the "future of the conquered, lower races."¹⁴⁵ The Tuskegee expedition to Togo, Booker T. Washington, and the "education of the Negro to work" became central aspects of the discussions at the next German colonial congresses in 1905 and 1910.¹⁴⁶

Both the *Ansiedler* and the sharecropper models presented German and Tuskegee officials with possibilities for controlled but ostensibly free smallholding in Togo.

¹⁴¹ On founding the commission, see Minutes of Confidential Meeting in the Königlichen Staatsministeriums, January 24, 1886, GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 90 A, no. 3742, Bl. 70–72. On settlement statistics, see the report that the Royal Settlement Commission for West Prussia and Posen sent to its local administrators (*Dezerenten*), December 10, 1908, GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 212, no. 5142, Bl. a, 100–101.

¹⁴² "Geschäftsanweisung für die Oberverwalter der Ansiedlungskommission," September 9, 1907, GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 212, no. 5130, and *Geschäfts-Anweisungen für die Ansiedlungsvermittler der Königlichen Ansiedlungskommission* (Posen, 1910), GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 212, no. 5224. See also the printed form for the contract between individual families and the commission (ca. 1907–1908), GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 212, no. 5142, Bl. 86.

¹⁴³ An interesting comparative case is provided by the settlement of German ranchers in southwest Africa, which also presented questions about economics, social discipline, and nationality. See Daniel Joseph Walther, *Creating Germans Abroad: Cultural Policies and National Identity in Namibia* (Athens, Ohio, 2002).

¹⁴⁴ See Erik Grimmer-Solem, "Imperialist Socialism of the Chair: Gustav Schmoller and German Weltpolitik, 1897–1905," in Geoff Eley and James Retallack, eds., *Wilhelmism and Its Legacies: German Modernities, Imperialism, and the Meanings of Reform, 1890–1930* (New York, 2003), 106–122.

¹⁴⁵ For Schmoller's intervention, see Freiherr von Herman, "Plantagen und Eingeborenen-Kulturen in den Kolonien," *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1902 zu Berlin am 10. und 11. Oktober 1902* (Berlin, 1902), 507–517.

¹⁴⁶ Pater H. Heines, "Erziehung eines Naturvolkes durch das Mutterland"; A. Nachtwey, "Die Mission als Förderin der Kultur und Wissenschaft"; Moritz Schanz, "Die Baumwollfrage in den Kolonien"; and Otto Warburg, "Die Landwirtschaft in den deutschen Kolonien," all in *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1905 zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1906), 442–460, 553–563, 698–710, 587–604. D. Richter, "Das Problem der Negerseele und die sich daraus für die Emporentwicklung des Negers ergebenden Folgerungen," and Norbertus von Weber, "Ziele und Wege der Eingeborenen-Erziehung," in *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1910 zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1910), 609–628, 679–683.

The German model of the *Ansiedler*, in contrast to the American model of the share-cropper, also shared with the Tuskegee program the aspiration to improve entire regions through carefully planned settlements of farmers. Government regulations arrived at before the first class graduated from Notsé required students to return to their districts of origin to teach their new cotton farming techniques by example. Because the governor feared that, "without the necessary pressure, the people would immediately return to their old methods of cultivation," he had graduates settled in concentrations, usually near a district station, where local officials could exercise the requisite "oversight and control."¹⁴⁷ The district government gave each student twenty acres of land, two or three draft animals, a plow, and other agricultural implements. Harvests would be the property of the settlers; however, because they could sell their cotton only under governmental supervision to German merchant houses, the crop was not private property in a meaningful sense.¹⁴⁸

Many German officials found it paradoxical that this program coerced African farmers in order to create free farming, but they located this paradox in the pathological nature of the "Negro," whose freedom demanded supervision and coercion. These officials had seemingly become good students of New South racial ideology. The station chief of Atakpame, the district containing Notsé, observed that the cotton school trained its pupils to accept "supervision and compulsory labor [*Arbeitszwang*]" even though its goal was "to educate the students into independent farmers, who earn their bread themselves and through cotton cultivation gradually achieve comfortable prosperity." Such coercion, he acknowledged, was nonetheless necessary to achieve the independence that it seemed, simultaneously, to undermine.¹⁴⁹ After making a tour of settlements in a number of districts, the officer remarked on the irony that the "free, hardworking farmers, who would be an encouragement and example to the rest of the population," worked only "under the firm [*scharfen*] pressure of officials" and thus were, by definition, themselves not "free farmers."¹⁵⁰

Rather than producing the model patriarchal households imagined by Washington and others, the Tuskegee cotton program in Togo often produced lonely and miserable young men, unable to attract spouses to a life on an exemplary farm under German oversight. The German agricultural expert Albert Sengmüller observed: "The farms look lonely and abandoned. There is no sense of a cheerful family life, for the settlers lack the most important element for that: women . . . The people are not glad to be on their settlements; the frequent running away is proof of that."¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ Governor Zech to the Imperial Colonial Office, January 25, 1908, BArch R1001/8673, Bl. 24–25.

¹⁴⁸ See Zech, "Programm für die Einstellung, Ausbildung und spätere Verwendung von Landwirtschaftsschülern," December 29, 1906, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–363, Bl. 158–160, and "Verordnung des Gouverneurs von Togo, betr. den Handel mit Baumwolle," January 11, 1911, *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* 22 (1911): 268.

¹⁴⁹ Georg Haering to Lomé Government, October 24, 1910, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–388, Bl. 321–329. Another German observer in Notsé similarly observed that the school did not create free cotton farmers, but rather taught students the "unpleasant aspects" of cotton farming so that they would be unlikely to continue to grow cotton when they got "freedom." [Name illegible], Notsé, April 25, 1911, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–388, Bl. 245–262.

¹⁵⁰ Haering, memorandum, November 12, 1911 (copy), BArch R1001/8673, Bl. 187–188.

¹⁵¹ Sengmüller to Lomé Government, August 15, 1911 (copy), BArch R1001/8673, 171–173. A similar, though less frank, account of the settlements was published in Reichskolonialamt, *Der Baumwollbau in den deutschen Schutzgebieten: Seine Entwicklung seit dem Jahre 1910* (Jena, 1914), 236–238.

Although it was clear to many involved in the project that the application of Tuskegee education in Togo had created a program of coercion at odds with its own ideals of freedom and rationality, this paradox went beyond mere fraud.

The ideology of the "Negro" in Togo provided the foundation of a self-perpetuating system of extra-economic coercion whose very failures justified and furthered its own reproduction. Resistance to the Tuskegee cotton program in Togo only further elaborated the characteristics of the "Negro" and thereby intensified the very interventions that had produced this resistance in the first place. The only immediate possibility for liberation from this forced peasantization lay in escaping government control altogether, and many did undertake a second exodus from Notsé before they graduated or fled their settlements afterward.¹⁵² Resistance from within the role "Negro peasant cotton farmer," by contrast, had few liberating effects. One such strategy involved neglecting cotton in favor of more profitable crops, especially corn, a form of resistance made easier by the eventual German acceptance of interplanting the two crops.¹⁵³ Rather than undermining the cotton program, such piecemeal acts of insubordination brought about the very coercion they were designed to resist, and thus furthered the forced production drive. German observers explained resistance to the cotton program as the result of an inherent tendency of "Negroes" to "laziness."¹⁵⁴ Officials compensated for this "laziness" with what they called "supervision" or "pressure," described frankly by one district officer when he wrote: "reminders and warnings do nothing: it finally comes down to hard punishments."¹⁵⁵ This official spoke, no doubt, of the infamous twenty-five lashes emblematic of German rule in Togo.¹⁵⁶ Defining the Togolese as "Negroes" subjected them to racist political-economic regimes comparable to those found in the United States, placing them in a permanent state of exception that allowed violence and coercion to be exercised in the name of normalizing free labor.

The Tuskegee expedition seemed to bring about a situation in Togo in which

¹⁵² The statistics collected at the end of 1911 indicate only ninety-eight individual settlers, although there should have been roughly two hundred graduates by then. Two are listed in the table as having "escaped" during the year, and this may have been the fate of a larger number. See "Stand der Siedlungen des Schutzgebietes Togo (Ende 1911)," BArch R1001/8673, Bl. 182–183. A great number of settlers are also listed as "escaped" in Sengmüller, Notsé, "Bericht über die Siedlungen ehemaliger Ackerbauschüler in das Jahr 1910/11," July 1, 1911, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–388, Bl. 269–274.

¹⁵³ See District Officer Schlettwein, Lomé-Land, to Lomé Government, October 31, 1911, BArch R1001/8673, Bl. 189–190.

¹⁵⁴ Governor Zech to the Imperial Colonial Office, January 25, 1908, BArch R1001/8673, Bl. 24–25. This forms an interesting contrast to African American farmers, who, as Ransom and Sutch show, had far more difficulty resisting the pressure to grow cotton rather than corn. On the various reasons why it was not profitable for Togolese farmers to grow cotton for commercial export, see District Officer Kittel, "Baumwollkultur der Eingeborenen," Kete Kratschi, n.d. (ca. 1910), BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–388, 312–314; Mangu-Fendi District Office to Lomé Government, November 28, 1907; and Döhring, Atakpame Station, to Lomé Government, December 28, 1907, BArch R150, TNA, FA 1–402, Bl. 4–5, 7–12.

¹⁵⁵ Kittel, District Officer of Kete-Kratschi, "Bericht über der Ansiedler," to Lomé Government, October 10, 1911 (copy), BArch R1001/8673, Bl. 184.

¹⁵⁶ On the use of the lash and other brutal means of rule in German Togo, see D. E. K. Amenumey, "German Administration in Southern Togo," *Journal of African History* 10 (1969): 623–639; Têtêvi Godwin Tété-Adjalo, *De la colonisation allemande au Deutsche-Togo Bund* (Paris, 1998); and Trutz von Trotha, "'One for Kaiser': Beobachtungen zur politischen Soziologie der Prügelstrafe am Beispiel des 'Schutzgebietes Togo,'" in Peter Heine and Ulrich van der Heyden, eds., *Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus in Africa: Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Peter Sebald* (Pfaffenweiler, 1995), 521–551.

"Negroes" freely produced industrial cotton. Thanks to Tuskegee efforts, Togo's cotton exports improved in quality and increased in quantity by almost sixty-fold, from 2,000 to 116,850 kilograms per year.¹⁵⁷ This apparent success, however, resulted from the real failures of the Tuskegee idea and the violent compensation that these failures elicited. The Tuskegee cotton expedition offered Togolese an identity as a "Negro" "people" who participated in a "culture" of small-scale cotton growing for European markets. This "Negro" identity marked its bearer as a subject lacking precisely that outside authority that imperialists were only too eager to provide. Rejecting the identity "Negro" similarly marked an individual as a subject for external coercion by Tuskegee and German authorities. The trap of identity allowed Tuskegee personnel to oversee a forced cotton production drive under the signs of free labor and racial uplift.

Today, West African smallholders grow cotton willingly and complain that they are prevented from competing fairly on the world market because their U.S. and European competitors enjoy enormous government subsidies.¹⁵⁸ That today's global hegemony prevents West Africans from exporting cotton in order that first world growers might prosper suggests a true, reverse form of the message of Tuskegee and subsequent imperialist cotton drives: imperialists never desired cotton; they only wanted to immobilize Africans for their shifting political-economic needs. In the present era of structural adjustment, marked by what James Ferguson has called the "global redlining of Africa," Togolese and other West African cotton farmers are discovering that forced poverty has taken the place of forced cotton production.¹⁵⁹ The mass immobilizations characteristic of most forms of actually existing capitalism are the true, reverse forms of the increasing mobilization of capital, commodities, and elites, which included the Tuskegee expedition to German Togo.

National, ethnic, racial, and other identities have been essential in maintaining these mass immobilizations. Because the subject is split, however, identity—the imaginary—is bound to the dynamic and dialectical symbolic, and both are doomed to stumble repeatedly over the real. Class conflict thus always produces historical parapraxes, apparent failures of identities, and ideologies that present possibilities for new forms of class oppression, as we have seen in the case of the Tuskegee expedition to Togo, but also possibilities for revolutionary transformations of class societies. The immobilized of the world have recourse to stronger stuff than the

¹⁵⁷ See Dunstan, *Report on the Present Position of Cotton Cultivation*, 46–47.

¹⁵⁸ Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad, and Mali voiced this complaint officially at the 2003 World Trade Organization Conference in Cancún. For the official report of the conference, see http://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/minist_e/min03_e/min03_e.htm. On recent conditions for Togolese cotton growers, see Alfred Schwartz, *Le Paysan et la Culture du Coton au Togo: Approche Sociologique* (Paris, 1985).

¹⁵⁹ James Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999), 234–254. For two recent accounts of the non-African origins of the devastating poverty that has increasingly gripped sub-Saharan Africa in the last decades, see Giovanni Arrighi, "The African Crisis," *NLR* 15 (May–June 2002): 5–36, and Henry Bernstein, "Agricultural 'Modernisation' and the Era of Structural Adjustment: Observations on Sub-Saharan Africa," *JPS* 18, no. 1 (1990): 3–35.

weapons of the weak, revolutionary possibilities indicated by psychoanalytic and Marxist approaches to even the most gruesome periods, in even the most hopeless times.

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“National Spain Invites You”: Battlefield Tourism during the Spanish Civil War

SANDIE HOLGUÍN

PEOPLE LOOKING FOR A HIGHLY UNUSUAL VACATION on the eve of the second European conflagration might have been attracted to the following advertisement placed in tourist offices throughout major cities in Europe:

National Spain Invites you to visit the War Route of the North (San Sebastian, Bilbao, Santander, Gijon, Oviedo, and the Iron Ring). See history in the making among Spanish scenery of unsurpassed beauty.

So began a tourist brochure created in April 1938 by the Spanish Nationalists' newly formed National Spanish State Tourist Department. The Nationalists beckoned European tourists to visit the “War Route of the North” while the Spanish Civil War was still in progress. Along with its messages targeting markedly different groups of people—those who wanted the authenticity of the battlefield experience and those who just wanted a relaxing, scenic vacation—the brochure called on tourists to “Form your own judgment of the real situation in National Spain today.”¹

The Spanish Nationalists began running organized tours of the recently secured northern front on July 1, 1938. They added a War Route of the South through Andalusia in December of that same year. Collectively known as the *Rutas Nacionales de Guerra* (National War Routes), these tours began every other day, between July 1 and October 1 in the north and between December and April in the south, until the end of World War II.² For £8 or its equivalent in other European currencies, the Nationalists offered nine-day bus tours, which included three meals a day, accommodations in first-class hotels, incidental expenses, and tips.³ Spain was still in the

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¹ “National Spain Invites You to Visit the War Routes of Spain,” 1938, Southworth Spanish Civil War Collection, Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego.

² The War Route of the North tour would begin on May 1 from 1939 on. After the civil war ended, the War Routes became known as the *Rutas Nacionales de España* (Spain's National Routes).

³ “National Spain Invites You to Visit the War Routes of Spain.” The buses were, in fact, twenty American school buses bought from the Chrysler Corporation. See Luis A. Bolín, *Spain: The Vital Years* (Philadelphia, 1967), 304; see also “Copias de los telegramas cruzados entre la S.E.I.D.A. y la Chrysler

midst of war, yet the tours attracted thousands of people from throughout Western Europe.⁴

Although battlefield tourism had been around since at least the Battle of Waterloo, organized visits to battle sites increased dramatically after World War I, when the unfathomable death toll compelled many people to travel to places such as Verdun or the Somme as pilgrims wishing to hallow the dead or as thrill-seekers desiring a vicarious experience of trench warfare. But the Nationalists' *Rutas Nacionales de Guerra* were different from these forms of battlefield tourism. This was the first time that a regime whose claim to legitimacy remained very much in question had sponsored and conducted tours before the completion of a civil war.⁵ The tours also inaugurated a novel combination of solemn battlefield tourism with a more traditional brand of recreational tourism, juxtaposing the great deeds of Nationalist soldiers alongside "attractive seaside resorts."⁶

The evidence from tourist brochures, "scripts" that tour guides were supposed to read, tour logs, memos, memoirs, and newspaper accounts makes clear that the Nationalists believed that the tours could accomplish many disparate goals. Tourism could bring much-needed cash to the regime's war economy. More important, the very idea that the Nationalists could conduct tours during wartime gave them a legitimacy that they wanted and needed from the international community. They hoped to establish friendly links with groups in other authoritarian and fascist countries and attract tourists sympathetic to their cause. The tours also became an avenue to convince the international community that the Nationalist uprising in July 1936 had been absolutely necessary to save Spain from the disasters inflicted on it by supporters of the Second Republic. Finally, these tours served to sacralize both the battle sites and the Nationalist soldiers who had conquered the land. They played a critical role in creating and consecrating a series of narratives that the Franco regime would repeat obsessively until its demise in 1975, and helped to fashion a Francoist vision of national identity that—the Nationalists claimed—had temporarily been stolen by the architects of the Second Republic. On these tours, the Nationalists depicted the war as both a Crusade and a new *Reconquista*, thereby exalting a Nationalist heroism that depended on the complete humiliation of the "Red" enemy.

The Franco regime's experiment with battlefield tourism provides an excellent case study for examining how tourism that takes human suffering as its subject can be used to redefine national identity. Therefore, in addition to analyzing questions of national identity, it has broad applications for memory studies and for scholars

Corporation," 1938, Caja/Legajo 28060, Sección Cultura, Archivo General de la Administración (hereafter AGA), Alcalá de Henares.

⁴ I have found no evidence of official organized tourism on the Republican front. Although the Republic did invite foreign visitors to survey conditions on the war front and home front, there was nothing as organized as what the Nationalists carried out after 1938.

⁵ This is different from, say, the First Battle of Bull Run (Manassas) during the U.S. Civil War, when civilians decided to watch the fighting from the sidelines and then traveled back to their homes to sleep, or the Boer War, when Cook's Travel Agency organized excursions to the battlefields while the war was still occurring. The Spanish case was state-sponsored by an illegitimate government. That is, the Nationalists attempted a coup d'état on July 17–18, 1936. Their failure to attain power immediately led to protracted fighting that transformed into a civil war.

⁶ "National Spain Invites You to Visit the War Routes of Spain."

analyzing the consolidation of regimes after wars, during wartime occupation, or even during transitions to democracy. Tourism, broadly speaking, provides an ideal means to mediate ideological processes of state legitimation and politicization of the past.⁷ But tourism coupled with wartime deaths enters into the realm of what anthropologist Katherine Verdery calls "dead-body politics," whereby people interpret the meaning of dead bodies in multivalent ways. Dead bodies can represent "the sacred, ideas of morality, [and] the nonrational." They "are especially useful and effective symbols for revising the past."⁸ And it is the conquest of the past that can add the necessary patina of respectability to sometimes questionable military and political conquests.

BATTLEFIELDS HAVE ALWAYS HAD THEIR PILGRIMS OR TOURISTS, but it was not until the nineteenth century that battlefield tourism became an industry. This form of "thanatourism," whereby "travel to a location [is] wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death," was made possible by the structural changes wrought by nineteenth-century industrial capitalism merging with elements of Romanticism.⁹ The sheer number of people involved in the production and consumption of travel made modern tourism different from its predecessors.¹⁰ With

⁷ John B. Allcock, "International Tourism and the Appropriation of History in the Balkans," in Marie-Francoise Lanfant, John B. Allcock, and Edward M. Bruner, eds., *International Tourism: Identity and Change* (London, 1995), 109–110.

⁸ Katherine Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change* (New York, 1999), 3, 25. A good example from Spain of Verdery's thesis on the symbolic richness of dead bodies is the fight between Republican exiles and the Franco regime over the interment of musical composer Manuel de Falla's body in 1946. See Raanan Rein, "Introduction: A Political Funeral," *History and Memory* 14, no. 1/2 (2002): 5–12.

⁹ A. V. Seaton, "From Thanatopsis to Thanatourism: Guided by the Dark," *Journal of International Heritage Studies* 2, no. 2 (1996): 232–244; cited in A. V. Seaton, "War and Thanatourism: Waterloo, 1815–1914," *Annals of Tourism Research* 26, no. 1 (1999): 131.

¹⁰ As scholar Jozsef Borocz says, "The emergence of tourism . . . presupposes . . . the transfer of a certain amount of surplus value to wages spent on such types of nonessential consumption as leisure travel . . . [it] also presupposes that free time be regulated and packaged in weekly and annual blocks . . . The standardization, normalization, and commercialization of free time is one of the most obvious outcomes of this struggle. Thus, industrial capitalism is a key factor in the emergence of the institution of leisure migration." Jozsef Borocz, "Travel-Capitalism: The Structure of Europe and the Advent of the Tourist," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34, no. 4 (1992): 713.

The literature on battlefield tourism has grown significantly in recent years. A small sampling of some of the more recent works that cover the topic includes Modris Eksteins, "War, Memory, and the Modern: Pilgrimage and Tourism to the Western Front," in Douglas MacKaman and Michael Mays, eds., *World War I and the Cultures of Modernity* (Jackson, Miss., 2000); John Lennon and Malcolm Foley, *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster* (London, 2000); Stephen L. Harp, *Marketing Michelin: Advertising and Cultural Identity in Twentieth-Century France* (Baltimore, Md., 2001); David Wharton Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia, and Canada, 1919–1939* (Oxford, 1998); Seaton, "From Thanatopsis to Thanatourism"; George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York, 1991); Seaton, "War and Thanatourism"; Stuart Semmel, "Reading the Tangible Past: British Tourism, Collecting, and Memory after Waterloo," *Representations* 9, no. 69 (2000): 9–37; and J. M. Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1996). Although works on tourism sometimes differentiate between tourists and travelers, I prefer to focus instead on the Nationalist regime's desire to use the modern tourism industry as a way to legitimize Franco's rule and to create narratives about Spanish national identity. For theoretical discussions on tourists and travelers, see Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough, eds., *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture and Identity in Modern Europe and North America* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2001); Rudy Koshar, "What Ought to Be Seen: Tourists' Guide-

the Industrial Revolution, a new bourgeoisie had disposable income for leisure, but not necessarily time; therefore, a market developed for guidebooks and for tourist agencies such as Thomas Cook, which created tour packages that enabled people to see many places quickly.¹¹ The Second Industrial Revolution provided the necessary infrastructure to make the incipient international industry possible. Railroads allowed large numbers of people to travel great distances in shorter periods of time than had previously been possible, and telegraph cables helped newly formed travel agencies make efficient travel arrangements across international borders. Imperialism, aided by these aforementioned revolutions and modern advertising techniques, created new desires and tourist markets.¹²

Tourism also helped to construct and strengthen national identities. As nationalism blossomed in the nineteenth century, leaders of nation-states sought ways to lure international tourists to their countries, both to reap the economic benefits of tourism and to nurture patriotism in their own subjects or citizens.¹³ Tourism worked to cement visitors' own national identities by showing them different types of people and sights, thereby demonstrating the true "foreignness" of other cultures and highlighting the vivid ideological differences between tourists and "natives." These ideological contrasts were most notably seen in battlefield tourism.

Scholars point to the Battle of Waterloo (1815) as the first battle site to become a "tourism mega-attraction."¹⁴ Not only was Waterloo "the first great battle to be witnessed and recorded by tourists," but the location remained popular throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a place for business and recreational tourists. At first, individuals and small groups visited. Soon tourist agents such as Henry Gaze (1854) began shepherding people there in even greater numbers.¹⁵ During the nineteenth century, the number of tourists who visited battle sites during wartime increased, although the majority of these tourists were not organized by professionals into tour groups.¹⁶

It took the confluence of World War I and the development of national tourist

books and National Identity in Modern Germany and Europe," *Journal of Contemporary History* 23, no. 3 (1998): 323–340; Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism*; Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York, 1999); Tom Selwyn, *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism* (Chichester, 1996); and John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London, 1990; repr., 1999).

¹¹ Thomas Cook began his first tour in July 1841 for Britons who wanted to attend a temperance meeting. The company began "organizing package tours to Switzerland (1863), Italy (1864), the USA (1866), Egypt (1869)," and Spain (1872). M. Barke and J. Towner, "Exploring the History of Leisure and Tourism in Spain," in M. Barke, J. Towner, and M. T. Newton, eds., *Tourism in Spain: Critical Issues* (Wallingford, 1996), 9; Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism*, 15.

¹² Borocz, "Travel-Capitalism"; Koshar, "What Ought to Be Seen."

¹³ Many articles in Baranowski and Furlough, *Being Elsewhere*, discuss the importance of tourism to national identity. See also Allcock, "International Tourism and the Appropriation of History in the Balkans," for the ways in which tourism promoters try to solidify identities that are always being contested.

¹⁴ Seaton, "War and Thanatourism," 130. See also Semmel, "Reading the Tangible Past."

¹⁵ Seaton, "War and Thanatourism," 133; Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism*, 19; Seaton, "War and Thanatourism," 138–139; Semmel, "Reading the Tangible Past," 26–27.

¹⁶ The most famous destinations were the First Battle of Bull Run (Manassas) in the U.S. Civil War (1862), various battles of the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871), and the Boer War (1899–1902), where people picnicked amid slaughter. For a discussion of the emergence of battlefield tourism, see Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism*, 20–21.

agencies to make battlefield tourism a mass enterprise. The sheer scale of death in World War I touched almost everyone in Europe and accounts for the vast numbers of people who visited battlefields such as Verdun and the Somme. But these visitors were aided by savvy producers of tourism such as Michelin, the Touring Club de France, and the Office National du Tourisme (ONT), who did not waste any time *during* the war to begin planning how they would bring tourists to France at the *end* of the war. These organizations took steps to make their motives sound pure, offering a dignified way for people to honor the sacrifices of the war dead. But their inspiration was economic. Government enterprises such as the ONT needed money to rebuild France's infrastructure after so long and brutal a war.¹⁷ To stimulate tourism from Britain and within France, Michelin put out a guidebook to French battlefields in 1917 to suggest to tourists in automobiles *how* they might view the battlefields to best replicate the authenticity of the trench experience.¹⁸ Soon thereafter, tourist agencies began chartering groups, housing them in first-class hotels, and shuttling them in motor coaches.

The success of battlefield tourism in the interwar years was phenomenal, especially in the latter part of the 1920s. While scholars cannot give an accurate estimate of the number of visitors during this period, some figures are worth mentioning. In 1930, 100,000 people signed the visitors' log at the Menin Gate of Ypres, Belgium, in just three months, and there were 150 places for those tourists to buy beer. Almost 2,000,000 foreign tourists went to France in 1929, and during the Great Depression in 1935, a remarkable 390,000 still visited.¹⁹ It is no wonder that the Spanish Nationalists saw economic opportunity in promoting battlefield tourism during the civil war. Why did people come in droves to these sites of mass death? Certainly, those with relatives and friends who had been killed in the war did not view themselves as tourists—they were honoring their dead. Those who had not fought in the war may have wanted to approximate the authenticity of battle. Others may have wanted to use this type of tourism as a form of education. And some may have gone solely because they found warfare fascinating.

Of course, we cannot be certain what motivated people to visit scenes of mass carnage, but the fact that greater numbers of people did so by the beginning of the twentieth century points to both structural and psychological causes. According to scholars A. V. Seaton, John Lennon, and Malcolm Foley, thanatourism (also known as dark tourism) increased in popularity in the twentieth century, and it continues to attract numerous devotees to this day.²⁰ For Seaton, people's fascination with death and their desire to travel to places associated with death have always existed in all parts of the world. The earliest forms of thanatourism in Christian Western Europe—which he refers to as thanatopsis—could be found in such spectacles as the medieval Dances of Death, pilgrimages, and passion plays. These forms of thanatopsis served cathartic purposes for those who participated in them and regularized

¹⁷ The ONT enlisted Pierre Chabert to visit the United States and Canada to learn how to entice North American tourists to France's shores. Chabert mistakenly believed that as many as 600,000–700,000 Americans would visit France right after the war, and that they would gravitate to the battlefields. See Harp, *Marketing Michelin*, 94–95.

¹⁸ Eksteins, "War, Memory, and the Modern," 153–154.

¹⁹ Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 154; Eksteins, "War, Memory, and the Modern," 157.

²⁰ Lennon and Foley, *Dark Tourism*; Seaton, "From Thanatopsis to Thanatourism."

death “in everyday life.” But in the nineteenth century’s nexus of Romanticism, secularization, and industrialization, thanatourism emerged. Romantic conceptions of death “developed precisely . . . when, in Western Europe, traditional religious and superstitious attitudes to death” diminished with increased secularization.²¹ Simultaneously, the Industrial Revolution increasingly provided the upper and middle classes easier means to travel. In the nineteenth century, “violent death became a consumer commodity, a spectator sport like tourism.”²²

Lennon and Foley see thanatourism as an element of late modernity, emerging from the technologies that brought about the “collapse of time and space” and the growth of capitalism. This combination produced a consumer culture that commodified everything, including death and destruction, piquing people’s interest in dark tourism. World War I battlefields qualified as some of the first dark tourism sites because the war touched almost every European family, and because moviegoing audiences could see actual war footage of those deadly battles. Instead of contempt and disgust, familiarity bred desire.²³

The appeal of Spanish Civil War tourism now begins to make some sense. Not only was there a long historical and spiritual precedent for pilgrims’ and tourists’ visiting places of death, but media images and sounds of the war proliferated through documentary news reels, feature films created by the war’s belligerents, radio broadcasts, and photojournalism.²⁴ This barrage of easily digestible messages helped the Nationalist organizers of Spanish Civil War tourism commodify the war in ways that had not been possible before. Additionally, the ease with which people could now travel helped tourists compare “the truth” of what they saw on film and in print media with “the truth” they saw before them on the tours.

TO HEAR LUIS BOLÍN TELL IT, “Spain had much to gain from being known. We had nothing to hide, and there was no conceivable reason why we should not welcome visitors who would pay in foreign currencies for an experience which it had become my business to make pleasurable . . . I was anxious to prove that war and travel were not incompatible.” This is how Bolín, head of the National Tourist Board and undersecretary of the Ministry of the Interior during the civil war, recounts his idea for creating tours of battlefields during the Spanish Civil War in *Spain: The Vital Years*. In this apologia for the Franco regime, Bolín includes a short chapter outlining how and why he organized these tours, how successful they were, and how they dispelled any rumors of Nationalist atrocities during the war.²⁵

Nationalist leader Francisco Franco announced his first cabinet on January 30,

²¹ Seaton, “From Thanatopsis to Thanatourism,” 236–237, 238.

²² *Ibid.*, 237.

²³ Lennon and Foley, *Dark Tourism*, 7–8. Dean MacCannell makes this same point in *The Tourist*.

²⁴ Anthony Aldgate, *Cinema and History: British Newsreels and the Spanish Civil War* (London, 1979).

²⁵ Bolín, *Spain*, 302, 303. Bolín published this work in both English and Spanish in 1967, at the height of Spain’s new tourist boom. Francie Cate-Arriés makes a compelling argument that Bolín’s work functions (1) as a “kind of travel manual for foreigners” because of the way his recollection of the civil war is “suffused throughout with the friendly tones of a tourism brochure,” and (2) as “one of several concurrently published ‘official’ texts that sought to commodify for sale to an English-speaking audience—and potentially future tourists—palatable images and acceptable messages regarding various facets of the Franco regime, including the Nationalist version of the Spanish Civil War.” Cate-Arriés, “Frontline

1938, and appointed Bolín as the head of the National Spanish State Tourist Department. His choice of Bolín for that role was not accidental. Bolín had been a regional delegate of the National Tourist Board during the 1920s. More important, he had displayed his logistical acumen by making all the travel arrangements for Franco's July 1936 insurrection. He chartered the airplane and pilot that ferried Franco out of the Canary Islands into Morocco, made arrangements to have people posing as tourists meet Franco on the islands in an attempt to take suspicion away from the rebellion, and personally met Franco in Morocco. Finally, at the beginning of the war, Bolín headed the foreign press services in the Nationalist headquarters at Salamanca, making him the chief contact for any foreign journalist who wanted to visit and report on details from the front.

This last point is the most germane to Bolín's tourism enterprise. As head of the foreign press services, he incurred journalists' ire for his self-important manner and the tight leash with which he held information about the war. Those who tried to write news even remotely critical of the Nationalists or to evade the strict censorship rules faced expulsion from Spain, incarceration, or death by shooting.²⁶ In his position he played a major role in creating and perpetuating the Francoist Crusade narrative, whereby the Nationalists spoke of reconquering in God's name a Spain that had been taken over by lawless, godless Communists. Bolín fed this trope to foreign correspondents, beginning with the story of the Siege of the Alcázar in Toledo during July 1936 and ending with his version of the destruction of Guernica in 1937.²⁷ His shift from foreign press manager to tour operator, therefore, was not as drastic as it might seem at first glance. In his new role, he could still perpetuate the Francoist mythos that he had begun crafting and feeding to foreign journalists.

Soon after Bolín's appointment as minister of tourism in early 1938, he announced that tours of the northern battle sites would be ready by July 1 of that same year. They would begin at the French frontier and end at Oviedo—"liberated four months before"—with "stops at San Sebastian, Bilbao, Laredo and Santander." His proposal met with skepticism, because when he made this announcement, "there were no buses and no guides, every bridge on the roads chosen had been blown up, hotels had to be refurbished and supplied." Complicating matters further, most of

Tours and Memories of the Civil War: Luis Bolín's *Spain: The Vital Years*," *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos* 24, no. 2 (2000): 265.

²⁶ For the conditions facing foreign journalists and their attitudes toward Bolín, see Herbert Rutledge Southworth, *Guernica! Guernica! A Study of Journalism, Diplomacy, Propaganda and History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1977), 45–49; Judith Keene, *Fighting for Franco: International Volunteers in Nationalist Spain during the Spanish Civil War* (London, 2001), 45–94; and José-Mario Armero, *España fue noticia: Corresponsales extranjeros en la Guerra Civil Española* (Madrid, 1976). One person who faced Bolín's wrath was the writer Arthur Koestler: "Bolín and another officer held pistols on Koestler, while a third tied his hands behind his back with wire. Koestler was sentenced to death but then freed in a prisoner exchange." Southworth, *Guernica! Guernica!*, 48.

²⁷ For varying accounts of Bolín's role in propagating the story of the July 1936 Siege of the Alcázar in Toledo, see Alfonso Bullón de Mendoza y Gómez de Valugera and Luis Eugenio Togores Sánchez, *El Alcázar de Toledo: Final de una polémica* (Madrid, 1997); Paul Preston, *The Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939* (London, 1986), 66; Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*, 3rd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1986), 156–157; Southworth, *Guernica! Guernica!*, 46. In terms of the Guernica myth, in accordance with which the Republicans bombed themselves to make the Nationalists look bad, Southworth meticulously documents Bolín's role in its creation and perpetuation in his monograph *Guernica! Guernica!*

his staff from his days as a regional delegate under Primo were trapped in Madrid, which was still in the Republican Zone, leaving Bolín with only five assistants.²⁸

Despite the very real problems that Bolín faced in organizing these tours, he was confident he could succeed, because some infrastructure remained, he had the backing of military force, and the economic advantages of the tours outweighed the bureaucratic nightmares that might ensue. Bolín certainly did not need to create a tourist infrastructure from scratch. He admitted, "In our Zone, the *Paradores* [upscale hotels in renovated castles] and *Albergues* [inns] built in King Alfonso's time or later had continued to serve the public, and Tourist Information offices were also open, but both had to be reconditioned and cared for." Similarly, the path that tourists would follow in the War Route of the North overlapped in many places with seaside resorts that had been established in the late nineteenth century and that had continued to operate until the war broke out.²⁹

Bolín was keenly aware of the economic advantages of tourism. In his war memoir, he mentioned money five times, stating that he wanted to "welcome visitors who would pay in foreign currencies," and claiming that "we could even make money." He was confident that his mission would succeed: "because no country had ever opened its frontiers while fighting a war, I knew that my tours would sell themselves the moment they were announced." He planned his tours to coincide with the height of the tourist season in the French Riviera: "Biarritz and St-Jean-de-Luz . . . would be full of summer visitors. Some of them would respond to our appeals, and once they did this the news would spread rapidly. Free publicity would not be lacking." He readily admitted that the Nationalists accepted people without visas or passports in order to "sell more tickets."³⁰ Elsewhere he noted that visitors on this tour would not go through border control at Irún, as most foreigners did; instead they would enter at the Hotel Jaúreguí in Fuenterrabia, because that place presented "another occasion for [tourists] to spend some money in Spain."³¹ Obviously, money trumped law and security.

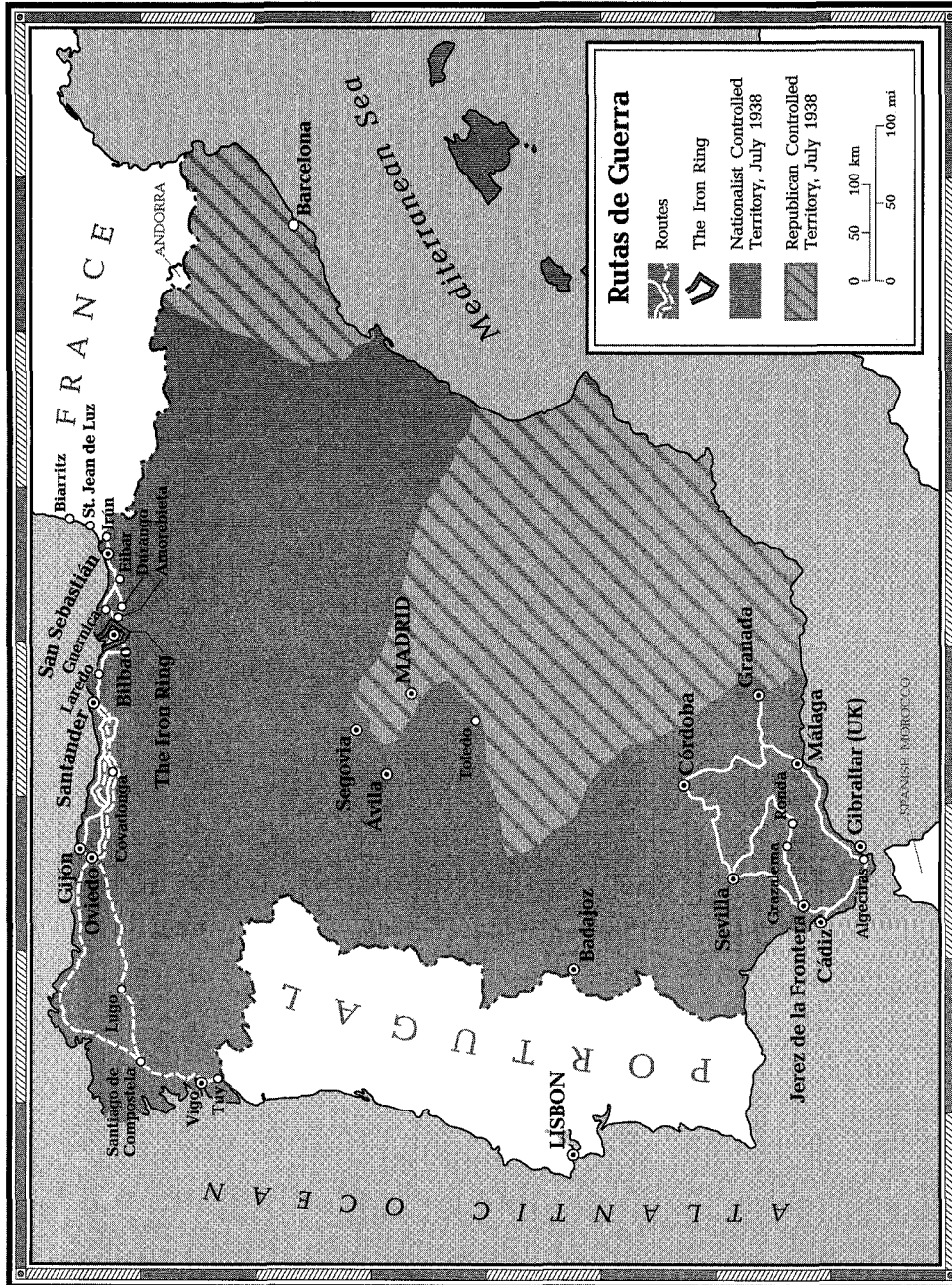
Preparations for the tours began immediately. Bolín entrusted a man named Laureano de Armas Gourie to lay much of the groundwork for the northern tours. Sometime after late February and before April 20, 1938, Armas Gourie went on a fact-finding mission to the recently defeated northern front to learn about the land's "attractions, lodging, and diverse itineraries." Bolín then sent him on a month-long trip across Western Europe to "establish contact with the most important foreign tourist agencies [and] to arrange with them to send tourists on the 'War Route of the North.'" Bolín conveyed to Armas Gourie the need to promote the tours actively and to make alliances with governments sympathetic to the Nationalists' aims: "In

²⁸ Bolín, *Spain*, 302.

²⁹ Ibid. The seaside resorts in northern Spain are discussed in John K. Walton and J. Smith, "The First Century of Beach Tourism in Spain: San Sebastian and the *Playas del Norte* from the 1830s to the 1930s," in Barke, Towner, and Newton, *Tourism in Spain*.

³⁰ Bolín, *Spain*, 302, 303, 304.

³¹ Luis A. Bolín, "Proyecto para organizar la entrada en España de los turistas que visitarán la Ruta de Guerra del Norte a partir del próximo 1 de julio," 1938, Caja/Legajo 12033, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares. The *New York Times* also mentions the financial benefits of the tours: "It is admitted in official circles here that the foreign exchange brought into the Nationalist treasury by the tourists will, of course, be much appreciated." William P. Carney, "Battlefield Tours Started in Spain," *New York Times*, July 3, 1938.



MAP 1: The *Rutas de Guerra* operating during the civil war. Map by Geoff Maas. Sources: "Itinerario F," 1938, Caja/Legajo 12028, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares; "Itinerario de la Ruta de Andalucía o del Sur" and "Ruta de Guerra del Norte: Gráfico de las expediciones de 1 de julio a 1 de octubre," 1938, Caja/Legajo 12033, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares; Michael Seidman, *Republic of Egos: A Social History of the Spanish Civil War* (Madison, Wis., 2002), 185.

Germany and Italy, at least,” Bolín wrote, “you should visit the state organizations that develop tourism from a commercial point of view . . . , especially the organizations similar to the F.E.T. de las J.O.N.S. [the Nationalist political party], which surely welcome our project with interest and will give them a way to get to know their affiliates.” Bolín provided him with a list of contacts of both travel agents and Spanish officials allied with the Nationalists in these countries and told him to make sure that these officials gave this project their fullest support, but not to publicize the tours until the minister of the interior announced the project to the foreign journalists in Spain. Although it is not altogether clear why Bolín insisted on such secrecy, it was probably because he knew how audacious his project was—no insurgent government had subsidized tourism before—and because he wanted to control the publicity surrounding the tours.³²

Bolín’s secret did not remain such for long. Harold Callender of the *New York Times* announced the plans for the Tour of the War Route of the North on April 28, barely a week after Bolín had written his memo to Armas Gourie. The article promoted the tour by appealing to the intrepid traveler and acknowledged that some people found death sites compelling: “The fact that the region, the Basque provinces and Asturias, was a theatre of war less than a year ago and still bears in some places scars of bombs, bullets and fire *may add new interest for the tourist*” (emphasis mine). The article continues, describing the bombed-out sites that tourists might encounter, including graphic descriptions of Guernica, which had been razed by German carpet bombers. While the article was probably not intended as a promotional piece for the National Tourist Board, parts of it read that way. It reminds us of what attracted many tourists to battle sites in earlier times: the quest for authenticity. After describing the destruction wreaked on Eibar, Durango, Amorebieta, and Guernica, Callender writes, “These four places give a visitor a hint of what modern war is like.” Ending his piece on a more sinister note, he hints that the battlefield tours both sensationalized and ignored human misery: “At San Sebastián, it is said, there are 20,000 refugees from Republican Spain. But if the regime is determined to accommodate a few hundred tourists by preempting hotel rooms for them, it probably can do so.”³³

Remarkably, Bolín succeeded in realizing his vision in a mere four and a half months, despite the real obstacles he faced in organizing these tours during wartime. The final touches for the tours were put in place by the end of June 1938. Fifteen guide-interpreters were hired;³⁴ Republican POWs rebuilt some of the areas that had been destroyed by battles in the previous year;³⁵ twenty yellow school buses were ordered from the Chrysler Corporation in the United States;³⁶ travel agencies across

³² Luis A. Bolín, “Letter from Minister of Interior to D. Laureano de Armas Gourie,” 1938, Caja/Legajo 12033, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares.

³³ Harold Callender, “Rebel Spain Seeks Visits by Tourists,” *New York Times*, April 28, 1938.

³⁴ “Rebels Seek Tourist Guides,” *New York Times*, May 22, 1938.

³⁵ William P. Carney, talking about the tourist itinerary, says, “Then they will inspect Oviedo, Asturias’ mountain capital, a mere shell of its former self, but already being rebuilt by 2,000 war prisoners.” Carney, “Battlefield Tours Started in Spain.”

³⁶ A series of mishaps and financial power struggles threatened to delay the start of the tours. The buses arrived only three days before the tours were to begin. In late April and early May of 1938, the Spanish auto import company managing the bus imports for the Nationalists—S.E.I.D.A.—negotiated and renegotiated the price for the buses from the Chrysler Corporation. Misunderstandings about the

Europe distributed tourist brochures; and international newspapers publicized the upcoming events. On July 1, 1938, the first bus picked up its passengers at the International Bridge in Irún, on the French-Spanish border. Depending on the source one wants to believe, there were ten tourists, seven of them from Britain;³⁷ or four, "three French nuns and a left-wing English journalist";³⁸ or "the majority [of them were] English or Swiss."³⁹

Now came the necessary task of solidifying a series of Nationalist narratives that legitimated the uprising of July 18, 1936, and conformed to the Nationalists' vision of Spanish national identity while still providing tourists with the comforts of home and the recreational benefits of Spanish resorts. The Nationalists worked to accomplish this by sacralizing the battle sites and controlling tourists' access to information. This process can be seen most clearly in the brochure that went out to many tourist agencies and in the scripts that the guides read to tourists.

THOSE WHO ADVANCED BATTLEFIELD TOURISM during the interwar period, including during the Spanish Civil War, always straddled a fine line between good taste and crass commercialism. Marketing the horrors of war without offending people's sensibilities required a certain deftness. Promoters of this form of tourism often tried to present their tours as an educational forum for honoring a people's history or heritage.⁴⁰ Most organizations sold their tours as sober excursions meant to commemorate soldiers' great sacrifices to the nation. Organized tour operators expected their customers to ante up large sums of money to partake in a collective remembrance of the war, but they tried to take the commercial edge off these ventures by promoting them as a form of pilgrimage, by sacralizing particular secular sites. They used religious language to revere the fallen soldiers and issued warnings against vandalizing any part of the battlefield. Scholars such as George Mosse, however, suggest that organized battlefield tourism trivialized both the idea of pilgrimage and the wartime sacrifices of the dead, because tourists were inoculated against and distanced from the wretchedness of wartime conditions, often staying in luxurious accommodations and eating fine food near places of previous suffering. Although scholars and contemporaries of these travelers might have seen the incongruity between the tourists' and warriors' experiences, many tourists did not, and tour promoters, by emphasizing the sacredness of the wartime experience, made sure that tourists would not.⁴¹ Following in the footsteps of World War I battlefield tourism

price of the buses, as well as about the Nationalists' bank credit limits, slowed down the importation of the buses and almost delayed the start of the tours for about two weeks. See "Copias de los telegramas cruzados entre la S.E.I.D.A. y la Chrysler Corporation"; Bolín, *Spain*, 304.

³⁷ Carney, "Battlefield Tours Started in Spain."

³⁸ Bolín, *Spain*, 304.

³⁹ "Los primeros turistas por la Ruta de Guerra del Norte," *ABC*, July 7, 1938.

⁴⁰ Seaton, "From Thanatopsis to Thanatourism," 244.

⁴¹ Scholars of the Great War have tried to make distinctions between battlefield pilgrims and battlefield tourists, privileging the former over the latter, but as David Wharton Lloyd points out, the distinction between the two terms may be blurrier than one might imagine: "The language of the sacred and the act of pilgrimage both infused and were in conflict with battlefield tourism. The interaction between the two modes of travel was a product of the concurrent development of a tourism industry and the renewal of the practice of pilgrimage in the years prior to and after the war." Lloyd, *Battlefield*

promoters, Spanish Nationalists tried various ways to invest the Spanish battle-grounds with holy and heroic qualities. All claims to sacredness were tied to place via names, frames, and dead bodies, and all served to justify the righteousness of the Nationalist cause.⁴²

The Nationalists began staking their sacral claims via the process of naming. Naming requires that a place is deemed worthy of special significance and preservation and is meant to evoke particular sentiments when called forth.⁴³ In the case of Nationalist Spain, naming included subsuming the names of numerous battles by regions of conquest—thus tours centered around the “War Route of the North” and the “War Route of the South.” By naming the tours and circumscribing them geographically, the Nationalists symbolically legitimized what they had already accomplished by force of arms. But naming also occurred on a smaller scale. The buses that shuttled the tourists around the war routes were all named after battles that the Nationalists had already won: Badajoz, Oviedo, Huesca, Río Ebro, and Málaga. They thereby displayed their military victories both to tourists on the buses and to those people living in Spain who saw the buses wending through their cities and countryside.⁴⁴

Nationalists also sacralized the tourist spots by framing and elevating places along the tour, that is, by displaying or creating official boundaries around their “sacred objects.” Because battle sites are less tangible to behold than holy relics, other means are necessary to make concrete the significance of these places. Therefore, tour guide commentaries framed particular narratives orally so as to define and elevate a lo-

Tourism, 4. In the same vein, Suzanne K. Kaufman, who studies religious pilgrimages, argues against the binary opposition of “tourist” and “pilgrim.” She says, “Scholars of tourism need to move beyond an idealized view of Christian pilgrimage that depicts it as a premodern act immune to change. In fact, this definition of pilgrimage is itself a nineteenth-century creation. It emerged at the exact moment when pilgrimage and tourism were becoming indistinguishable.” Kaufman, “Selling Lourdes: Pilgrimage, Tourism, and the Mass-Marketing of the Sacred in Nineteenth-Century France,” in Baranowski and Furlough, *Being Elsewhere*, 80. See also Eksteins, “War, Memory, and the Modern”; Harp, *Marketing Michelin*; Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*.

⁴² Scholars do not agree on how tourist sites become sacred, since many different factors contribute to the process. Certainly, not every tourist site is consciously consecrated. I am indebted to MacCannell, Seaton, Fine, Haskell, and Verdery for their analysis of sacred sites and sacred bodies. According to MacCannell, the five stages occur in this order: naming, framing and elevation, enshrinement, mechanical reproduction, and social reproduction. For a detailed explanation of those stages, see MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 44–45. A. V. Seaton has explored MacCannell’s stages of sacralization in connection with his own work on Waterloo as a tourist destination and has concluded that only two of the five stages are necessary to sacralize a site: naming and mechanical reproduction. Seaton, “War and Thanatourism,” 152–153. Fine and Haskell argue that oral commentaries during a tour also help to sacralize a site and can be an oral substitute for MacCannell’s idea of framing and elevation. Elizabeth Fine and Jean Haskell, “Tour Guide Performance as Site Sacralization,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 12 (1985): 73–95. For the use of dead bodies as markers of sacred sites, see Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies*, esp. 44–53.

⁴³ Of course, names are multivalent, and their sacred function can differ. Witness, for example, the different meanings of the Alamo among Anglos, Tejanos, and Mexicans.

⁴⁴ “Autocares,” in *Archivo General de la Administración*. See *Sección Cultura: Caja/Legajo 12026* (Alcalá de Henares, ca. 1939); Bolín, *Spain*, 304. Interestingly enough, the use of conquered place names as political signifiers reappears with the words “Saarland,” “Bohemia,” and “Sudetenland” painted on armored vehicles used by the Danzig SS to attack the Polish post office in the disputed city on September 1, 1939. See the early Nazi propaganda films *Campaign in Poland*, *Baptism of Fire*, and *Victory in the West*. For a discussion of these films, see Thomas Sakmyster, “Nazi Documentaries of Intimidation: Feldzug in Polen (1940), Feuertaufe (1940) and Sieg im Westen (1941),” *Historical Journal of Film, Radio, and Television* 16, no. 4 (1996): 485–515. A special thanks to Ray Canoy for alerting me to this reference.

cation's importance for Spanish history.⁴⁵ Maps reinforced the meaning behind the speakers' scripts by providing a pictorial representation and reification of the sites' geographical limits. Tour guides told people why these places were sacred and why it was necessary to fight over them, and the maps provided tourists with a representation of the boundaries worth fighting for.

The Nationalists also used mechanical reproduction effectively to sanctify their tours. According to MacCannell, "*mechanical reproduction* of the sacred object: the creation of prints, photographs, models or effigies of the object which are themselves valued and displayed" is "the phase of sacralization that is most responsible for setting the tourist in motion on his journey to find the true object."⁴⁶ The Nationalists applied mechanical reproduction in numerous ways. They printed more than 100,000 tourist brochures, with approximately seventy pictures of the places that tourists would see, some of which had already been reproduced in newsreels shown around the industrialized world. By "precoding" what tourists would see before they visited Spain, the Nationalists had already begun to shape how people *should* view the *Rutas de Guerra*.⁴⁷ Additionally, when tourists began the War Route of the North tour, they were handed a short pamphlet explaining how the "reconquest" occurred. It showed travelers a detailed route that they would follow. Also included was a transparency with arrows on it that tourists could superimpose on the map they had been given. That way, they could "easily and rapidly see the advances of the columns that reconquered the Cantabrian provinces."⁴⁸ Through mechanical reproduction, the Nationalists staked their claims to place and visually reinforced the narratives found in the tourist scripts. Additionally, they sanctioned some journalists to follow, interpret, and mechanically reproduce the tours in newspapers and magazines for their readers at home. They provided a tantalizing glimpse of what many of their readers might not be able to see on their own, created a desire in others to visit the sites, and increased the social cachet of those who had been able to witness them.

Finally, dead bodies provided the Nationalists with the right to occupy these spaces in Spain. As Verdery explains, the "corporeality [of dead bodies] makes them important means of *localizing* a claim." Through the tourist brochures, maps, tourist scripts, and on-site visits to the places where Nationalist soldiers had recently been buried, the Nationalists concretely drew attention to their bodily sacrifices in their struggle to reclaim the land. Just as the Nazis looked to the heroic fallen German soldiers at Ypres (1914) as a foundational myth of Nazi Germany, so Spanish Na-

⁴⁵ Seaton, "War and Thanatourism," 140–143. For the importance of tour guides for oral framing, see Fine and Haskell, "Tour Guide Performance as Site Sacralization."

⁴⁶ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 45. Here is where MacCannell is at his most original, turning Walter Benjamin's thesis about mechanical reproduction on its head. Whereas Benjamin argues that an object's aura diminishes the more times it is mechanically reproduced, MacCannell contends that an object's mystique and desirability actually increase as a result of reproduction. For example, in MacCannell's model, Picasso's *Guernica* has gained its aura through reproductions in textbooks around the world. See Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in Benjamin, *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. and with an intro. by Hannah Arendt (New York, 1968). It is possible to argue that mechanical reproduction serves both purposes—sacralization and commodification. The media attention given to "Ground Zero" in New York City produced both pilgrims and thanatourists, as witnessed by both solemn memorials for the dead and vendors selling "I Survived Sept. 11th" t-shirts.

⁴⁷ For the idea of "precoding," see Seaton, "War and Thanatourism," 152.

⁴⁸ Bolín, "Letter from Minister of Interior to D. Laureano de Armas Gourie."

tionals valorized their own heroic blood-spilling in the war to claim leadership of Spain. Nationalist deaths were the necessary price for Spanish redemption.⁴⁹

In the case of the Spanish Civil War, turning the battlefields into sacred ground did more than just shield tourists from the commercial nature of the venture; it provided a context for crafting narratives about Spain's national identity.⁵⁰ Given that the Nationalists had rebelled against the Spanish Republic, their political legitimacy, both nationally and internationally, was at stake. Tourism, and the publicity that came with it, provided a way for them to alter the political discourse. Their tourist narratives built on and crystallized many thematic elements that the Nationalists had already introduced during the civil war into the foreign and domestic press, in the schools, and on both radio and film. The Nationalist narratives maintained that the Republicans had destroyed Spain's national unity and the Spanish social order. Therefore, the Nationalists were justified in staging the military coup that brought about civil war.

Before the war and during the traumatic years of the Second Republic (1931–1936), politicians, intellectuals, and activists contested the nature of Spanish national identity. For many supporters of the Republic, Spanish national identity had its roots in liberalism and the Enlightenment, in the belief in individual rights, a constitution, representative government, and the separation of church and state. For these people, Spanish society was pluralistic; the Spanish nation could still be strong, even if Basques and Catalans achieved regional autonomy within the Spanish state. Opponents, however, viewed many of the laws promulgated under the Republic as illegitimate. Those who would later support the Nationalist cause believed that the Republicans had turned their backs on Spain's history and culture. This Spain, ruled by a strong monarchy closely allied with the Catholic Church, brooked no regional nationalisms, promoted an imperial foreign policy, and functioned organically, with all members of society knowing their place within the social and political hierarchy.⁵¹

But the Republic, riven by many competing interests and visions, eventually broke down. Street fighting, assassinations, waves of strikes, and attempted revolutions increased in the years preceding the war, feeding a credible fear that Republican officials could not maintain public order. Therefore, on the pretext of restoring public order, the Nationalists began their rebellion in July 1936, and on this claim and others having to do with Spanish national identity, they founded their myth that the Republicans were illegitimate leaders. Also, as scholar Paloma Aguilar points out, the Nationalists declared the Republicans illegitimate because they were unable “to defend Spanish interests, to preserve the legacy of the Catholic tradition

⁴⁹ Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies*, 27–28. For the Nazi “concept of heroism as a form of national identity,” and the relationship of Ypres to that identity, see Jay W. Baird, *To Die for Germany* (Bloomington, Ind., 1990), esp. xi–xii and 1–12.

⁵⁰ Most historians agree that Spanish national identity was weak throughout the nineteenth and at least the first third of the twentieth century. For discussions of Spanish nationalism in this period, see Sandie Holguín, *Creating Spaniards: Culture and National Identity in Republican Spain* (Madison, Wis., 2002); José Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa: La idea de España en el siglo XIX* (Madrid, 2001); Carolyn Boyd, *Historia Patria: Politics, History, and National Identity in Spain, 1875–1975* (Princeton, N.J., 1997); Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel Smith, eds., *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula: Competing and Conflicting Ideologies* (Washington, D.C., 1996).

⁵¹ For a discussion of the culture wars and national identity during the Second Republic and the civil war, see Holguín, *Creating Spaniards*.

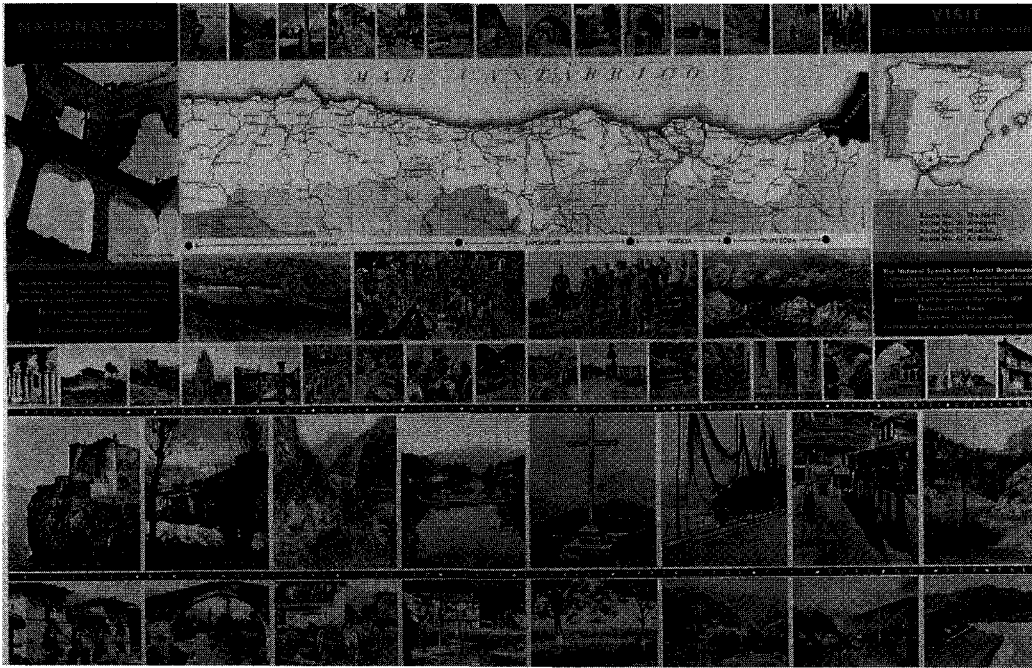


FIGURE 1: Front of brochure advertising the *Rutas de Guerra*. Reproduced courtesy of the Southworth Spanish Civil War Collection, Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego.

and protect the sacred unity of the *Patria*.” This narrative, which the Nationalists used to establish the legitimacy and necessity of their revolt, in combination with another one that eulogized the Nationalists’ sacred struggles on the battlefield, dominated the discourse of Nationalist battlefield tourism. In fact, the two narratives permeated both the tourist brochure and the tourist scripts for the *Rutas Nacionales de Guerra*. They would also continue to be the reigning narratives of the Franco regime.⁵²

A POORLY DESIGNED BROCHURE OF MORE THAN SEVENTY IMAGES—a razed Guernica placed below bucolic pictures of sheep—would seem destined to deter tourists from entering the country. (See Figures 1–2.) But Luis Bolín thought that the tourist brochure his office produced for travel agencies was “the best advertisement to attract the tourist to our grounds.”⁵³ Aesthetics aside, the brochure is important because the text and images conveyed to national and international tourists highlighted the

⁵² Paloma Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia: The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy*, trans. Mark Oakley (New York, 2002), 46. Aguilar also adds, “This need to delegitimize the political adversary had been felt even before the war began, although it became stronger during the course of the war itself and even more intense during the postwar period.” *Ibid.*, 46. Other works dealing with Francoist propaganda during and after the war include Gonzalo Santonja, *De un ayer no tan lejano: Cultura y propaganda en la España de Franco durante la guerra y los primeros años del Nuevo Estado* (Madrid, 1996), and Herbert Rutledge Southworth, *Conspiracy and the Spanish Civil War: The Brainwashing of Francisco Franco* (London, 2002).

⁵³ Luis A. Bolín, “Letter from Minister of Interior to D. Laureano de Armas Gourie.” This brochure was the one originally sent out to travel agencies across Europe. As the tours grew, individual tourist



FIGURE 2: Back of brochure advertising the *Rutas de Guerra*. Reproduced courtesy of the Southworth Spanish Civil War Collection, Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego.

themes that would preoccupy the Franco regime: the Spanish Civil War as Crusade and the exaltation of Spain's Catholic and medieval past. These narratives, however, were strangely juxtaposed against the backdrop of a recreational tourist narrative. This conflation of wartime propaganda and old-fashioned tourism is one way that Spanish battlefield tourism differed from battlefield tourism in other countries that preceded it.

The tour organizers' attempts to sacralize civil war battles and glorify the Nationalists' struggles begin immediately in the brochure, under the heading "The Path of War in Spain," where they link the Nationalists' recent battles with exalted ones of the past. The brochure opens with reverent descriptions of sacred battle sites: "Battlefields are places where the tourist lays aside mere curiosity and pays homage to the heroic deeds of the fallen. Thus, the Thermopylae, Rocroy and Waterloo; thus the hills, trenches and fields of the Somme and Verdun still preserved and shown by France with legitimate pride." The next paragraph then links the present conditions in Spain historically and rhetorically to these older, sacred sites: "National Spain is the first country that has organized visits in Wartime to battlefields which are not only the scenes of recent strife but famous in a struggle that has filled the world with its echoes." Sprinkled throughout the text are reminders of the Nationalists' tribulations, the price they paid to defend Spanish soil: "It is now impossible to stand in the midst of its wild scenery without remembering the epic incidents of

agencies created their own brochures, which were decidedly less political than the ones disseminated by the National Spanish State Tourist Department.

this War in which Spanish heroes have surpassed themselves." Amid descriptions of the marvelous "golf, flyfishing and chamois stalking" awaiting the participants, the brochure exalts Oviedo, the "invincible city which by resisting a desperate siege of fifteen months' duration did so much to decide the war in the North." The land of fallen Nationalists, then, merits visits from tourist-pilgrims.⁵⁴

One of the striking aspects of this brochure is the subtle appearance of a "Crusade narrative." During the civil war, and until Franco's death, Franco and Nationalist sympathizers characterized their part in the war as a reprise of the medieval Crusades; only this time the Nationalists were fighting a Holy Crusade against godlessness, Communism, and regional nationalisms. It was the Nationalists' duty to stamp out these evils in order to restore Spain's former imperial glory, and the narrative underlying parts of the tourist brochure's text and many of its photographs bears the mark of this "Holy Crusade."

The top row of pictures in the brochure looks innocent enough: there are numerous scenic vignettes that sightseers might find attractive, but other surrounding photographs negate such a placid reading. The brochure's front cover, a picture of the bombed-out Simancas barracks, where Asturian miners laid siege to and eventually killed Nationalist soldiers in August of 1936, invokes the Nationalists' suffering. Under the map, the next row begins a series of photographs representing conquest and humiliation. The first picture, titled "Red fortifications," demonizes the enemy by linking it with Soviet Russia. The next picture depicts the small town of Guernica razed by bombs. Of all the destroyed places the Nationalists could have picked to display for their tour, this was the most cynical choice, given that unarmed civilians were the target of German bombs there. Guernica was also seen as the heart of Basque nationalism. It housed the "Tree of Liberty," the symbolic representation of Basque traditional, sovereign rights. If one missed the point in this particular photograph, a picture in the next row also emphasized this particular reading of the narrative. Standing on each side of the "Tree of Liberty" are two *Requetés*—Carlist soldiers from the Basque country who fought with the Nationalists—placed as if to declare the conquest of this bastion of separatism.

Out of eighteen small photos in the next row, eight deal with the violence of the war and imply that the "Reds" had no respect for history, art, or religion. They appear, at first glance, simply as objective pictures of Republican military fortifications that might interest battlefield tourists. But the next two rows then revert to what looks like a traditional tourist brochure, with pictures of the Spanish countryside and some of the landmarks that the tourists will visit. The other side of the brochure describes both a bucolic and a cosmopolitan Spain that could fulfill the fantasies of the leisure tourist. But surrounding the text is a militarized tableau that clashes tremendously with the typical tourist brochure chatter. At top and center is a portrait of Generalísimo Franco, and below him are photos of six Nationalist generals. There can be no doubt about who the victors and the vanquished are as the reader follows the pictures that border the text. The soldiers are everywhere, staking out their newly conquered territory: on the left, soldiers march through the Picos de Europa, and on the right, soldiers stop in a village by the roadside, while civilians

⁵⁴ "National Spain Invites You to Visit the War Routes of Spain."

look on. Soldiers sleep against walls in villages, they forge across rivers whose bridges have been destroyed, and they pose with youthful vigor. The victory is complete with civilian crowds of women gleefully walking while carrying a Spanish flag, lending civilian legitimacy to the Nationalist victory.

Whereas these photographs demonstrate total occupation of the north by Nationalist soldiers, others show Nationalist subjugation of the Republicans. Defeat is marked on the land by the destruction of Amorebieta, and on the people by the photographs of Republican POWs. One picture shows some Republican POWs behind bars; another displays hundreds of prisoners herded together like cattle in the Santander bullring. The Nationalists did not merely choose to “pay homage to the heroic deeds of the fallen.” They sought to demonstrate total victory in their Crusade against the left.

Related to the Crusade narrative is a medieval Catholic narrative, another theme that the Franco regime would later pursue, and one that is evident in the landmarks that tourists were supposed to visit. The Nationalists cast themselves as Crusaders in a new *Reconquista*, this time against the godless Reds and traitorous separatists. Although the Crusades made up a part of the medieval Catholic narrative, the narrative I am speaking of is broader, including such subjects as the exaltation of the *Reconquista* and religious pilgrimages. For example, tourists visited the castle of the Knights Templar in Castro Urdiales. The Knights Templar fought in the Crusades; both a military and a religious order, they combined the military prowess and religious piety that Franco so admired in his medieval heroes and in himself. Covadonga was also on their route. Covadonga held a special place for Franco—in fact, he often took his vacations there—for it signaled the birthplace of the *Reconquista*, whereby Pelayo, after receiving a vision of the Virgin Mary, repelled the Moors from the village. Franco often envisioned himself as a modern-day Pelayo or El Cid, ready to retake by force a Spain that had been tainted by foreign blood and ideologies.⁵⁵

Not all of this Catholic narrative was about modern conquest, however. Some of the points of interest consisted of holy places that formed part of the Santiago de Compostela pilgrimage route. Included here were San Vicente de la Barquera, Liébana, and Santillana del Mar, an important medieval pilgrimage center. Despite the sprinkling of sites of Spanish Catholic piety, most of the messages about Catholicism in this brochure and in the tourist scripts derived from a lexicon of embattled Catholicism. At the same time, the religious imagery gave the tour a patina of religious respectability; some tourists, at least, could see themselves as pilgrims visiting holy sites.

In sum, this tourist brochure provided a visual framework that emphasized military conquest at all costs while valorizing Nationalist soldiers' deeds. The text accompanying the array of photographs, however, undercut the visual messages. Whereas the images in this brochure were often brutal, the text relied on tired touristic clichés and described a soft and romantic landscape: “The whole of Northern Spain is an orchard. Its varied mountainous landscapes spread innumerable shades of green before the traveller . . . and display their manifold charms at all points of

⁵⁵ For the symbolic appropriations of the Covadonga site in modern Spain, see Carolyn Boyd, “The Second Battle of Covadonga: The Politics of Commemoration in Modern Spain,” *History and Memory* 14, no. 1/2 (2002): 37–64.

the road."⁵⁶ Such romantic imagery could almost make one forget that a war had been fought here less than a year before this tour, and that killing and destruction were still ongoing elsewhere in Spain.

Whereas the tourist brochure acted as propaganda to entice people to visit Spain, additional shaping of Nationalist narratives through framing and elevation occurred once people arrived in wartime Spain. For their narratives to appear authoritative, the Nationalists had to be perceived as legitimate rulers. The fact that they *could* organize tours during wartime, and that *they* (not the Republicans and not the French) were responsible for giving people safe passage across sealed borders, endowed the Nationalists with a certain credibility. With that basic legitimacy established, they used their guide-interpreters to reinforce the messages they wanted to convey to domestic and international tourists. Because the guides had passed rigorous tests on Nationalist versions of Spain's history and geography, they possessed a certain authority about how the war had unfolded and could project their knowledge confidently to tourists.

The tour scripts that survive contain the same odd assortment of "facts" that one sees in the tourist brochure. Many begin by outlining the Nationalists' battle strategies, but scattered among the descriptions of gunfire are tributes to magnificent architecture and antiquities, followed by descriptions of Republican wartime atrocities. Although the narratives are disorganized, the scattershot portraits begin to have a montage effect, revealing a Manichean world view that persisted throughout the Franco regime.⁵⁷ The Nationalists' strength lay in creating propaganda that included both truths and lies about Republican atrocities in order to make the Nationalists' reasons for starting the civil war appear warranted. The Nationalists demonized their Republican enemies as cowardly, stupid, and bloodthirsty, and presented the Nationalists as valiant, God-loving patriots who had been terrorized by their enemies but had managed to overcome all odds and reconquer Spain from the "Red separatists." They had saved Spain from those who tried to cause it irreparable harm. The Nationalists would use versions of this particular narrative in the postwar era to justify persecuting their Republican enemies. The Nationalists envisioned themselves as necessary avengers of the terror, real and putative, that the Republicans had unleashed on the civilian population, both before and during the war. According to them, the Republicans perpetrated terror in many ways: on the population, on history, on religion, and on infrastructure. Therefore, the scripts reflected the Nationalists' revulsion toward the Republicans, whom the Nationalists accused of foisting atheism on the population, dismantling Spain's supposed unified national identity, and committing acts of brutality.

The Nationalists directed their venom most fiercely against people in the Basque country, because, although many people in the region were devout Catholics, they chose to side with the Republicans over the issue of regional autonomy. Discussing

⁵⁶ "National Spain Invites You to Visit the War Routes of Spain."

⁵⁷ I call these documents "tour scripts" because they seem to be written instructions for what the guide should say. They also contain directions to the various sites. For the northern tour, I found guides for San Sebastián to Bilbao, Bilbao to Santander, and three versions for the "Iron Ring." I was aided by a report in the *New York Times* for the Irún section of the tour. For the southern tour, which was more sparsely represented in the archive, I found guides for Seville, from Ronda to Jerez de la Frontera, and for Cádiz.

Bilbao and the accommodation between Basque separatists and the forces of “anti-national, anticapitalist, and atheistic Marxism,” the narrative blames the “band of separatists and the hordes of fiends” for “the burning of Irún, Eibar, Amorebieta and Guernica” and for “the persecutions and mass shootings, sackings of cities and expatriation of children.” The narrative then begins to enumerate Republican atrocities: “Once the Red separatist conglomerate was achieved, then began the reign of terror . . . They resorted to the disgraceful act of taking people from their houses in the middle of the night and . . . between gulps of wine they made a decision about one’s life or death. They killed to kill . . . What did one more cadaver matter?” The tour scripts detailed how Republican sympathizers forced imprisoned priests to dress up in *miliciano* uniforms and sing the Internationale, or required them to march around naked in front of heckling audiences.⁵⁸ Republicans comported themselves no better in the south. Right before the war in Seville, representatives of the Popular Front government robbed and killed prominent members of the right. In Grazalema, between Ronda and Jerez, “the Reds committed nineteen assassinations.”⁵⁹ Indiscriminate killing and disorder reigned.

The severity of these particular atrocities is not disputed by scholars. However, all context is missing from these Nationalist narratives. The greatest Republican war crimes were committed at the beginning of the war, and much of the killing was done unsystematically by unorganized bands of people. After the September and October prisoner assassinations, the civilian Basque government tried to scale back the number of killings and took away control of the jails from the CNT, alienating many working-class radicals in the process.⁶⁰ On the other hand, Nationalist atrocities continued systematically throughout the war, and the highest officials ordered them. The tour scripts, however, make no mention whatsoever of Nationalist terror. This is not a debate about which side committed more acts of savagery; rather, it is a question of narrative shaping and of how those stories would be used to convince international tourists—and by extension, the international community—of the necessity for a Nationalist victory. Similarly, these tales, so carefully repeated during the tours, would haunt the defeated in very real ways until the end of the Franco dictatorship: people known to have sympathized with the Republic were often killed, jailed, denied jobs, or stripped of their pensions.

According to these scripts, the Republicans breached all limits of decency by committing acts of terror on history and art. Many of the tour guides emphasized the Republicans’ purported disdain of Spain’s culture and history. In Eibar, the Republicans were accused of destroying a religious sanctuary. In Durango, Republicans turned sacred churches and convents into profane military barracks and desecrated mummies in the church of San Pedro de Talvira.⁶¹ Republicans also robbed Spain of its cultural heritage by stealing paintings and moving them to Bilbao. They stood

⁵⁸ “Ruta del Norte: Bilbao,” 1938/1939, Caja/Legajo 12028, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares.

⁵⁹ Servicio Nacional del Turismo, “Ruta de Andalucía: Sevilla,” 1938, Caja/Legajo 12025, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares.

⁶⁰ See Gabriel Jackson, *The Spanish Republic and the Civil War, 1931–1939* (Princeton, N.J., 1965), 285–286; Michael Seidman, *Republic of Egos: A Social History of the Spanish Civil War* (Madison, Wis., 2002), 93; Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*, 308, 431 n. 1, 540.

⁶¹ “Ruta del Norte: De San Sebastián a Bilbao,” 1938, Caja/Legajo 12028, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares.

accused of looting and destroying the "national artistic treasure."⁶² Such desecration demonstrated that the Republicans could not be trusted to rule Spain.

Finally, according to the narrative fashioned by the National Tourist Board, the Republicans terrorized the people by destroying the infrastructure of towns and cities. Every tour script for the War Route of the North referred to bridges that the Republicans had blown up—the concern seems almost obsessive. But bridges were not a trivial matter, because the drivers could not take tourists to planned sites when makeshift bridges were washed out.⁶³ Arson, however, was the Republicans' worst violation. This particular charge best illustrates the technique by which the Nationalist narrative strove to blame Republicans for crimes they had not committed and to convince the international community that the Nationalists had started the war for very sound reasons. As tourists were taken to Irún on the first leg of their tour, Bolín told them, "All this destruction was not caused by artillery fire, but resulted from systematic incendiarism and dynamiting by the enemy."⁶⁴ At the beginning of the war, anarchists *did* burn down Irún, in a scorched-earth policy. But the Nationalists expanded on this fact to accuse the Republicans of setting fire to all the towns the Nationalists had conquered on the northern front. Journalists and religious figures sympathetic to the Franco regime who went on the tours then spread these stories to their international audiences.

For the bombing of Guernica, the most famous of the cases, the Nationalists claimed that the Republicans had set fire to and bombed their own houses and buildings, just as they had in Irún. In fact, Bolín was responsible for creating and perpetuating the Guernica myth and thus became the most important link between journalism, tourism, and Francoist mythmaking.⁶⁵ When tourists went through Bilbao and the guide told them about the real massacres of Nationalists that had occurred in Republican prisons in 1936 and the Basque government's subsequent cover-up, he then linked the massacres to Guernica: "It was much easier to blame the rebels" than those "truly at fault [the Basque government] . . . In Guernica they were going to give a similar case. What did it matter that the population of Guernica were left without a home! Blaming the rebels left everything solved; moreover, it served as propaganda abroad."⁶⁶ On the visit through Eibar, tourists would hear: "One hundred houses are fuel for the flames. Just as in Irún, just as in Guernica . . . ; it wasn't the war that caused these ruins! . . . It was international Marxism without God and without Patria."⁶⁷ The Nationalists therefore could claim that they had restored

⁶² "Itinerario turístico para el recorrido de la porción batida del Cinturón de Hierro de Bilbao," 1938/1939, Caja/Legajo 12028, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares. In fact, Republicans did disassemble art works when they acquired them. The Committee for the Requisition and Protection of Artistic Patrimony campaigned to save national cultural treasures. See Holguín, *Creating Spaniards*, 170.

⁶³ See logs from Servicio Nacional del Turismo, "Tour Log, September 9, 1938," Caja/Legajo 12030, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares. Because the bridge between Cangas de Onís and Arriondas was destroyed, they could not go to Covadonga, and therefore the tour guides changed the itinerary. At each wooden bridge, the tourists got off the bus so that it would be as light as possible when it was driven across. See also Servicio Nacional del Turismo, "Tour Log, September 6, 1938," Caja/Legajo 12030, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares.

⁶⁴ Carney, "Battlefield Tours Started in Spain."

⁶⁵ For a full discussion of Bolín's role in the Nationalists' campaign to blame the Republicans for bombing Guernica, see Southworth, *Guernica! Guernica!*

⁶⁶ "Ruta del Norte: Bilbao."

⁶⁷ "De San Sebastián a Bilbao." This myth is repeated in Bolín, *Spain*, 274–282.

order to Spain, even if their means of doing so had been illegal and brutal. Moreover, they had sacrificed their own blood for this greater good.

WORD OF MOUTH AND MASSIVE PUBLICITY CAMPAIGNS helped fill these tours almost immediately. Two days after the first tour began in Irún, an alternative route started in Tuy, Galicia, mainly to serve Portuguese tourists. The tours ran every other day from July through October, and the following year the tour season began in May. By December 1938, a War Route of the South, also known as the Route of Andalusia, began catering mostly to British and Italian tourists, who could enter Spain via Gibraltar. The tour buses for both the northern and southern routes departed as scheduled, and they often picked up tourists at stops along the route.⁶⁸ It is important to note, however, that foreign tourists could not travel around Spain by themselves; they had to take part in these officially sanctioned tours. Italian and British travel agencies were especially successful at sending tour groups to Spain. One Italian agency, in fact, counted on sending one tour every month.⁶⁹ The National Tourist Board also arranged special itineraries for large groups of tourists. Guides transported some 100 to 150 people from the Italian Societa Nazionale "Dante Alighieri" along the Southern Route, 264 Spanish conference-goers from the Congreso de Ciencias through parts of northern Spain, 53 pilgrims of the Bishopric of Calahorra along the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela, and 200 "Friends of Spain" from France.⁷⁰

Who were these tourists? Although we do not always know who they were or how many people went, journalistic accounts and archival evidence suggest that they came from all over Europe; at least some Australians also joined the tours.⁷¹ According to Bolín, most of the tourists were "writers, lecturers, and preachers," professionals who had access to large audiences to whom they could disseminate what they learned from the tours. Some tourists "came to ascertain how Spain was faring under the stress of civil war, some were genuine tourists eager for a bargain, and a few collected background material with which to substantiate lurid accounts, pub-

⁶⁸ Although it is not possible to determine exactly how many people actually participated in the tours (not all of the tour logs were saved), a small sampling of tour logs from the War Route of the North demonstrates that the numbers were respectable, especially when we consider that the war was still going on and that many Europeans were certain that another European-wide war was looming on the horizon. The logs report the following: July 10–19, 1938, Tuy–Santander, twenty passengers; September 6–15, 1938, Tuy–Santander–Tuy, four passengers; September 18–30, 1938, special tour of the pilgrims of Calahorra, fifty-three passengers; October 3–12, 1938, San Sebastián–Oviedo–San Sebastián, twenty-five passengers; October 11–19, Irún–Oviedo–Irún, four passengers. Servicio Nacional de Turismo, tour logs for July 10–19, September 6–15, September 18–30, October 3–12, October 11–19, 1938, Caja/Legajo 12033, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares.

⁶⁹ British Overseas and Continental Travel, "Northern Spain," 1939(?), Caja/Legajo 12034, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares; S. A. Chiari Sommariva, "Letter to Sr. Jefe del Servicio Nacional del Turismo, Castilla de Santa Catalina, Málaga," 1938, Caja/Legajo 12033, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares.

⁷⁰ Luis A. Bolín, "Letter to José María Torroja," 1938, Caja/Legajo 12030, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares; Bolín, *Spain*, 304; Societa Anonima: Instituto Italiano e Propaganda Turisanda, "Letter to Bolín," Caja/Legajo 12033, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares; Servicio Nacional del Turismo, "Tour Log, September 18–30, 1938," Caja/Legajo 12030, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares.

⁷¹ For Australian participation, see Servicio Nacional del Turismo, "Tour Log, October 11."

lished later abroad, of repression and hunger behind our lines."⁷² Other evidence demonstrates that those who toured already sympathized with the Nationalist cause. They were most often Catholics, conservatives, or members of the radical right. For example, many Italians visited Spain, because Spanish Nationalists encouraged links to Italian fascists through official channels. A travel agent at Chiari Sommariva in Milan noted, "We have the pleasure to announce to you that our Agency has decided to organize, approximately each month, a trip to Spain with the purpose of visiting the Rutas de Guerra and to tighten still more the bonds of affection that unite the Spanish and Italian peoples."⁷³ Although Bolín asserted that the tours were a bargain, the price of the tours, the time required to take a nine-day vacation, and the accommodations provided ensured that the clients had to be relatively well-off.⁷⁴ This Nationalist desire for wealthy tourists with right-wing sympathies comes together explicitly in a letter from a man named Rafael Jorro, who had been hounding Bolín to get commissions for publicizing and selling tickets to people in Britain. He complained that he could not drum up much business in Scotland because Scottish Catholics were poor: "[T]here are very few people who have the means to undertake this trip among those who would like to. In Glasgow, the immense majority of our sympathizers come from the middle class to the poor, and the wealthiest are Protestants and, for the most part, are not our friends."⁷⁵ When the civil war ended and World War II began, Spaniards became the chief consumers of Spanish battlefield tourism, filling the vacuum left by other European tourists.⁷⁶

Although we have impressionistic sketches of who took the tours and where they came from, this information tells us nothing about how people experienced them. The few available eyewitness accounts come from journalists and/or intellectuals, and the timing of their articles—the first few weeks after the enterprise began—underscores the possibility that the Nationalists paid for their trips in order to get good publicity. In the case of a Portuguese delegation, there is no doubt that this happened. In July 1938, the ambassador of Nationalist Spain in Portugal invited twenty-two people to visit Spain, including seven journalists and the president of the Automobile Club of Portugal; and of those twenty-two people, fifteen belonged to the União Nacional, the only legal political organization of the right-wing, authoritarian Salazar regime.⁷⁷ Other accounts favorable to the Franco regime's point of view came from L. F. Auphan, who wrote for the French monarchist journal *L'Action Française*. He penned a series of articles called "Ten Days in the North of Spain

⁷² Bolín, *Spain*, 304.

⁷³ Chiari Sommariva, "Letter to Sr. Jefe del Servicio Nacional del Turismo, Castilla de Santa Catalina, Málaga."

⁷⁴ According to David Lloyd, "For most of the interwar period the average industrial wage for [British] men and boys was only £3 per week. A British Institute of Public Opinion Survey published in 1939 showed that only one-third of workers earning £4 per week or less could afford to go away at all . . . As late as 1937 only four million workers out of a workforce of eighteen and a half million earning £250 per annum or less were entitled to paid holidays." Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism*, 38. See also John Stevenson, *British Society, 1914–1945* (Harmondsworth, 1984), 122.

⁷⁵ Rafael Jorro, "Letter to Luis Bolín," 1938, Caja/Legajo 12033, Sección Cultura, AGA, Alcalá de Henares.

⁷⁶ Bolín said that "Spaniards, living in peace, wanted to know their country." Bolín, *Spain*, 306.

⁷⁷ See Beatriz Correyero Ruiz, "Las Rutas de Guerra y los periodistas portugueses," *Historia y Comunicación Social*, no. 6 (2001): 123–134; "Personalidades portuguesas en la Ruta de Guerra del Norte," *ABC*, July 12, 1938.



FIGURE 3: Cover of L. F. Auphan's series of articles translated from *L'Action Française*. Reproduced courtesy of the Southworth Spanish Civil War Collection, Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego.

Conquered by Franco.” (See Figure 3.) George Ravon, a writer for the French conservative paper *Le Figaro*, gave probably the most objective of the journalists’ accounts of the tours; and finally, the English reporter A. J. Cummings of the left-wing newspaper the *News Chronicle* managed to evade the Nationalist censors and wrote a piece critical of the tours.⁷⁸ The fact that many of these journalists may have been invited because of their pro-Francoist sympathies still makes it difficult to discern

⁷⁸ L. F. Auphan, “Diez días en el norte de España conquistado por Franco,” *L'Action Française*, August 1, 1938; George Ravon, “De los trágicos despojos del cura de Santillán al Martirio de Guernica,” *Le Figaro*, July 28, 1938, reproduced and translated in Armero, *España fue noticia*, 237–240; A. J. Cummings, “In Franco Spain,” *News Chronicle*, July 26, 1938; Cummings, “In Franco Spain: I Have Seen Guernica,” *News Chronicle*, July 29, 1938.

how "ordinary people" took in the scenery, but there are some conclusions we can draw about how people were supposed to receive information about Spain, especially when the journalists stray from their scripted parts.

All of these accounts agree on one point: that the Nationalists had restored order in places that had been theaters of war the year before. Everybody now labored constantly in factories and fields. The Nationalists provided food, even to their enemies. Despite the bombed-out buildings that remained, life in the Nationalist-controlled towns had "the appearance of normality."⁷⁹ Certainly, this was one of the Nationalists' primary goals and justifications for putting on the tours: to show the outside world that they were the only legitimate power capable of maintaining order. And to that degree, they succeeded in disseminating their message to international audiences through these journalists.

The journalists' experiences of the tours diverge somewhat after that. Those who shared the political leanings of the Franco regime parroted what Bolín's scripts have already told us. They spoke of "Red atrocities," of disorder, of Marxist blasphemers, and they lionized the Nationalist troops. Even the language the journalists used mimicked that of the scripts. About Guernica, Auphan wrote that the Basques had bombed their own city, "just like Irún, Eibar, and Durango."⁸⁰ On the other hand, Cummings, who knew that the Nationalists expected him to write favorable stories about them, regaled his readers with sardonic descriptions of his encounters with Bolín's tour guides. When a guide told him that the "Reds" had fired on the "shattered houses" in Guernica, he said, "again and again I had to point out with mild insistence the obvious signs of shelling and bombing."⁸¹ George Ravon refused to take sides in explaining the destruction of Guernica. He could conclude only that "the martyrdom of Guernica is not a work of whites nor of reds. The martyrdom of Guernica is the work of war."⁸²

How these journalists recounted "Red atrocity" stories demonstrates that some of them had already made up their minds about who the war's heroes and villains were. The Portuguese journalists and the French journalist Auphan repeated many of the horrific tales they had heard from the tour guides in order to justify the Nationalist takeover of Spain, and perhaps to lure more tourists across the border. Auphan recounted the numerous "summary executions" in Santander. What seems clear from accounts such as Auphan's and, by extension, those of the Nationalists is that they attempted to create a war martyrology to elevate the place of the Nationalists in Spanish history and to bring in pilgrims to these now-sacred atrocity sites. The best example of how a contemporary martyrdom site was created comes out of Auphan's extended description of brutal acts in Santander. He says that when the Republicans occupied Santander, they took the Nationalist suspects to a promontory for interrogation. If the suspects did not provide the Republicans with the proper information, they were thrown over the cliffs into the ocean. Auphan adds that after the Nationalists entered Santander, they saw hundreds of cadavers floating vertically in the water. A footnote written by the Spanish translator of this French

⁷⁹ Cummings, "In Franco Spain."

⁸⁰ Auphan, "Diez días en el norte de España conquistado por Franco," 13.

⁸¹ Cummings, "In Franco Spain."

⁸² Armero, *España fue noticia*, 240.

article adds yet another layer to the horror story by claiming that the writer forgot to mention that the cadavers were found with their mouths sewn together with wire. This detail, the translator says, was reported in *l'Oeuvre* [sic] *Latine de Paris* on October 1938, an issue that was dedicated to reviewing the pilgrimage of French Catholics to Nationalist Spain.⁸³ The atrocity sites of Santander became one more stop for Catholic pilgrims on the way to the biggest pilgrimage site of them all, Santiago de Compostela. The dead Nationalists could now be added to the pantheon of martyrs, and more important, the site now linked together the two pillars of the Franco regime—the Catholic Church and the Nationalist state.

In contrast, Cummings took a more jaundiced view of these horror stories. He said, “I was regaled with the usual stories of ‘Red atrocities’—one at least of which was demonstrably untrue—and of course the hundreds executed by Franco’s tribunals . . . were merely ‘Red’ criminals to whom stern justice had been meted out.” Instead of repeating those stories, he chose to take note of the concentration camp in Santander, which he was not allowed to visit. In a description dripping with sarcasm, he says, “[The prisoners] are treated so well . . . and set free so readily, if they are not ‘proved criminals,’ that I could not understand why 30,000 Basque men and women should still be in prison without trial and why 200,000 others should have fled from the paradise of Franco’s occupation.”⁸⁴ With those words, he undercut the Nationalists’ carefully controlled narratives and presented a less than legitimate picture of the regime to British audiences.

DESPITE THE MACABRE AND DANGEROUS NATURE OF THESE TOURS, the Nationalists succeeded in bringing tourists to war-ravaged Spain. The Nationalists accumulated more than seven million pesetas in profit from the venture, “almost nine times the money disbursed in the first instance of rolling stock and initial capital.”⁸⁵ Although there are no reliable statistics on the number of people who took the tours, one could estimate from a sampling of the tour logs that between 1938 and 1945, anywhere between 6,670 and 20,010 people traveled the *Rutas de Guerra*.⁸⁶ Foreign tourism declined at the beginning of World War II, but then Spaniards replaced the foreigners who could no longer occupy seats on the bus. The tours were extended to cover Madrid, Barcelona, “and other cities.” When World War II ended, Bolín turned over the government sponsorship of the tours “to allow private initiative a free hand.” He claimed that the revenue from the tours had “exceeded the most optimistic calculations.”⁸⁷ Between the end of World War II and the early 1950s, the

⁸³ Auphan, “Diez días en el norte de España conquistado por Franco,” 21, 22–23.

⁸⁴ Cummings, “In Franco Spain.”

⁸⁵ Bolín, *Spain*, 306.

⁸⁶ Using the dates of the tours projected by the National Spanish Tourist Board, I calculated that there were around forty-two tours in 1938 and eighty-eight tours each year from 1939 to 1945. Using a low of two passengers per tour to a high of thirty per tour (each bus actually accommodated thirty-three passengers), I came to the numbers stated above.

⁸⁷ Although Bolín is often unreliable in his interpretation of events, especially his interpretation of why the civil war took place, he is pretty reliable about more empirical data. For example, his discussions of the numbers of people on the specific tours from the Bishopric of Calahorra or the Congreso de Ciencias are verifiable from other archival sources. Because of this, I am taking his number of 7 million pesetas at face value. I am also willing to believe these figures because it is unlikely that he would have

Spanish tourist industry functioned in a limited capacity, because the Spanish infrastructure had been destroyed by both three years of civil war and postwar autarky. By the early 1960s, tourism to Spain began to be promoted forcefully by the new minister of tourism, Manuel Fraga, who lured tourists with his famous slogan "Spain is different."⁸⁸ Instead of focusing on the war, the Spanish state repackaged itself as a "fun" and unspoiled destination where European tourists could soak up sun and surf.

One cannot say with certainty whether the *Rutas de Guerra*'s negative propaganda about the Republicans truly persuaded large numbers of people to turn against Spain's Republic or, later, to affirm Nationalist legitimacy. But the Franco regime pursued these propagandistic strategies with the belief that they *would* work. Battlefield tourism became one of many entry points for Francoist propaganda campaigns that lasted until the 1970s. The tour script narratives mimicked the propaganda that Bolín had first served to foreign journalists at the beginning of the war, and these same narratives would later be found in newspapers, textbooks, and documentary films, and in war commemorations, ceremonies, and memorials.⁸⁹ All these devices served to construct a collective historical memory of the war as a Crusade, with the Nationalists representing the Christian warriors and Republicans cast as an updated version of the infidel Muslims. Spain's national identity was at stake, and the regime never stopped reminding Spaniards or foreigners of that fact. Indeed, one could claim that Spain became the first nation to use tourism *during* wartime to stabilize a national identity that was currently in flux.⁹⁰

The Spanish case confirms that thanatourism and its cousin heritage tourism are inextricably linked to interpretations of history, politics, and identity. Purveyors of these forms of tourism use them to politicize the past, and if successful, they create a collective memory of that past that helps to shape a group's understanding of a place's present and future. Thus, as media savvy has increased over the last hundred

continued to offer these tours after the initial season if they had not been profitable. Bolín, *Spain*, 304–306.

⁸⁸ Fernando Bayón Marín, ed., *50 años del turismo español: Un análisis histórico y estructural* (Madrid, 1999); Rafael Esteve Secall and Rafael Fuentes, *Economía, historia e instituciones del turismo en España* (Madrid, 2000).

⁸⁹ For a thorough recounting of how and why the Franco regime constructed these narratives in the post-civil war era, see Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia*.

⁹⁰ Even though the National Spanish Tourist Board privatized the battlefield tours after 1945, and although tourism tended to focus more on recreation and heritage after the 1950s, one could still find the ideology of these tours repackaged in the late 1960s. A group known as Le cercle historique et politique, in conjunction with General Tours of Paris, advertised a tour for October 4–17, 1968, titled "Spain of the Reconquest." This tour covered the former northern and southern routes of the *Rutas de Guerra* with the addition of visits to battle sites in Madrid, Barcelona, and Teruel. Despite the name of the tour, it did not cover the medieval *Reconquista* but rather the Spanish Civil War. Besides being able to eat dinner with members of the Falange in Madrid, tourists could visit Córdoba, the place "where Nationalists resisted fiercely for eight months." In Málaga, they would tour the city "famous for its massacre of Nationalists." So although a private French tour agency was responsible for organizing the tours to Spain for French tourists and history buffs, the agency uncritically used the rhetorical language and historical narratives created in the 1930s by the Nationalists. "Le cercle historique et politique et l'agence de voyages 'General Tours' vous proposent l'Espagne de la reconquête," 1968, Southworth Spanish Civil War Collection, Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego.

years, groups in power have increasingly understood tourism as a way to limit undesirable interpretations of contested grounds.⁹¹

Only after the death of Franco did people in Spain begin to come to grips with the ghosts of the civil war and to dissect the narratives that various official channels had carefully constructed and repeated for more than forty years. Outside of scholarly works and newspaper accounts, this confrontation with the past has been slow in Spain, mainly because the architects of the new Spain consciously chose to avoid the type of response demonstrated by the South African Truth and Reconciliation Committee.⁹² Recently, the Association for the Recovery of History and Memory pushed José María Aznar's government to fund the exhumation of Republican mass graves, which had been hidden from the public since the end of the civil war, giving credence to the notion that "the politics of corpses is about reorienting people's relationship to the past."⁹³ They also called for the reburial of Republican soldiers and citizens in proper graves, giving the war dead the honors long due them, and withdrawing the Francoist symbols that still remain in public view.⁹⁴ At last, some sixty years after the Spanish Civil War ended, it may soon be possible to tour the battlefields and finally do what the Nationalists challenged tourists to do during the war: pay homage to the heroic deeds of the fallen.⁹⁵

⁹¹ For a sampling of works that look at the relationship between thanatourism or heritage tourism and politics, history, and identity, see Baranowski and Furlough, *Being Elsewhere*; Lennon and Foley, *Dark Tourism*; Kenneth E. Foote, *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy* (Austin, Tex., 1997); Koshar, "What Ought to Be Seen"; and Bertram M. Gordon, "Warfare and Tourism: Paris in World War II," *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no. 3 (1998): 616–638.

⁹² See Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia*. See also Michael Richards, "From War Culture to Civil Society: Francoism, Social Change and Memories of the Spanish Civil War," *History and Memory* 14, no. 1/2 (2002): 93–120, esp. 102 and 116 n. 34: "There was never any homage to Republican veterans even to the modest extent of that paid by the Spanish parliament to International Brigade veterans in November 1996 on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of their arrival in Spain to aid the government."

⁹³ Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies*, 112.

⁹⁴ In fact, the last public statue of Franco in Madrid was taken down on March 17, 2005. See <http://newswww.bbc.net.uk/1/hi/world/europe/4357373.stm> for the latest chapter of this story.

⁹⁵ As of this writing, there is discussion in Spain about using the Valley of the Fallen, the Franco regime's memorial to the Nationalist dead and Franco's burial place, as a "memorial to his victims," and as a "study and education center" to "explain to people the meaning of the dictatorship and its horrors." Elizabeth Nash, "Monument to Franco May Be Converted into Memorial to His Victims," *The Independent*, March 29, 2005.

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Stalinist Terror and Democracy: The 1937 Union Campaign

WENDY GOLDMAN

IN A PRISON CAMP IN THE 1930s, a young Soviet woman posed an anguished question in a poem about Stalinist terror:

We must give an answer: Who needed
The monstrous destruction of the generation
That the country, severe and tender,
Raised for twenty years in work and battle?¹

Historians, united only by a commitment to do this question justice, differ sharply about almost every aspect of “the Great Terror”:² the intent of the state, the targets of repression, the role of external and internal pressures, the degree of centralized control, the number of victims, and the reaction of Soviet citizens. One long-prevailing view holds that the Soviet regime was from its inception a “terror” state. Its authorities, intent solely on maintaining power, sent a steady stream of people to their deaths in camps and prisons. The stream may have widened or narrowed over time, but it never stopped flowing. The Bolsheviks, committed to an antidemocratic ideology and thus predisposed to “terror,” crushed civil society in order to wield unlimited power. Terror victimized all strata of a prostrate population.³

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¹ Yelena Vladimirova, a Leningrad communist who was sent to the camps in the late 1930s, wrote the poem. It is reprinted in full in Roy Medvedev, *Let History Judge: The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism* (New York, 1989), 634.

² The period of Nikolai Ezhov’s tenure (September 1936–November 1938) is called the “Ezhovshchina” or “the Terror,” terms that encompass purge, repression, and the general climate of fear. The term “purge” or *chistka* refers to a process within the Communist Party in which members were periodically reviewed and sometimes expelled for corruption, passivity, moral laxity, political differences, or other reasons. In the mid-1930s, these purges turned deadly, and expulsion was often the prelude to arrest, imprisonment, or execution. “Purge” is also sometimes used to describe expulsions from an institution. The term “repression” refers to the larger phenomena of arrest, imprisonment, and execution affecting people within and outside the Party.

³ Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror: A Reassessment* (New York, 1990); Stephanie Courtois, Nicolas Werth, Jean-Louis Panne, Andrzej Paczkowski, Karel Bartosek, and Jean-Louis Margolin, *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999); Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago: An Experiment in Literary Investigation, 1918–1956* (New York, 1973); Marc Jansen and Nikita Petrov, *Stalin’s Loyal Executioner: People’s Commissar Nikolai Ezhov* (Stanford, Calif., 2002); Hiroaki Kuromiya, *Terror and Freedom in the Donbas* (Cambridge, 1999). Oleg Khlevniuk’s works, including *In Stalin’s Shadow: The Career of “Sergo” Ordzhonikidze* (New York, 1995) and *1937-i: Stalin,*

In the 1980s, a new interest in social history prompted a “revisionist” reaction to this view. Historians began to take a closer look at the fissures and tensions within the state. They charted sharp vacillations in policy, relationships among central and local authorities, conflicts between campaign-style justice and the rule of law, and the effect of foreign and internal social threats. They explored a dynamic dialectic between state policies and social responses in which state action produced unforeseen social and economic consequences, which in turn led to increasingly Draconian measures. They identified specific targets and episodes of repression.⁴ A few historians investigated institutions and groups, uncovering complex interactions between state initiatives and social or community interests. They began to explore “popular elements” in the terror, discovering that workers and peasants used its rituals and rhetoric to denounce managers and officials for abuse. But with a few exceptions, they did not fully develop these initial findings.⁵ Most recently, historians have begun to focus on individual subjectivities, charting the inner psychology beneath the public reaction to repression.⁶

In the 1990s, newly released archival materials provided important information

NKVD i sovetskoe obshchestvo (Moscow, 1992), are informed by a similar view of the state, but focus mainly on the *Ezhovshchina*.

⁴ See, for example, J. Arch Getty, *Origins of the Great Purges: The Soviet Communist Party Reconsidered, 1933–38* (New York, 1985); Getty, “State and Society under Stalin: Constitutions and Elections in the 1930s,” *Slavic Review* 50, no. 1 (1991); Getty, *Pragmatists and Puritans: The Rise and Fall of the Party Control Commission*, *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, no. 1208 (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1997); Getty and Oleg Naumov, *The Road to Terror: Stalin and the Self-Destruction of the Bolsheviks* (New Haven, Conn., 1999); James Harris, *The Great Urals: Regional Interests and the Evolution of the Soviet System, 1934–1939* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1999); E. A. Rees, ed., *Centre-Local Relations in the Stalinist State, 1928–1941* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, 2002); Gabor Rittersporn, *Stalinist Simplifications and Soviet Complications: Social Tensions and Political Conflicts in the USSR, 1933–1953* (London, 1991); Peter Solomon, *Soviet Criminal Justice under Stalin* (Cambridge, 1996).

⁵ On workers, industry, and repression, see Sheila Fitzpatrick, “Workers against Bosses: The Impact of the Great Purges on Labor-Management Relations,” in Lewis Siegelbaum and Ronald Suny, eds., *Making Workers Soviet: Power, Class and Identity* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994), 311–340; and David Hoffman, “The Great Terror on the Local Level: Purges in Moscow Factories, 1936–1938,” Roberta Manning, “The Soviet Economic Crisis of 1936–1940 and the Great Purges,” and Robert Thurston, “The Stakhanovite Movement: The Background to the Great Terror in the Factories, 1935–1938,” all in J. Arch Getty and Roberta Manning, eds., *Stalinist Terror: New Perspectives* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993). This collection included pioneering articles on repression in factories, villages, the military, and other places, yet only a few contributors developed their initial findings. See also Siegelbaum, *Stakhanovism and the Politics of Productivity in the USSR, 1935–41* (Cambridge, 1988); Thurston, “Reassessing the History of Soviet Workers: Opportunities to Criticize and Participate in Decision-Making,” in Stephen White, ed., *New Directions in Soviet History* (Cambridge, 1992); and Thurston, *Life and Terror in Stalin’s Russia, 1934–1941* (New Haven, Conn., 1996). On peasant reactions, see Fitzpatrick, “How the Mice Buried the Cat: Scenes from the Great Purges of 1937 in the Russian Provinces,” *Russian Review* 52 (1993), and *Stalin’s Peasants: Resistance and Survival in the Russian Village after Collectivization* (New York, 1994); Roberta Manning, *Government in the Soviet Countryside in the Stalinist Thirties: The Case of Belyi Raion in 1937*, *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, no. 301 (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1984). On institutional conflict, see William Chase, *Enemies within the Gates: The Comintern and the Stalinist Repression, 1934–39* (New Haven, Conn., 2001); Asif Siddiqi, “The Rockets’ Red Glare: Technology, Conflict, and Terror in the Soviet Union,” *Technology and Culture* 44, no. 3 (July 2003).

⁶ Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times—Soviet Russia in the 1930s* (Oxford, 1999); Veronique Garros, Natalia Korenevskaya, and Thomas Lahusen, *Intimacy and Terror: Soviet Diaries of the 1930s* (New York, 1995); Igal Halfin, *Terror in My Soul: Communist Autobiographies on Trial* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003); Jochen Hellbeck, “Fashioning the Stalinist Soul: The Diary of Stepan Podlubnyi, 1931–39,” in Fitzpatrick, ed., *Stalinism: New Directions* (New York, 2000). This list does not include memoirists and novelists, who explore the reactions and psychology of the individual in great detail.

on Iosif Stalin's role and the targets of repression. The documents reinforced the earlier tendency to focus on a few highly placed leaders by providing incontestable proof of Stalin's close personal involvement in repression. Peppered with Stalin's signature and marginal notes, they revealed his hand to be quite literally everywhere. The archives also yielded new information about victims, substantially expanding the categories of people marked for repression beyond the economic managers, Communist Party and military leaders, former oppositionists, and foreign communists previously identified by historians. "Order 00447" for "mass operations" in July 1937 set target numbers for the imprisonment or execution of criminals, clergy, former kulaks, and other "hostile elements." It was followed by "Order 00485," which led to the mass roundup of Polish nationals, and "Order 00486," which mandated the arrests of wives of men convicted of counterrevolutionary crimes.⁷ These findings led to a new subset of research, termed "victim studies."⁸ The discovery of the "mass operations" encouraged some historians to conceptualize the terror more narrowly as "a series of centrally directed punitive actions." In attributing the terror almost solely to Stalin and his close supporters, they discounted the influences of local officials, social tensions, and institutional conflicts in spreading repression.⁹

Scholars working in newly available archives have thus taught us much about the role of central authorities and the victims targeted, but the issue of mass participation still remains relatively unexplored. The gap is particularly striking in light of the scrupulous attention that historians of Nazism have given to attitudes and actions of "ordinary" Germans. Their attention to the responses of women, workers, farmers, and the middle classes, to what people knew and how they understood what they knew—in short, to the social history of Nazi terror—still has no fully developed counterpart in the historiography of Stalinism.¹⁰ In posing questions about the social

⁷ On mass operations, see J. Arch Getty, "'Excesses Are Not Permitted': Mass Terror and Stalinist Governance in the Late 1930s," *Russian Review* 61 (January 2002); Paul Hagenloh, "Socially Harmful Elements and the Great Terror," in Fitzpatrick, *Stalinism: New Directions*; Oleg Khlevniuk, "The Objectives of the Great Terror, 1937–1938," in J. Cooper, M. Perrie, and E. A. Rees, eds., *Soviet History, 1917–1953: Essays in Honor of R. W. Davies* (London, 1995); and Barry McLoughlin, "Mass Operations of the NKVD, 1937–9: A Survey," Nikita Firsov and Arsenii Roginskii, "The 'Polish Operation' of the NKVD, 1937–8," and David Shearer, "Social Disorder, Mass Repression and the NKVD during the 1930s," all in Barry McLoughlin and Kevin McDermott, eds., *Stalin's Terror: High Politics and Mass Repression in the Soviet Union* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, 2003).

⁸ Barry McLoughlin and Kevin McDermott, "Rethinking Stalinist Terror," in McLoughlin and McDermott, *Stalin's Terror*, 3.

⁹ Oleg Khlevniuk, *The History of the Gulag: From Collectivization to the Great Terror* (New Haven, Conn., 2004), 140. See also Khlevniuk's review of Jansen and Petrov's *Stalin's Loyal Executioner in Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 4, no. 3 (2003), and J. Arch Getty's response in "To the Editors," *Kritika* 5, no. 1 (2004).

¹⁰ A sampling includes Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York, 1992); Norman Finkelstein and Ruth Birn, *A Nation on Trial: The Goldhagen Thesis and Historical Truth* (New York, 1998); Robert Gellately, *Backing Hitler: Consent and Coercion in Nazi Germany* (Oxford, 2001); Michael Geyer and John Boyer, eds., *Resistance against the Third Reich* (Chicago, 1994); Daniel Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York, 1996); Raul Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe, 1933–1945* (New York, 1992); Eric Johnson, *Nazi Terror: The Gestapo, Jews, and Ordinary Germans* (New York, 1999); Ian Kershaw, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich: Bavaria, 1933–45* (Oxford, 1983); Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family, and Nazi Politics* (New York, 1987); Detlev Peukert, *Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition and Racism in Everyday Life* (New Haven, Conn., 1987); and Marlis G. Steinert, *Hitler's War and the Germans: Public Mood and Attitude during the Second World War* (Athens, Ohio, 1977).

responses to terror, Russian historians can build on long-standing comparisons of the political and coercive elements shared by Nazism and Stalinism.¹¹ Both regimes were dictatorial states ruled by leaders with strong personality cults. Both mobilized wide popular support, destroyed civil liberties and judicial rights, established vast camp systems, relied on terror and coercion, and promulgated encompassing ideologies that sought to remake politics, culture, family, and the individual. They even shared “founding events” in mysterious conspiracies: the Reichstag fire and the murder of Sergei M. Kirov, the head of the Leningrad Party organization. And their historiographies, too, are marked by certain similarities. The “totalitarian” versus “revisionist” debate among historians of the Soviet Union has its parallel in the “intentionalist” versus “functionalist” controversy among historians of Nazism. The explanatory weights assigned variously to the power of the leader, to ideology, intention, political improvisation, and contingency shape both sets of debate. Both groups of historians have engaged in similar polemics, impugning the motives of the opposite camp. Just as “intentionalists” charged “functionalists” with “implicitly, unwittingly furnishing an apology for the Nazi regime,” so proponents of the “totalitarian” thesis accused “revisionists” of “fairly dripping with whitewash of Stalinism.” New work suggests that historians of both countries may be moving beyond earlier debates in an effort to integrate the ideology and deliberate intentions of the state with contingent social pressures and responses.¹²

Of course, similarities between Hitler’s Germany and Stalin’s Russia can easily be overstated. In the Soviet case, an older Cold War emphasis on facile similarities may have discouraged a deeper exploration of institutional and social responses to the terror. Soviet leaders never promulgated a racist eliminationist ideology; on the contrary, they insisted, at least officially, on the broad principles of internationalism. Unlike Nazi terror, which was directed externally and sought to unite Germans around the demonization of Jews, Gypsies, and the conquered peoples of the east, the terror in the Soviet Union was directed internally in ritualized exposures and expulsions that affected every workplace and institution. The initial perpetrators of purge often became victims of the very processes they had initially promulgated, and unions and local Party organizations devoured themselves. This internal dy-

¹¹ Comparative approaches include Omer Bartov, “Review Forum: Rewriting the Twentieth Century—Extreme Opinions,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 3, no. 2 (2002); Alan Bullock, *Hitler and Stalin: Parallel Lives* (New York, 1992); “Special Issue on Denunciation,” ed. Sheila Fitzpatrick and Robert Gellately, *Journal of Modern History* 68, no. 4 (1997); Fitzpatrick and Gellately, eds., *Accusatory Practices: Denunciation in Modern European History, 1789–1989* (Chicago, 1997); Gellately and Ben Kiernan, *The Specter of Genocide: Mass Murder in Historical Perspective* (New York, 2005); Ian Kershaw and Moshe Lewin, eds., *Stalinism and Nazism: Dictatorships in Comparison* (Cambridge, 1997); Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe’s Twentieth Century* (New York, 1999); and Eric Weitz, *A Century of Genocide: Utopias of Race and Nation* (Princeton, N.J., 2003.)

¹² Tim Mason, “Intention and Explanation: A Current Controversy about the Interpretation of National Socialism,” in Jane Caplan, ed., *Nazism, Fascism and the Working Class: Essays by Tim Mason* (Cambridge, 1995), 212; Martin Malia, “To the Editors,” *Kritika* 2, no. 4 (2001). See also Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation* (London, 1993); “From the Editors: Really-Existing Revisionism?” *Kritika* 3, no. 3 (2002); Christopher Browning, “Beyond ‘Intentionalism’ and ‘Functionalism’: A Reassessment of Nazi Jewish Policy from 1939 to 1941,” in Thomas Childers and Jane Caplan, eds., *Reevaluating the Third Reich* (New York, 1993). On “revisionism,” see *The Russian Review* 45, no. 4 (1986) and 46, no. 4 (1987), and more recently Martin Malia, “Judging Nazism and Communism,” *National Interest* 69 (Fall 2002); Michael David-Fox, “On the Primacy of Ideology: Soviet Revisionists and Holocaust Deniers (In Response to Martin Malia),” *Kritika* 5, no. 1 (2004).

namic, with its complicated organizational, psychological, and political mechanisms of self-destruction, clearly differs from the mobile killing squads and genocidal death camps of Nazism. If the rhetoric of Nazism was aimed at the “enemy” without, the rhetoric of the Soviet terror centered on “unmasking” the “enemy” within.

This article shifts attention from the machinations of top Party leaders to the mechanisms by which repression engulfed Soviet society. The Kirov assassination, the rise of fascism, and the threat of war fueled widespread fears of foreign enemies, “wreckers” (saboteurs), and spies.¹³ Party leaders presented the murderous abrogation of civil rights that we presently term “the Terror” as patriotic “anti-terror” measures, stressing that vigilance and denunciation were duties of all loyal citizens. Moreover, they couched these “anti-terror” measures in the language of anti-bureaucratization, socialist renewal, and mass control from below, appeals with strong popular resonance. Repression was a mass phenomenon, not only in the number of victims it claimed, but in the number of perpetrators it spawned. The Stalinist leadership played a key role in launching and directing the terror, yet *repression was also institutionally disseminated*. People participated as perpetrators and victims, and sometimes both, through their membership in factories, unions, schools, military units, and other institutions. The complex issues and rivalries unique to these organizations helped fuel the political culture of repression. This article also examines repression in the unions, a network encompassing almost 22 million members. It maps the spread of repression as it flowed downward and outward through the hierarchical layers of a mass institution that reached from a central governing council of unions to committees in factories and shops.

In the unions, the slogans of repression were intimately intertwined with those of democracy. Nowhere is this astounding, puzzling pairing more evident than in the campaign for union democracy (*profdemokratiia*), a mass movement to revitalize the unions that coincided with the sharpest period of political repression in 1937 and 1938. Superficially, these two phenomena appear in sharp contradiction. What could spy mania, mass arrests, extralegal trials, and executions possibly have in common with secret ballots, new elections, official accountability, and the revitalization of union democracy from below? Historians have placed so much emphasis on “terror” during the Stalin era that it is difficult to see a mass campaign for union democracy as anything but a cynical propaganda ploy from above. Yet the campaign was a complex movement in which the interests of many groups—top Party leaders, union officials, and workers—combined, collided, and ignited. It had important intentional and unintentional consequences for the unions, and it refocused attention, albeit briefly, on working and living conditions. Most importantly, the campaign sparked a power struggle within the unions that fueled repression.

This article is the first to examine these tumultuous events. Drawing on new

¹³ A disgruntled former Party member, Leonid V. Nikolaev, assassinated Kirov in December 1934. The murder led to mass arrests of former oppositionists and the abrogation of civil liberties. On the Kirov murder, see Amy Knight, *Who Killed Kirov? The Kremlin's Greatest Mystery* (New York, 1999), and Robert Conquest, *Stalin and the Kirov Murder* (Oxford, 1989). John Scott, *Behind the Urals: An American Worker in Russia's City of Steel* (Bloomington, Ind., 1989), 197, notes that newspapers, radio, and theater constantly encouraged Soviet citizens to be vigilant about spies. *Ochnaia Stavka* (The Confrontation) was one of several spy plays popular in the late 1930s. The movie *Velikii Grazhdanin* (Great Citizen) taught audiences how to “unmask” hidden oppositionists.

archival documents, it traces the devolution of democracy and repression from the Central Committee of the Communist Party to the central governing body of the unions into more than 160 unions and thousands of factory committees. Within a year, democratic elections from union central to factory committees had routed the old leadership and stirred up a frenzy of denunciation and slander. This article seeks to answer the poet's cry, "Who needed the monstrous destruction?" by exploring not only the interests of Stalin and top Party leaders, but those of union officials and members as well.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE (CC) OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY held its "historic" plenum from February 22 to March 5, 1937, amid an intensifying hunt for enemies in Party circles and an escalating climate of fear within industry. Nikolai Ezhov, appointed head of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) in September 1936, had already arrested more than 1,000 officials in industry for "wrecking" and "industrial sabotage."¹⁴ In January, former members of the left opposition, including Iurii Piatakov, the deputy commissar of heavy industry, were charged with industrial wrecking and espionage for fascist Germany. They were tried in the second of the famous "Moscow show trials," and subsequently shot. The commissar of heavy industry, Grigorii (Sergo) Ordzhonikidze, unable to protect his employees from arrest, foresaw his own fate and committed suicide on the eve of the CC plenum. Parallel to the quickening tempo of arrests, the new "Stalin Constitution" had recently been adopted after broad discussion and a national referendum. It lifted previous voting restrictions on priests, white guards, former aristocrats, and other *byvshie liudi* (former people of the old tsarist regime), mandated multi-candidate, secret-ballot, direct elections, and provided equal weight to rural and urban votes. Party leaders were more than a bit nervous about how Party candidates would fare in such elections. The lead editorial of the main union journal queried anxiously, "Are we ready for this?"¹⁵ The hunt for enemies among industrial and Party leaders was thus accompanied by great fanfare trumpeting "the most democratic constitution in the world."¹⁶

The CC plenum, too, was shaped by the striking duality of terror and democracy. Much of the plenum was devoted to the "anti-Party activities" of Nikolai Bukharin and Aleksei Rykov. The discussion, marked by rude accusations and piteous defenses, ended with the CC's vote to expel Bukharin and Rykov from the Party, arrest them, and march them directly from the plenum to prison. Ezhov and other Party leaders delivered lengthy speeches on the threats posed by a new terrorist bloc of Trotskyists and rightists who aimed to assassinate Soviet leaders. At the same time, Stalin and Andrei Zhdanov, secretary of the CC and the Leningrad Party organization, criticized the Party purge in 1935–1936, which had permitted the "heartless and bureaucratic" expulsions of "little people" or lower Party cadres while failing

¹⁴ Getty and Naumov, *The Road to Terror*, 282.

¹⁵ "Informatsionnoe Soobshchenie ob Ocherednom Plenum TsK VKP (b)," *Voprosy profdvizheniia* 5–6 (March 1937): 2. Elections to the Supreme Soviet were held in October 1937, but single-candidate elections were substituted for the promised multi-candidate form at the last minute. See Getty, "State and Society under Stalin."

¹⁶ *Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics* (Moscow, 1938).

to eliminate former oppositionists. They focused on the need for greater internal Party democracy, presenting a vision of a new, revitalized Party purged of oppositionists. The Party needed to eliminate the noisy boasting, servile flattery, and empty sloganeering that characterized its activities.¹⁷

The Party plenum, and Zhdanov's speech in particular, served as a type of "action text," studded with set phrases that were in turn disseminated from the CC to the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (VTsSPS) to the unions themselves.¹⁸ Using the same phrases that had marked the earlier nationwide discussion of the Stalin Constitution, Zhdanov linked the coming elections to the Supreme Soviet to the need for greater democracy within the Party itself. He called for "multi-candidate, secret-ballot elections from top to bottom," "an end to appointments (*kooptatsiia*) in place of elections," "mass participation in government," "activation of the Party masses," "criticism and self-criticism," and "greater accountability of Party leaders before their members." Zhdanov held that elections within the Party had become "a mere formality": heads of local Party committees were chosen and confirmed by rote elections, or appointed and removed "from above," practices that "deprived members of their legal rights to control the party organs." The Party had to be rebuilt "on the basis of unconditional and full realization of internal party democracy."¹⁹

What did Party leaders mean by "democracy"? The answer here is fairly clear-cut: secret ballots, multi-candidate elections, increased involvement of the rank and file, greater accountability of leaders, and an end to the "mini-cults" surrounding local and regional officials. This definition, which was applicable to both the general electorate and the Party, shared much with the classical liberal conception, yet differed from it in two crucial respects. First, although Party leaders encouraged the rank and file to speak out against bosses and officials, they never endorsed the abstract principle of free speech. They placed limits on speech and policed them. Second, although they insisted on secret ballots and multi-candidate elections, they considered the ballot only one element in the ideal of social and economic democracy. Placing greater emphasis on active participation, they organized various forms of control from below to oversee, for example, prices in stores, disbursement of funds, housing construction, and the regendering of industrial jobs. These control organizations often wielded real power to redress problems. Yet like elections, they could easily be transformed into empty performative rituals.

What did Party leaders intend in their invocation of democracy? This question

¹⁷ "Materialy Fevral'sko-Martovskogo Plenuma TsK VKP (b) 1937 Goda," *Voprosy istorii* 5 (1993), contains Zhdanov's speech; *Voprosy istorii* 7 (1993) contains resolutions on Zhdanov's speech; *Voprosy istorii* 3 (1995) contains Stalin's speech; and *Voprosy istorii* 11–12 (1995) contains Stalin's concluding words. For many years, knowledge of the February–March 1937 Central Committee plenum was based on rumors and reminiscences. The full stenographic report was published in sections in *Voprosy istorii* between 1992 and 1995. An excerpt in English, dealing with the purge of Bukharin and Rykov, and discussion can be found in Getty and Naumov, *The Road to Terror*, 364–419.

¹⁸ I am indebted to J. Arch Getty for the phrase "action text," which describes how key speeches set the agenda for action in a much wider arena. He writes, "The role that such speeches played as action-texts was certainly different than the roles speeches play in other countries. It's almost as if the texts had power in themselves and were used at many levels in different ways as power deployments. The most graphic example, of course, was the physical display of Mao's Little Red Book where, quite literally, the text was a tangible weapon." Personal correspondence, October 2003.

¹⁹ "Materialy Fevral'sko-Martovskogo Plenuma," *Voprosy istorii* 5 (1993); 7 (1993).

is more complicated. Party leaders believed that the practice of *koopatsiia* fostered resentment, widened the gap between leaders and the rank and file, and hindered removal of oppositionists. Regional and local leaders staffed the posts beneath them with their own loyal appointees, creating an atmosphere of *semeistvennost'* or "family-ness" based on circles of mutual protection. Not beholden to an electorate, wielding vast power to hire and fire, they built up personal fiefdoms and cults. A. I. Ugarov, former secretary of the Leningrad City Committee, complained that "parades, clamor, boasting, glorification of leaders, and toadyism" had replaced honest, direct relations. When a newspaper sycophantically described how "the working class listened with great love" to a Party secretary's speech, Ugarov noted with disgust, "This is obviously false and distorts our relationship with workers."²⁰ At the same time, the Kirov murder provoked deep fears among Stalin and his supporters that oppositionists might mobilize the social discontent created by collectivization and rapid industrialization.²¹ Party leaders thus had several interests in democracy. They wanted to revitalize the links between the Party and its base, eliminate the creeping apathy in the lower ranks, mobilize those ranks to break up the "family circles" around the regional leaders, and remove former oppositionists or "enemies." Most importantly, in their promotion of democracy, *they viewed these aims as complementary, not contradictory.*

Nikolai Shvernik, the head of the VTSPS, delivered the main address on the unions to the CC plenum. Although a number of speakers had prepared their texts in advance for review by the Politburo, Shvernik's speech seemed to surprise Stalin and other CC members.²² When Shvernik mentioned that wreckers had seized leadership posts in the unions, Stalin called out, "Who seized these posts?" Shvernik replied that Gil'burg, the head of the Coke and Chemical Workers' Union, had been arrested, and Stalin interrupted again, "He seized a post?" His bewilderment suggested that he was not aware which union leaders the NKVD had arrested. Shvernik also surprised the delegates with his announcement that the unions were as badly in need of democratic overhaul as the Party. "I should say here directly and with all frankness that the unions are in even worse shape." He casually tossed out the suggestion that the unions, too, might benefit from democratic elections. The suggestion clearly startled the plenum delegates. Lazar Kaganovich, a Politburo member and one of Stalin's staunchest supporters, called out in surprise, "By secret voting?" Shvernik shook his head doubtfully: "I don't know about secret voting." There was general laughter in the hall as one CC member blurted out, "It's frightening!" Shvernik replied thoughtfully, "I think this wouldn't be too bad."²³

The campaign for union democracy thus appears to have begun on Shvernik's recommendation, without planning by Stalin, the Politburo, or the Central Com-

²⁰ "Materialy Fevral'sko-Martovskogo Plenuma," *Voprosy istorii* 5 (1993); 10 (1995).

²¹ These fears were among the main subtexts of the first Moscow show trial in August 1936. See *The Case of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Center: Report of Court Proceedings* (Moscow, 1936). See also the speeches of Stalin, Ivan Kabakov, Robert Eikhe, A. S. Kalygina, and Stanislav Kosior in "Materialy Fevral'sko-Martovskogo Plenuma," *Voprosy istorii* 6 (1993); 7 (1993); 3 (1995).

²² The Politburo met on February 17 to review the draft resolutions to be adopted at the upcoming plenum, and the key speeches to be delivered by Zhdanov, Stalin, Ezhov, Ordzhonikidze, and Kaganovich. Shvernik's speech, along with many others, does not appear to have been reviewed by the Politburo. See Khlevniuk, *In Stalin's Shadow*, 126–127, 145–146.

²³ "Materialy Fevral'sko-Martovskogo Plenuma," *Voprosy istorii* 10 (1995).



FIGURE 1: Nikolai M. Shvernik (1888–1970) was head of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions from 1930 to 1944. He launched the campaign for union democracy in 1937. *Voprosy profdvizheniia* 9–10 (May 1937): 6.

mittee. The key speeches at the plenum were used to formulate its resolutions, which in turn set the future program of the Party. The plenum resolutions also became the new marching orders for the unions. Calling for "mass control from below," direct voting, individual candidates in place of lists, secret ballots, and "the unlimited right to criticize candidates," the resolutions mandated new elections by May at every level of the Party hierarchy, from the primary party organizations to the central committees of the republics, and set terms of office not to exceed eighteen months.²⁴ J. Arch Getty and Oleg Naumov note that Zhdanov's speech and others unleashed "serious insurrections" within the Party against the entrenched regional leadership.²⁵ Within less than three weeks, the CC plenum was followed by a plenum of the VTsSPS, the central governing council of the unions, which was followed in turn by meetings within individual unions at every level. From the VTsSPS to the shop floor, union leaders disseminated the themes of the CC plenum. Recycling discrete "language pieces" or slogans from Stalin's and Zhdanov's speeches, they set a new course. The March issue of *Voprosy Profdvizheniia*, the main journal of the VTsSPS, paired publication of the resolutions with a searing editorial that excoriated the unions and the VTsSPS from top to bottom. The editors wrote, "The insufficiencies characterizing the Party characterize the unions to an even greater degree." Their critique echoed Zhdanov's precisely: violations of union democracy, *kooptatsiia*, "bureaucratic perversions," "weakening ties with the masses," "arrogance," "toadying," and suppression of criticism.²⁶

In the unions, too, the call for democracy was wedded to the politics of purge. VTsSPS leaders claimed that former oppositionists occupied numerous posts. Mikhail Tomskii, a former head of the VTsSPS, and Nikolai Uglov, a former head of the Commissariat of Labor, had been key figures in the right "deviation" of the late 1920s. When the Commissariat of Labor was eliminated in 1932, the VTsSPS incorporated its functions along with hundreds of former "rightists" on its staff. The Department of Social Insurance, for example, which provided support to sick and disabled workers, moved from the Commissariat of Labor to VTsSPS. Union leaders now claimed that the department "was riddled with embezzlers and enemies of the people" who had stolen millions of rubles and "systematically disrupted pensions." Skillfully blending anti-oppositionist rhetoric with an appeal to workers' needs, VTsSPS leaders charged that "enemies of the people" had organized accidents, violated safety rules, poisoned the air in the mines and copper-smelting works, embezzled union funds, and wrecked housing construction and social services. The NKVD had arrested leading officials in the chemical, agricultural machine-building, and blooming metallurgical industries, among others, yet the unions had failed to identify and stop "wrecking."²⁷

Echoing Party leaders at the CC plenum, VTsSPS leaders made the same link

²⁴ "Materialy Fevral'sko-Martovskogo Plenuma," *Voprosy istorii* 7 (1993); "Informatsionnoe Soobshchenie," 2–3.

²⁵ Getty and Naumov, *The Road to Terror*, 358–360. Although the resolutions ostensibly called for more democracy, Getty and Naumov contend that the real aim of Stalin, Zhdanov, and other leaders was not to empower the lower ranks, but to use them to weaken the regional leadership, thus strengthening power at the top. See also Getty, "Pragmatists and Puritans," 25–26.

²⁶ "Itogi Plenuma TsK VKP (b) i Zadachi Profdvizheniia 5–6 (March 1937): 4–8.

²⁷ Ibid.

between terror and democracy: wreckers flourished because democracy had withered. "Enemies," they argued, were "able to pursue their dark, traitorous affairs because the unions did not encourage self-criticism and did not heed the complaints and declarations of the workers." Production meetings in the factories had "turned into occasions for empty speechifying." Union and Party leaders discussed every possible topic "except the suggestions of the workers, masters, and technicians." The unions abandoned occupational health and safety and ignored dangerous work environments.²⁸ The solutions proposed by VTsSPS leaders were identical to Zhdanov's program for the Party: to revive democracy, criticize the "union 'hats' who overlooked wreckers," and bring in "fresh blood" through democratic elections. Invoking a return to "the authentic Bolshevik Leninist spirit," they urged their members to sweep out the bureaucrats, take power back into their own hands, and bring important issues such as safety, housing, and health to the fore.²⁹

This message resonated strongly with union members. Millions of peasants had flocked to the cities during the first Five-Year Plan (1929–1932), real wages had dropped by half, and living and working conditions were very difficult. When the Party purged the "rightists" and forced the unions to "face toward production" in 1929, they largely abdicated defense of working-class interests.³⁰ Although VTsSPS leaders were disingenuous in blaming accidents and poor living conditions on "wrecking," they were accurate in their assessment of the unions. The call for revitalization was guaranteed to appeal directly to workers by linking the hunt for enemies to a new workers' democracy. It was quickly translated into action. Within less than one month, the VTsSPS convened its own plenum to promulgate the new approach. Its double-edged message of democratic revival and repression was in turn disseminated through the unions and into factories.

THE VTsSPS HELD ITS 6TH PLENUM IN APRIL 1937, its first since 1931. The long hiatus figured prominently in Shvernik's keynote address, which charged that the unions had fallen apart after the purge of Tomskii and the rightists in 1929. Shvernik, who had first floated the idea of union democracy, now vigorously promulgated the new campaign. He sharply criticized union leaders for violating democratic principles, omitting elections, and entrenching themselves in posts without a popular mandate. Many unions, in fact, did not have legally elected central, regional, or factory com-

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid., 8–9.

³⁰ The "rightists" were branded as "capitalist trade unionists" for suggesting that unions should defend workers' interests against managers and the state. After they were purged, the unions' main role was to encourage worker productivity. On living conditions and the wage crisis, see Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, 40–66, 89–114; Wendy Goldman, *Women at the Gates: Gender and Industry in Stalin's Russia* (Cambridge, 2002); Elena Osokina, *Our Daily Bread: Socialist Distribution and the Art of Survival in Stalin's Russia, 1927–41* (Armonk, N.Y., 2001). On unions and workers in the 1930s, see Donald Filtzer, *Soviet Workers and Stalinist Industrialization: The Foundation of Modern Soviet Production Relations, 1928–1941* (New York, 1986); Hiroaki Kuromiya, *Stalin's Industrial Revolution, 1928–1932* (Cambridge, 1988); Kevin Murphy, *Revolution and Counterrevolution: Class Struggle in a Moscow Metal Factory* (Oxford, 2005); Jeffrey Rossman, *Worker Resistance under Stalin: Class and Revolution on the Shop Floor* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005); Kenneth Straus, *Factory and Community in Stalin's Russia: The Making of an Industrial Working Class* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1997).

mittees.³¹ Officials were dismissive of the people they were supposed to serve, “insensitive toward complaints,” and cavalier about safety rules, labor laws, housing, and occupational health.³² Shvernik’s repeated invocations of workers’ rights were interspersed with references to wrecking, “enemies of the people,” and loss of “class vigilance.” Union officials had allowed enemies, Trotskyists, wreckers, and diversionists to flourish at every level.³³ Leaders of the Department of Social Insurance, the VTsSPS Information Bureau, the Teachers’ Union, the Coke and Chemical Workers, the Oil Refinery Workers, and the Oil Workers of the Caucasus had been arrested as “enemies of the people.” Shvernik broadened the attack further to include those “impermissibly politically blind, sluggish, and careless” union officials who failed to help the NKVD in its hunt for enemies.³⁴ He urged union officials to participate actively in identifying and denouncing the enemies in their midst.

The delegates, prominent union and VTsSPS officials, listened carefully to Shvernik’s speech. Attentive readers of the Party and union press, they were not surprised by his message. Yet this was the first time they had responded publicly, as a group, to the change in course. Their reactions, initially defensive, spanned the gamut from fear to enthusiasm as they took up the new slogans to advance their own hopes and interests. In fact, the delegates’ responses foreshadowed the range of reactions that would be replayed with growing intensity as the campaign spread. Some took advantage of the new course to advance the interests of their workers and expose conditions in the factories; some scrambled to blame their bosses; others publicly distanced themselves from union colleagues who had recently been arrested. Delegates fired criticism in every possible direction, including at Shvernik himself. Not even the head of the VTsSPS was off limits.³⁵

Voronina, an older woman from Elektrozavod, a large Moscow electrical factory, and a member of the VTsSPS presidium, pressed the claims of her fellow workers. A factory worker for almost forty years, Voronina understood conditions well. Railing against everything from lack of ventilation in the shops to the recent prohibition of abortion, she roundly criticized union officials for ignoring the plight of the very people they were supposed to be representing. Although Voronina was uneducated, her strong commitment had brought her to the attention of union and Party officials, who appointed her to the VTsSPS presidium in 1933. Yet Voronina was in many ways a token appointment, unsure of her role. She complained that no one ever told her what to do. She had tried to meet with Shvernik, N. Evreinov, and other VTsSPS leaders, but “was not able to have a proper conversation with a single secretary.” Shvernik had visited her factory only once since 1931. Voronina argued that VTsSPS

³¹ Each union was headed by a central committee, with regional (*oblast’*), factory, and shop committees, and the *profgrup*, the smallest unit, at the base. Some unions also had district (*raion*) committees.

³² “Ob otchetakh profsoiuznykh organov v sviazi s vyborami poslednikh,” Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (GARF), fond 5451, opis’ 21, delo 1, 68.

³³ “Rezoliutsiia VI plenuma VTsSPS ‘Ob otchetakh proforganov v sviazi s vyborami poslednikh’ po dokladu tov. Shvernika,” GARF, f. 5451, o. 21, d. 1, 126–129.

³⁴ “Ob otchetakh profsoiuznykh organov,” 58–59.

³⁵ “Stenogramma VI plenuma VTsSPS,” GARF, f. 5451, o. 21, d. 1–6, contains the stenographic report of the plenum in six volumes.

leaders passed and recorded endless resolutions, but were disconnected from the real problems of workers.³⁶

Voronina's deepest concern, however, was not the useless paper generated by the VTsSPS, but the 23,000 workers in her plant. If VTsSPS leaders genuinely cared about workers, they would address stoppages, low wages, and living conditions. "The factory is a scandalous mess!" she said with disgust. In three years, the factory committee had had five different chairmen, and not a single one was elected. She contrasted conditions in the lamp department, which was 90 percent female, with the promises of the state. "We know that according to the Stalin Constitution, everyone has the right to work, to education, and to rest. But what do we have in the lamp department? As a result of stoppages, women workers with two or three kids and no husbands earn 150 rubles a month. They swear at the Party and the government, but the Party and government are not to blame. The unions and managers who don't struggle with these stoppages are guilty. And as a result, women receive miserable pay!"³⁷

Voronina complained that conditions were deplorable. After the 1936 decree prohibiting abortion, the factory director had promised to build a crèche for 180 infants. "Due to the decree, we have 500 women on maternity leave, 300 more ready to take maternity leave, and 200 women bringing their babies to the factory committee. Did we build crèches? No."³⁸ Housing had not kept pace with the massive influx of new workers from the countryside. People slept in the factory or in make-shift huts. Older workers who had lost the strength and energy to work were afraid to retire on pensions of 75 rubles a month. They deserved better. Sick workers were deprived of rightful insurance awards in an attempt to "economize" on funds. And working mothers received little help. "On this you should not economize," Voronina declared angrily. Her words rushed out, building to a crescendo of criticism. There were no ventilators in many shops, and temperatures reached over 130 degrees. When Voronina exclaimed in frustration, "We have been talking about this for five years now, and we still have no ventilators," the entire plenum burst into spontaneous applause.³⁹

The response to Voronina's speech showed that an auditorium of union officials could still be moved by a heartfelt appeal to workers' interests. Yet their applause was also strangely displaced. For who, if not union and VTsSPS leaders, was responsible for the lack of ventilation in the shops? Voronina's critique of VTsSPS leaders revealed the dangerous dilemma that Shvernik's speech posed. If union leaders recognized that conditions were bad, why had they not done anything to rectify them? Voronina herself was a member of the VTsSPS presidium. Many officials at the plenum struggled to escape this trap by shrugging off responsibility and casting themselves as victims of *other* "bureaucrats." Several repeated Voronina's excuse

³⁶ Ibid., d. 1, 195. See also the comments of Diachenko, the chairman of the factory committee of "Serp i Molot" in Ukraine, 224.

³⁷ "Stenogramma VI plenuma VTsSPS," d. 1, 197, 198.

³⁸ Ibid., 198. After a tightly scripted national debate and much opposition from women, the Soviet state prohibited abortion in 1936. The decree led to considerable hardship, particularly among working mothers. Wendy Goldman, *Women, the State and Revolution: Soviet Family Policy and Social Life, 1917-1936* (New York, 1993), chap. 7.

³⁹ "Stenogramma VI plenuma VTsSPS," d. 1, 199, 200, 201, 202.

that “no one told us what to do.” The VTsSPS leaders came in for a drubbing by plenum delegates, who themselves held leading posts. At times it appeared that every delegate was looking for someone a little higher in the *apparat* to blame. Aleksandra Artiukhina, head of the Cotton Textile Workers in Moscow and Leningrad, blamed Shvernik, the head of the VTsSPS; Evreinov, its secretary and the editor of its journal; and all thirteen members of its presidium for their failure to establish closer contact with the union central committees.⁴⁰ “Every time I come to see Evreinov about work, I receive the same answer, ‘Solve it yourself.’” She asked indignantly, “Where is the collective? Where are Abolin, Evreinov, and the other secretaries?” Artiukhina noted that she represented a union with 350,000 members and a paid staff of 42. Echoing Voronina’s critique, she stated, “We want help, not papers.” She, too, was furious about the abortion decree and the lack of childcare facilities. “Why doesn’t the VTsSPS concern itself with this?”⁴¹

S. Bregman, a member of the VTsSPS presidium and head of the Shoe Workers’ Union, also cast himself as a powerless victim: “We have no help, we have no oversight, we have no controls.” He complained so much about the VTsSPS leaders that one exasperated voice in the audience finally burst out, “But you’re a member of the VTsSPS presidium!” Yet Bregman refused to take any responsibility, retorting quickly that it was all Shvernik’s fault: “The secretariat and presidium of the VTsSPS are in the position of an orchestra without a conductor.” Critiquing the leaders of the VTsSPS, he righteously declared, “It is much better to sit in an office, to give orders, to defend the paper barricades.” Bregman especially targeted VTsSPS secretary Evreinov: “It’s a great event when the secretary goes to a factory,” Bregman sneered. “In two years, Evreinov went to the Urals once. What kind of leadership is this?”⁴² While Bregman cast himself as a bold and outspoken fighter against the “bureaucrats,” his own position on the VTsSPS presidium and as head of the Shoe Workers undercut his blameless, heroic pose.

The delegates’ alacrity in shifting blame was also prompted by fear. Party expulsions and arrests were occurring all around them, and even casual contact with “an enemy of the people” was grounds for investigation. The head of the Union of State Beet Farm Workers, Radianskii, noted that the union’s secretary had proved to be a “Trotskyist” who had been excluded from the Party several years before for participating in the left opposition. Radianskii anxiously explained that the members of the union presidium had been unaware of its secretary’s past, but once they realized that the Party had expelled him, they fired him immediately, and asked the VTsSPS to affirm their decision. The secretary was thus placed in an untenable position shared by thousands: excluded from the Party, he also lost his job. He appealed to the Party Control Commission, which overturned his expulsion, reinstated him in the Party, and ordered the Beet Workers’ Union to rehire him. Radianskii, eager to prove his “vigilance,” objected and pressed for further investigation, but Evreinov refused, and hired him onto the staff of the VTsSPS. He was arrested soon thereafter

⁴⁰ The presidium of the VTsSPS had thirteen members and candidates as of March 1937, according to “Protokol zasedaniia prezidiuma VTsSPS ot Marta 1937,” f. 5451, o. 21, d. 12, 1.

⁴¹ “Stenogramma VI plenuma VTsSPS,” d. 1, 209–210, 214–215.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 204, 206.

“within the walls of the VTsSPS.”⁴³ This story of expulsion, appeal, reversal, reinstatement, and arrest was common, as thousands of desperate people attempted to save their Party standing, their jobs, and their very lives by pushing for review of their cases at higher levels. Radianskii, terrified that he would be associated with his arrested colleague, painted himself as a scorned crusader who had tried repeatedly to bring an “enemy” to the attention of the VTsSPS. Yet Radianskii also revealed the problems that union officials faced when last week’s colleague became yesterday’s enemy, today’s exonerated victim, and tomorrow’s enemy again. Radianskii’s behavior was typical, if not honorable. Fearing guilt by association, he severed contact with his former colleague and shifted blame to the VTsSPS. “I was vigilant, comrades,” he implied. “The problem is yours now.” Shvernik’s speech forced the delegates to explain why they had ignored conditions and failed to encourage union democracy. Some spoke out on behalf of the workers, seizing on “union democracy” as a long-awaited opportunity to alleviate real problems. Yet in an attempt to escape blame, the delegates also searched for scapegoats. The small winds of recrimination and denunciation were kicking up. They would gain greater power and speed as the delegates brought Shvernik’s message back to their own unions.

THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE 6TH VTsSPS PLENUM added up to nothing short of a bold new charter for union democracy. The unions were to be recast by a newly activated membership in secret-ballot elections from the central to the factory committees. Voting by lists was to be replaced by individual candidates, and union members would have the “unlimited right” to reject and criticize candidates. These were not vague principles for some unspecified future. Elections for factory and shop committees were to be held in June and July, followed immediately by regional conferences, union congresses, and elections for higher-level union organizations in July, August, and September. The VTsSPS would hold its own capstone congress composed of newly elected officials on October 1, 1937. Voting was to be accompanied by accountability. Before the elections, every union central and factory committee was to submit a report on its activities to its members, begin a process of “criticism and self-criticism,” and actively solicit suggestions, which would serve as “commands” for the newly elected leadership. The VTsSPS plenum instructed *Trud*, its daily newspaper, to investigate various unions to ensure compliance. Control of funds was to be decentralized and democratized. The factory committees in the larger enterprises (three hundred workers or more) were instructed to organize soviets of social insurance (*sotsstrakha*) of fifteen to thirty people to oversee disbursement of money, study occupational safety and health, and ensure that managers observed labor laws on overtime, rest days, and holidays. The unions were to stop managers from withholding workers’ wages to meet other pressing expenses and to ensure that workers were paid on time. Finally, permanent committees of union volunteers were to be attached to soviets at every level of government to guarantee

⁴³ Ibid., 218–219.



FIGURE 2: Women workers in the Kauchuk rubber factory at an accountability election meeting, listening to union officials report on their activities on behalf of their members. *Trud*, June 9, 1937, 2.

that workers' issues, including housing, food, consumer goods, and working conditions, were at the forefront of local and regional policies.⁴⁴

Taken together, the resolutions promised workers real, albeit limited, power over the unions. Multi-candidate, secret-ballot elections offered the possibility of new leadership. Workers' control over social insurance funds encouraged fairer and prompter distribution. And the new emphasis on occupational safety and health promised elimination of the more flagrant violations. The campaign fell considerably short of workers' control of the factories, but it offered the possibility of genuine improvement. For mid-level officials, the campaign portended no good. Blamed for poor working and living conditions, and faced with the possibility of dismissal, they scrambled to retain their posts. The impulse to shift blame intensified, creating new turmoil at every level of the union hierarchy.

OVER THE NEXT TWO YEARS, THE UNIONS WENT THROUGH A MAJOR SHAKE-UP. Immediately following the 6th Plenum, the VTsSPS and *Trud* sent investigators into factories and unions throughout the country to expose abuses, publicly shame officials,

⁴⁴ "Rezoliutsiia," 130–137; "Ob otchetakh profsoiuznykh organov," 62–64. See also "Resheniia VI plenuma VTsSPS," GARF, f. 5451, o. 21, d. 114, 69–82.

and jump-start change. VTsSPS investigators reported that the factory committees, once the soul of the revolution, had become little more than purveyors of pyramid schemes, enrolling new members in organizations that did nothing but enroll members.⁴⁵ Two workers in a Moscow gas factory summed up the role of union officials: "They sit in the factory committee like some kind of clerks, they never go to the shops, and they don't work with the active workers (*aktiv*)."⁴⁶

Union leaders, now held responsible for accidents and safety violations, were charged with "wrecking" and arrested by the NKVD. Leaders of the Metallurgical Workers' Union of the East became embroiled in frightening accusations when the managers and factory committee of a Cheliabinsk factory were charged with constructing a ferrous molybdenum shop without regard for technical safety, and for spending 400,000 rubles over budget on equipment. The shop was shut down after numerous accidents, and several officials were arrested for "wrecking."⁴⁷ The Cement Workers' Union sent a labor inspector to the Amvrosievskii factory in Briansk to investigate conditions after the director and the main engineer were accused of wrecking in a series of accidents that they attributed to technical defects. The inspector found "mass accidents," "dilapidated housing," no clean drinking water in either the factory or the nearby workers' settlement, temperatures over 125 degrees in some shops, and constant fires in the factory and the settlement. The factory committee had done nothing. The union sent the inspector's report to the procurator, urging him to bring criminal charges against the director if the problems were not fixed within one month.⁴⁸ The Party's single-minded emphasis on production, coupled with newly imported technologies and a young, untrained work force, was sufficient to explain most accidents. Yet accusations of "wrecking" rapidly replaced any rational assessment of fault.

The concentrated attention of VTsSPS and NKVD investigators jolted union officials out of their long torpor. Terrified of public censure and arrest, they began to address the more egregious violations. The Metallurgical Workers' Union of the South discussed and drafted new safety rules for the industry to be disseminated in all factories by September.⁴⁹ The Union of Machine Instrument Workers addressed the large number of accidents and eye injuries in the Stankolit factory, ordered management to provide safety goggles, special boots, work clothes, and other items in short supply, and pledged to investigate every accident in the future.⁵⁰ Factory com-

⁴⁵ "Zavod 'Proletarskii Trud,'" GARF, f. 5451, o. 21, d. 103, 48–51. The membership process was cumbersome and time-consuming. A new worker would write an application and submit it to the union group (*profgrup*), the primary organization in the plant. After a cursory background check, the *profgrup* would make a recommendation and pass the application to the shop committee, who would in turn make their decision and send it to the factory committee for final approval. In most cases, these reviews were *pro forma*; yet the large size of factories coupled with high labor turnover and poor records meant that many shop and factory committees did little more than process applications. In the metal factory Proletarian Labor, for example, the factory committee plenum discussed thirty or more applications every time they met. Turnover in the factory was so great that the number of workers quitting exceeded the number hired in certain months. The factory committee kept no records of its meetings, but it appeared to be occupied solely with membership.

⁴⁶ "O perestroike raboty profsoiuznykh organizatsii v sviazi s sokrasheniem platnogo apparata," GARF, f. 5451, o. 22, d. 11, 12.

⁴⁷ "TsK soiuzov metallurgov vostochnykh raionov," GARF, f. 5451, o. 21, d. 114, 1.

⁴⁸ "TsK rabochikh tsementnoi prom.," GARF, f. 5451, o. 21, d. 114, 1–3.

⁴⁹ "TsK metallurgov iuga," GARF, f. 5451, o. 21, d. 114, 3.

⁵⁰ "Prezidium TsK soiuza stanko-instrumental'noi prom.," GARF, f. 5451, o. 21, d. 114, 9.

mittees everywhere began taking minutes and forwarding their records to VTsSPS headquarters. The days of lax attendance and fiddling with membership applications seemed to be over.⁵¹ The accusations of “wrecking” were patently false, but they did concentrate attention on health and safety issues that had long been overlooked.

THROUGHOUT THE SUMMER OF 1937, the unions held multi-candidate, secret-ballot elections at every level from the factory to the central committees. The workers took up the campaign for union democracy and swept out the old *apparatus* in one election after another. A report from the Woolen Workers’ Union to the VTsSPS optimistically noted, “Work in the factories has completely changed its face.” For the first time in years, woolen workers actively participated in large, noisy “accountability” meetings. Of the more than 1,300 people elected to 195 factory committees in the woolen industry, 65 percent were new, and 43 percent had never participated in union activities. They voted out about half of the old factory committee chairmen, and elected more than 1,000 people to shop committees and another 1,000 as shop organizers. The sheer numbers of new participants pointed to a major overhaul of the union. In the Red Weaving Factory, about one-sixth of the 4,400 workers were elected to shop committees, an unprecedented level of voluntary participation. Paid officials were eliminated from the shops and replaced with volunteers. The factory committee began meeting regularly to discuss living conditions. In August, the Woolen Workers held their first congress, with 245 delegates. After sharply criticizing the members of the union’s central committee for their phony performances, poor leadership, and “deep violations of union democracy,” the delegates voted them out of office. Only four previous members were reelected. Stakhanovite workers from the shop floor composed almost half of the new 41-member central committee. It promptly created labor protection commissions to improve ventilation, record accidents, provide work clothes, and monitor overtime work.⁵²

The electoral shake-up in the Woolen Workers’ Union was replicated in other unions. Through the fall of 1937 and into the winter, 116 unions held congresses attended by more than 23,300 delegates. They were turbulent affairs. Using the language of democracy and purge, the delegates strongly criticized the existing central committees and “unmasked an entire series of individuals in leadership positions who were politically blind and careless, as well as a number of corrupt elements, idlers, and bureaucrats.” The blame game spread like wildfire. At the congresses, each layer of leadership criticized the one above it: delegates from the Railroad Construction Union criticized their central committee; the central committee of the Union of Central Cooperative Employees criticized its presidium. Union members from electric power stations, peat bogs, schools, and dining halls denounced their

⁵¹ The unions also launched investigations in the barracks and dormitories that housed hundreds of thousands of new workers who had migrated to the cities during the industrialization drive. See “Piatidnevnaia svodka o praktike raboty profsoiuzov,” GARF, f. 5451, o. 21, d. 114, 22.

⁵² “Dokladnaia zapiska o perestroike prof. raboty na osnove resheniia VI plenuma VTsSPS,” GARF, f. 5451, o. 22, d. 64, 211–224. Of the people elected to the factory committees, 40 percent were Party members, and 17 percent were engineering or technical employees.



FIGURE 3: Workers cast secret ballots in multi-candidate elections to the factory committee in the Moscow machine-building Chicherin factory. *Trud*, June 15, 1937, 3.

officials for “bureaucracy, separation from the masses, and ignoring the needs of their members.”⁵³

Workers embraced the campaign for union democracy, but they did not control it. Regardless of the rhetoric spouted at the podium, workers constituted only about one-quarter of the total number of delegates at the union congresses; the remainder included union officials, white-collar employees, engineering/technical personnel, and more than six hundred directors of trusts and enterprises and their deputies. About two-thirds of the delegates were Party members. The congresses, aimed at revitalization from below, were still dominated by paid union officials and managers.⁵⁴ Along with genuine efforts by workers, the congresses thus replicated the delicate exercise that the VTsSPS plenum delegates had performed earlier, in which “bureaucrats” trumpeted against bureaucracy.

By the end of 1937, more than 1,230,000 people had been elected to positions in 146 unions in hundreds of thousands of union groups (*profgrupy*) and shop committees, almost 100,000 factory committees, and 1,645 regional committees. Elections at every level and in hundreds of workplaces were nullified for violating “the principles of union democracy” by not offering secret ballots and more than one candidate. Final election returns showed a serious shake-up of personnel. More than 70 percent of the old factory committee members, 66 percent of the 94,000 factory committee chairmen, and 92 percent of the 30,723 members of the regional committee plenums had been replaced. The election results, however, were mixed in

⁵³ “Dokladnaia zapiska o khode vyborov tsentral’nykh komitetov profsoiuzov i vydvizhenii bespartiiinykh na rukovodiashchuiu profsoiuznuiu rabotu,” GARF, f. 5451, o. 22, d. 64, 12–13.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

terms of putting workers into positions of power. At the lower levels of the union organizations, many of the new people were workers or "people from production": in the *profgrupy* (the primary organization), 65 percent of those elected were Stakhanovites or shock workers; in the shop committees, 62 percent; in the factory committees, 45 percent, and in the regional committees, 25 percent. These figures indicated strong participation from "leading" workers in the factories, but they also revealed an inverse ratio between the level of the union organization and the percentage of workers: the higher the level, the lower the percentage of workers elected to it. From the *profgrupy* to the regional committees, for example, the representation of workers dropped by 40 percent.⁵⁵ People who did not work in the industry represented by the union still occupied most of the positions at the upper levels. The wave of renewal weakened as it rolled toward the upper reaches of the unions.⁵⁶

In elections for the highest level of union leadership, the central committees, union members also returned strong votes of no confidence. Electoral returns from 116 union central committees showed that more than 96 percent of 5,054 plenum members, 87 percent of presidium members, 92 percent of secretaries, and 68 percent of chairmen had been replaced. Here, too, officials at the apex of the hierarchy retained a greater share of posts than those immediately below them: 96 percent of central committee members were replaced, but only 68 percent of chairmen. Moreover, the new chairmen and secretaries often transferred from other important Party, managerial, or union posts. In about one-third of the central committees, they were former heads of factory committees.⁵⁷ The new electoral shake-up provided the greatest benefits to this group, catapulting them from leadership of the factories into positions of national prominence.

Party and VTsSPS leaders pointed with pride to the fact that many newly elected officials were *not* Party members, evidence that "new people," "the best Stakhanovites," were becoming active in union affairs. Far more non-Party members could be found at the lower than at the upper reaches of union leadership. Fully 93 percent of *profgrup* members did not belong to the Party, in contrast to 19 percent of the central committee presidium members.⁵⁸ Just as the percentage of workers steadily decreased from the bottom to the top of the union hierarchy, so the percentage of Party members increased.

Party leaders' active endorsement of non-Party people stood in sharp contrast to their usual policy of promoting Party candidates. What was their motivation? Union leaders officially presented the elections as a means "to liquidate stagnation in the unions and root out the entrenched Trotskyist-Bukharinist agents of fascism and their supporters."⁵⁹ The aims were thus an exact replica of Stalin and Zhdanov's

⁵⁵ Ibid., 10–14.

⁵⁶ There was a similar pattern in the May 1937 Party elections: the regional (*oblast'* and *krai*) first secretaries retained their positions, while the district (*raion*) and primary party officials were voted out. Getty, "Pragmatists and Puritans," 28.

⁵⁷ "Dokladnaia zapiska o khode vyborov," 10–14.

⁵⁸ The percentage of non-Party members decreased as one moved up the unions' hierarchies: 84 percent of shop committee members, 80 percent of factory committee members, 66 percent of factory committee chairmen, 47 percent of regional committee members, 34 percent of regional committee presidiums, and 33 percent of central committee members did not belong to the Party. "Dokladnaia zapiska o khode vyborov," 16.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 11.



FIGURE 4: Winners of the election to the pendulum shop committee in the 2nd State Clock Factory in Moscow reviewing the election results. *Trud*, July 24, 1937, 2.

program for the Party itself: to renew democracy from below and to remove former oppositionists. In the campaign for union democracy, “non-Party” served as a signifier for workers, just as “Party,” especially among unionists in leading posts, signified a greater likelihood of oppositional activity. Top Party and union leaders may have viewed mid- and upper-level union officials as the analog to the regional leaders they denounced at the February–March CC plenum. By mobilizing workers to remove these officials, top Party leaders were able to target former oppositionists and gain working-class support in much the same way they sought to use the rank-and-file Party cadres against their regional leaders.⁶⁰

UNION ELECTIONS BROUGHT THE MESSAGE OF RENEWAL AND REPRESSION into every workplace. Workers voted out the overwhelming majority of old officials, but did they succeed in replacing them with workers? Salary data show that more than half of the newly elected officials did not receive a pay increase in their new posts. In other

⁶⁰ Getty argues that regional leaders were targeted for removal by Stalin and his supporters not only because they represented a threat to centralized power, but because they were a likely pool of oppositionists. The process of mobilizing the lower ranks against the regional leaders involved several advances and retreats between the June 1936 and February–March 1937 Central Committee plenums. See Getty and Naumov, *The Road to Terror*, 263–268, 322–333, 357–361, 576–583.

words, they did not move up from lower positions, and certainly not from the shop floor. In 1938, there were 5,484 salaried positions within the unions. Of the people elected to these posts, 59 percent either took a pay cut or stayed at the same level. Of the remaining 41 percent who increased their salaries, the overwhelming majority did not make a big jump: they gained less than 200 rubles per month. Union elections thus encouraged leading officials to play a type of leapfrog. The union "pots" began to boil, but unlike the proverbial frogs that remained in hot water, leading officials began leaping laterally. The newly elected chairman of the Oil Refinery Workers' Union, for example, had previously been the head of a shop. As head of the union, he earned 1,000 rubles a month, 100 rubles *less* than he had earned as shop boss. The new chairman of the Coalminers' Union of the East had previously been the head of the Cadre (Personnel) Department of the Eastern Coal Transport Trust. He, too, took a pay cut, from 1,200 to 800 rubles. The new chairman of the Construction Workers' Union of Heavy Industry in the Far East earned 880 rubles, in contrast to 1,540 rubles in his previous job as head of the energy sector in the eastern town of Komsomol'ka. The new chairman of the Medical Workers' Union (Medsantrud) had previously been director of a shoe workshop; the chairman of the Fish Workers' Union had been the deputy chairman of the Murmansk town soviet; and the head of the Iron Ore Workers' Union had been director of the Liebknecht mine.⁶¹ These newly elected chairmen of the union central committees were not workers; they were managers in powerful local and regional posts. They earned high salaries in comparison to workers.⁶² Leading officials stubbornly defended their privileges even through the unpredictable vagaries of "revitalization." Managers moved into unions, and former union officials were most probably appointed to management posts. Lateral leapfrog was one way that regional and local cliques protected each other. If these men were representative of the newly elected officials, the higher union *apparatus* appeared to have been "renewed" by the bosses!

Analysis of the elections suggests that many interests were in play. Stalin, Shvernik, and other Party leaders aimed to gain workers' support and root out former oppositionists. The workers hoped to remove corrupt and complacent "bureaucrats." And regional and local leaders sought to preserve their standing by moving members of their own "family circles" from one leading post to another. The elections were not an unalloyed victory for any of these groups. Party leaders were circumvented by lateral leapfrog from breaking up "family circles" and rooting out oppositionists. The workers did not succeed in removing "bureaucrats." And regional and local leaders continued to be arrested even after assuming new posts. More than ten members of the new union central committees were arrested as "enemies of the people"

⁶¹ Salaried posts included chairmen and secretaries of union central and regional committees, and chairmen and secretaries of their respective presidiums. The study covered 1,349 paid elected officials, or about one-quarter of the total paid elected union *apparatus*. "O zarabotnoi plate shtatnykh vybornykh rabotnikov v tsentral'nykh komitetakh i oblastnykh komitetakh profsoiuzov," GARF, f. 5451, o. 22, d. 75, 2-4.

⁶² The average monthly wage in industry in 1935 was 185 rubles, with a range from 129 rubles for workers in the linen industry to 223 rubles in the oil industry. Women textile workers were frantic when machine stoppages further reduced their small paychecks, because they could scarcely feed their children on their regular wages. Highly skilled workers in heavy industry might earn up to 500 rubles. Yet union officials earned considerably more than workers even at the highest end of the pay scale. *Trud v SSSR: Statisticheskii spravochnik* (Moscow, 1936), 97.

soon after the elections. In the Railroad Workers' Union alone, nineteen newly elected officials were "unmasked" and arrested.⁶³ Throughout 1937 and 1938, the NKVD continued to cull their ranks. These arrests encouraged union officials to denounce each other, which in turn prompted ever-widening circles of arrests.

The new elections opened a Pandora's box of grudges, charges, and grievances. In fact, the real struggle in the unions began *after* the elections. Expulsions from the Party, VTsSPS investigations, and arrests kept union officials in a state of churning uncertainty. Fear raised the stakes: even a casual comment could result in disgrace, job loss, arrest, and even execution. Officials charged with "indifference to the needs of the workers" lashed back with countercharges, tarring their accusers to discredit the attack. *Everyone* cloaked criticism or complaints in the language of democracy, using the same phrases to advance differing interests. Just as delegates to the VTsSPS plenum used the new slogans to various ends, so did union officials and members. As the message of democracy and repression percolated down through the unions' hierarchies, the meanings attributed to the slogans multiplied along with the number of people using them. Events in the Timber Cutters' and Floaters' Union were typical of what happened in many unions in the wake of elections.⁶⁴ Union officials used Zhdanov's phrases to advance their own interests in the struggle for local power. Terror and union democracy mixed with charges of corruption and personal resentments to create a toxic brew.

IN THE FALL OF 1937, after elections in the Timber Cutters' and Floaters' Union, *Trud*, the national labor newspaper, published an unflattering article about the new leadership, which was headquartered in Sverdlovsk. The article spurred one Nifetov to write a lengthy denunciation of the presidium of the union's regional committee to the newspaper's editor, who promptly forwarded it to the VTsSPS. Nifetov accused the newly elected presidium of abusing its position by not meeting regularly. As Nifetov explained, the seven-member presidium was in disarray. Rubel', its new chairman, had recently been expelled from the Party and the union for "a tie with an enemy of the people," another member for "systematic drunkenness and scandal," and a third for "drunkenness and beating his wife, who also happened to be a Stakhanovite." A fourth member was sent to supervise prisoners in an NKVD timber camp, and another was not in Sverdlovsk. Although the two remaining members continued to meet, they were hardly a substitute for the full presidium. Members of the larger regional committee, including a labor inspector and a physical culture instructor, had also been arrested. Nifetov bore a serious grudge against Vatolin Pestov, one of the remaining members, who had become the presidium chairman. He complained that Pestov held three positions, including instructor of the regional

⁶³ "Dokladnaia zapiska o khode vyborov," 23.

⁶⁴ See, for example, the Plywood and Matches Workers' Union, "Sekretariu VTsSPS, tov. Shverniku, N.M., tov. Bregmanu, S.," GARF, f. 5451, o. 22, d. 64, 204–204 ob.; the Glass Workers' Union, "Dokladnaia zapiska o rezultatakh proverki raboty TsK soiuza rabochikh stekol'noi promyshlennosti," GARF, f. 5451, o. 22, d. 64, 187–193; the Cotton Textile Workers' Union, "Material k protokolu prezidiuma VTsSPS ot 10/V/38: O polozhenii del v TsK soiuza khlochatobumazhnoi promyshlennosti," GARF, f. 5451, o. 22, d. 11, 241–276; and the Coal and Slate Workers' Union, "V sekretariat VTsSPS: Dokladnaia zapiska," GARF, f. 5451, o. 22, d. 64, 93–94.

committee, a post that paid him 700 rubles a month to read the newspaper aloud to workers. (Pestov may have picked up these additional jobs when members of the union's paid staff were arrested.)⁶⁵

According to Nifetov, Pestov was also guilty of "violations of union democracy." He had tried to rig the union elections by convening the Sverdlovsk delegates to prepare a list of candidates in advance. Pestov had allegedly told the delegates, "We must discuss and decide who we will put up for candidates to the plenum and who we will vote for." And Pestov had attempted to stack the union's congress by instructing a workers' committee to organize a by-election to overturn the results of an earlier vote for delegates. Nifetov wrote furiously, "The regional committee was transformed in a back-room deal."⁶⁶

Nifetov was not the only person hurling accusations. A safety inspector also accused Pestov of violating election rules, and demanded that he write up an honest report of the union's congress. Pestov refused, and promptly fired him for "political mistakes." The safety inspector demanded an explanation; Pestov refused to provide one. When Nifetov stepped in to defend the safety inspector, Pestov withdrew the charge, rehired the safety inspector, and sent him on a vacation. Nifetov promptly charged Pestov with "suppression of criticism." After pages of charges, Nifetov ended his denunciation: "Considering the adverse state of the leadership of the regional committee, I want to interest and involve the central committee of the union and the VTSPS in this business and publish this material in *Trud*, and also to end Pestov's scorn for the officials of the regional committee and end violations of union democracy and consider the possibility of terminating Pestov's tenure in the union regional committee."⁶⁷ Thus Nifetov built his denunciation of Pestov, layering each charge between handy slogans of union democracy.

In his second denunciation, Nifetov's rhetoric became even harsher. "When will Pestov, the chairman of the Sverdlovsk union regional committee, finally be unmasked?" he demanded impatiently. "This swindler, double-dealer, and lickspittle has trampled on union democracy, and surrounded himself with a collection of swindlers, aliens, and degenerates, including that counterrevolutionary physical culture instructor." He went on to describe Pestov as the "main lickspittle" of Rubel', the former chairman of the union regional committee, who had been thrown out of the Party for a counterrevolutionary conversation about Stalin. Pestov knew about this conversation! Pestov tried to defend Rubel'! Pestov had written Rubel' a recommendation, which claimed that such a conversation had never occurred! Nifetov recounted with rising hysteria that he had exposed everything, informed on them all. The letter ended with a barely veiled threat to the VTSPS: "Don't you think that nothing has changed. Comrade Stalin is teaching us to work in a new way." Phrases from the Central Committee and VTSPS plenums splattered Pestov's denunciations: "violations of union democracy," "toadies, lickspittles, corrupt degenerates," "gross political mistakes and violations of secret-ballot elections."⁶⁸ Yet the letters were also fueled by what appeared to be a deep personal grudge.

⁶⁵ "Otvettstvennomu redaktoru gazety 'Trud' tov. Popovu," GARF, f. 5451, o. 22, d. 64, 122, 123, 125.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 123, 124.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 126. For the charges, see 122–126.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 127, 129. For the entire denunciation, see 127–129.

Aleksei Sholmov, the head of the Timber Cutters' and Floaters' Union, tried to put an end to the affair in a reasonable letter to Bregman, the former head of the Shoe Workers' Union, who had vaulted into the post of a VTsSPS secretary. He explained that the newly elected presidium of the regional committee had been decimated over the fall. It was left with four people, two of whom were not in Sverdlovsk. It had been difficult to meet regularly, but elections had been held again, and Pestov had been fairly elected as chairman. A local union investigation had cleared him of all accusations. According to Sholmov, Pestov was a reliable and able official.⁶⁹

It is difficult to understand exactly what motivated the charges and counter-charges, but they seem to have emerged from a local struggle for power around the elections. The old union leaders had tried to protect their positions by organizing bloc voting and overturning unfavorable election results. They were successful to a limited extent. The NKVD then moved in, made arrests, and ensured the removal of Rubel', the regional committee chairman. Pestov, one of the few officials associated with the old leadership who were reelected, took on several vacated positions. Accused by Nifetov of various misdeeds, he fought to clear his name and maintain his position. Both sides in this ugly fight claimed to be representing union democracy. Which side was the true defender of democratic principles, however, was far from clear. Was Nifetov an honest man trying to reform the regional committee and eliminate abuses of power? Was he a member of a rival clique for power, in league with the safety inspector and others, eager to unseat Pestov in order to install his own people? Or was he a deranged individual irrationally obsessed with Pestov for personal reasons? And what about Pestov? Did he cynically collect four salaries while union members stood hip-deep in icy rivers, rafting logs to the lumber mills for a paltry 250 rubles a month? Or did he try hard to keep the union functioning, assuming extra jobs after the union staff was decimated by arrests? Who was Sholmov, a quiet man of reason or a "lickspittle" protecting Pestov? And what of the outcome? Did the NKVD eventually arrest Pestov and his circle, and laud Nifetov for advancing "union democracy" in Sverdlovsk? Or did Nifetov end up raving about the "alien clique" from the locked ward of a mental asylum? The shifting, subjective perspectives of the drama's actors obscure the "objective" truth. Yet regardless of where "truth" lay, Nifetov's ability to couch his obsessions in the language of the day ensured that he received a full hearing. His charges, real or imagined, had consequences, and ultimately launched a serious investigation of the regional committee.

The Party, the VTsSPS, the unions, and the NKVD were flooded with denunciations such as Nifetov's. On countless stages from Kiev to Khabarovsk, local actors played in petty dramas packed with political accusations, trivial details, personal grudges, and grubby entanglements. Charges and countercharges flew back and forth, dense with the rich trivia of daily life: who drank with whom, who earned more than he was worth, who had made an improper political remark. This was not a story of one villain and many victims, but a far richer drama in which political repression became a convenient expression for resentment toward officials, organizational rivalries, and personal ambitions. Daily workplace gossip turned deadly, creating an ugly mess that the NKVD was all too eager to "investigate" under the watchword

⁶⁹ "Sekretariu VTsSPS, tov. Bregmanu," GARF, f. 5451, o. 22, d. 64, 120.

of democracy. There was no dearth of villains or victims: officials in every union were soon caught up in the deadly game.

THIS ARTICLE HAS TRACED THE INSTITUTIONAL DISSEMINATION OF REPRESSION through the campaign for union democracy. From the beginning, democracy and terror were both part of the vision of a revitalized Party purged of oppositionists that Stalin and Zhdanov had articulated at the February–March 1937 Central Committee plenum. Zhdanov's speech on Party democracy served as an "action text" that created ever-widening circles of disruption. Shvernik picked up the theme and applied it to the unions. The VTsSPS amplified it into a mass campaign, which brought elections into every union. Yet as the campaign spread, various groups refashioned its message to serve different ends. For Stalin and his supporters, democracy was a way to rebuild working-class support, and to forge a united Party, purged of opposition and corruption. They viewed the personal fiefdoms that had developed around regional elites as obstacles to these aims. For workers, the campaign for union democracy offered the opportunity to elect officials who would address accident rates, working conditions, housing, food supply, and wages. They voted the old leadership out, especially at the lower levels, in the hope of creating unions that would represent their interests. For union officials, the campaign initiated a desperate struggle to maintain their standing. And they were largely successful in preserving control, especially at the higher levels.

In the wake of elections, events in the Timber Cutters' and Floaters' Union (and other unions) reveal that the central authorities had lost control of the campaign. By 1938, thousands of union leaders had picked up the double-edged sword of terror and democracy and were slashing each other to ribbons. The new leaders attacked the old, and everyone scrabbled frantically to find someone to blame for problems in the factories. It became impossible to disentangle the knot of charges and countercharges. The leaders all portrayed themselves as avatars of democracy and defenders of the working class. In less than eighteen months, the interests of top Party leaders had been subsumed by those of mid-level union officials and workers, who were in turn engulfed by chaotic mudslinging at the local level.

After the Kirov murder in 1934, Stalin and his supporters were increasingly convinced that silent yet stubborn oppositionists still lurked in the Party and union *apparatus*. They believed that many Party members, once active in the left or right oppositions, had never fully accepted Stalin's program, no matter how hardworking and loyal to the Soviet project they appeared to be. They were biding their time, quietly encouraging young people in vaguely oppositional sentiments, building circles of power and protection, and waiting for a more propitious political climate. By 1937, Stalin was bent on rooting out this silent "opposition," destroying anyone who might doubt his own leadership and program. The campaign for union democracy targeted both former oppositionists and corrupt officials. Yet once the slogans of democracy became the *lingua franca* of struggle within the unions, there was no way to distinguish the true Stalinist from the oppositionist, the honest from the corrupt, or even the sane from the mad. In the end, the Party lost control of the "action text" as its

phrases and intentions were twisted to serve a variety of personal, political, and class interests. Repression was not something done to the Soviet people by an evil "other." It was actively supported and spread by people in every institution, who used it to pursue their own ends. The campaign for union democracy not only paralleled the mass repression of 1937–1938, it became the very means by which groups with different aims were transformed into the willing, even enthusiastic, proponents of purge and repression. And herein lies the painful answer to the question posed by the young communist poet so many years ago.

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The King of Controversy: History and Nation-Making in Late Colonial India

KUMKUM CHATTERJEE

THE LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES witnessed the emergence and definition of nation-states across much of Asia and the Middle East. History was widely pressed into the service of this phenomenon in regions such as China, Japan, Turkey, Iran, and Algeria.¹ After all, as Eric J. Hobsbawm remarked, “nations without pasts are contradictions in terms. What makes a nation is the past.”² In India, too, history became a public passion during this period. It came to be seen as a major site through which and on which critically important issues of Indian nationhood and tradition were articulated. In most of these regions, public debates about history and nationalism also generated intense discussions about the nature and function of history, the definition and nature of community and culture, and other related issues. A public debate among Indian intellectuals in the early twentieth century underscores the critically important role played by history in the articulation of nationhood, highlighting the sharp debates and contestations about the definition and function of history in colonial civil society. It points to the need to conceptualize history not just as a rational-positivist discipline, but also in terms of how practices that are used to commemorate the past can be located within a broad range of cultures.

The debate took place in Bengal, among the Bengali literati. While most of the issues that arose in the course of this debate were framed in regional Bengali terms, they can be viewed as a subset of a broader concern with Indian nationhood and the perceived urgency to determine the type of history that could serve it. Similar con-

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¹ David C. Gordon, *Self-Determination and History in the Third World* (Princeton, N.J., 1971); Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt, *Historians of the Middle East* (New York, 1962); Margaret Mehl, *History and the State in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (New York, 1998); Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago, 1995); Patricia M. Pelley, *Postcolonial Vietnam: New Histories of the National Past* (Durham, N.C., 2002).

² Eric J. Hobsbawm, “Ethnicity and Nationalism in Europe,” in Gopal Balakrishnan, ed., *Mapping the Nation* (London, 1996), 255.

cerns with defining and underscoring the relationship between history and nationalism were apparent among the nationalist intelligentsia in other parts of the Indian subcontinent in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The specific forms assumed by such regional conversations and arguments were frequently couched in regional idioms, and the spectrum of views behind such expressions ranged from positions that advocated the region-as-nation (for instance, in certain types of Tamil nationalist ideologies and debates in southern India)³ to those that valorized the region and its identity and culture as essential components in a broader Indian nation.

The controversy took the form of an intense and acrimonious debate about a king named Adisur, who was believed to have reigned several centuries ago.⁴ The resulting dispute divided a segment of Bengal's scholarly world into two mutually antagonistic camps during the 1920s and 1930s. This debate was not a discreet disagreement among scholars, but rather a public airing, conducted primarily through the medium of print, and therefore accessible to a literate middle-class reading public. The controversial King Adisur thus serves as an entry point into a dispute that reveals the connections between history and nation-making in a colonized society, on the one hand, and engages with the relationships among different visions of history, on the other.

In the Indian nationalist culture of the early twentieth century, there was a strong perception that knowledge of the past was indispensable for the building of a modern nation. The Bengali literati acknowledged that their British colonial masters had taken the first step toward presenting India's history in a format and manner suited to modern sensibilities, but they were convinced that a proper telling of the narrative of India's past could be accomplished only through the agency of Indians, since they were the natives of the land. There was a sense of urgency and excitement about the collective endeavor to (re)construct a connected account of Bengal's and India's past. The heated charges and countercharges that were traded among the scholarly protagonists in the debate underscore the point that the controversy can be understood only in the context of the passion, excitement, and collective stakes that were perceived to be associated with this historical project.

In addition to being one of the central figures in this controversy, King Adisur also served as a key to some associated issues, the most important of which revolved around the historicity of a mass of genealogical materials called *kulagranthas*, *kulajis*, or *kulapanjis*. Genealogical literature is one of the most well-known and most ubiquitous forms in which historical documents appear in most of the world. In India, a strong genealogical tradition with specific regional variations and significations had existed since very early times.⁵ Royal dynasties took great care to create and update their own genealogies, as did many socially and politically eminent families. Kulajis

³ Sumathi Ramaswamy, *Passions of the Tongue: Language Devotion in Tamil India, 1891–1970* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), http://www.ces.purdue.edu/henv/care_maintenance.htm.

⁴ Gautam Bhadra, "Itihase Smriti, Smritite Itihasa," *Biswabharati Patrika*, Sraban–Ashwin 1401 B.S., 134–142, contains a brief reference to this debate. *Note*: Dates followed by B.S. denote the year according to the Bengal calendar. The Gregorian equivalent for B.S. 1401 is 1994. Hereafter, any citation of a Bengal year will be followed by its Gregorian equivalent in square brackets.

⁵ Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, *Preliminary Report on the Operation in Search of Bardic Chronicles* (repr., Calcutta, 1963); Romila Thapar, "Genealogy as a Source of Social History," in Romila Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History* (New Delhi, 1990).

belong to the Bengali tradition of genealogical literature. In its most commonly understood sense, the term *kula* meant “family” or “clan”; the terms *grantha* (book) and *panji/panjika* (chronicle) indicate that these materials recorded the generational descent of a patrilineal Hindu family and clan over many centuries. Kulagranthas also claimed to commemorate the story of developments that were believed to have shaped the social structure and normative structure of Hindu Brahmanical society in Bengal over hundreds of years.

Along with the general sense of a clan or lineage, the term *kula* had an additional, unique meaning in Bengal, in that *kula* status was indicative of an elite position within what is commonly understood as the caste system. A person possessing this elite status was described as a *kulin*—literally, one who belonged to a high-status *kula*. This elevated status was believed to derive from spiritual and ritual purity, as reflected in the practices and inner qualities of those who were deemed to be qualified to be *kulins*. Kulinism needs to be understood in the context of the *varna* and *jati* arrangements and hierarchies that had characterized the caste system in South Asian society for many centuries.⁶

Kulagranthas told how the institution of kulinism came to be created in Bengal and tracked its development over several centuries. King Adisur figured frequently as the hero in these genealogies, because he was represented as the founding father of kulinism. He was believed to have invited five ritually and spiritually purer Brahmans from Kanauj in northern India to migrate to Bengal and settle there. Some of their descendants came to be designated as *kulins*, as did some descendants of the five Kayasthas who, according to many of the genealogies, had accompanied the five original Kanaujiya Brahmans to Bengal. The institution of kulinism was subsequently modified and regulated by kings, and later by potentates with varying degrees of power and authority and sharply varying social and political jurisdictions.⁷

Bengal's society was believed to have been dominated for many centuries by three *varnas* (castes): the Brahmans, the Kayasthas, and the Baidyas.⁸ Each of these broad

⁶ For an analysis of the caste system, see Murray J. Milner, Jr., *Status and Sacredness: A General Theory of Status Relations and an Analysis of Indian Culture* (New York, 1994); for an analysis of the system of kulinism in Bengal, see Ronald B. Inden, *Marriage and Rank in Bengali Culture: A History of Caste and Clan in Middle Period Bengal* (Berkeley, Calif., 1976). For a fuller discussion of the *kulagranthas*—including their features and their political and ideological functions during the period from approximately the tenth and eleventh until the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—see Kumkum Chatterjee, “Communities, Kings, and Chronicles: The Kulagranthas of Bengal,” forthcoming in *Studies in History*.

⁷ The principal features of this account are mentioned in actual genealogies—for instance, the Sanskrit manuscript of “Rajabali,” housed in the Dhaka University library (Accession no. K577A); or in family chronicles that were edited and published in the modern period—for instance, Kedar Nath Datta, *Datta Vamsavali* (Calcutta, 1282 B.S. [1875]); Jnanendranath Kumar, *Vamsa Parichay* (Calcutta, 1350 B.S. [1943]); Mahimachandra Guha-Thakurta, *Kayastha Kulachandrika* (Barisal, 1915); as well as in secondary literature concerned with debating the historical value of such genealogies, such as Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, *Bangiya Kulashastra* (Calcutta, 1973); Umesh Chandra Gupta, *Jati Tattva Baridhi*, 2 vols., vol. 1: *Baidyakayastha-moha-mudgar* (repr., Calcutta, 1912), vol. 2: *Ballal-moha-mudgar* (Calcutta, 1905); and especially Nagendranath Basu's multivolume *Banger Jatiya Itihasa* (Calcutta, 1318–1340 B.S. [1911–1933]). For details of individual volumes, see note 17.

⁸ The Brahmans, whose occupational specialization was supposed to be the priesthood and scholarship, represented the topmost group in the status hierarchy of the caste system; the Kayasthas (specializing in scribal/literate occupations) and Baidyas (medical practitioners) were supposed to be “mixed” *jatis* or subcastes. For explanations, see Nagendranath Basu, comp., *Bishvakosh* (repr., Delhi, 1988), and Gupta, *Jati Tattva Baridhi*. For British colonial ethnographical explanations, see H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (repr., Calcutta, 1981).

categories was broken up into innumerable jati subdivisions. Kulinism created a stratum of elite lineages within these groups, who came to represent the pinnacle of status, prestige, and respect within their respective groups and in the region's society at large. The institution of kulinism, with its associated modifications and shifts, continued to exert a fair amount of influence over politics and the "reality" of status and power in Bengal even into the middle of the nineteenth century—and in some cases beyond it as well.⁹

A view that was generally articulated in the kulaji literature was that the strengthening and formalization of kulinism by the kings Ballal Sen and Lakshman Sen of the Sen dynasty in the twelfth century ushered in the practice of compiling and maintaining genealogies of the kulin lineages associated primarily with the Brahman, Kayastha, and Baidya jatis. These genealogies did not merely track male generational succession within each kulin family; they paid special attention to recording the family's history of social interaction—particularly its marriage practices. A kulin Brahman family, for example, was expected to arrange marriage alliances for its sons only with other kulin Brahman families. Failure to observe this principle could result in the lowering of kula status, or even total expulsion from kulin society, which effectively meant a loss of social rank and prestige.

The Sen monarchs are believed to have appointed learned men to serve as *kulacharyas*. Well versed in the principles of kulinism and the histories of kulin families, these men were charged with the important task of creating and maintaining elaborate genealogical accounts of the various kulin lineages with the intent to build a fund of social and communal memory about their social behavior (especially intermarriage). Thus was born the practice of composing kulajis or kulapanjis, the genealogies that would generate so much heat and acrimony in the twentieth century. Almost always composed in verse (*sloka*), the kulajis were also recited or sung at public occasions, typically at weddings. The kulacharyas, also known as *ghataks*, functioned as the chroniclers and archivists of different kulin communities, and they also occupied positions of leadership. With the demise of a paramount Hindu kingship following the Turkish Muslim conquest of Bengal in the early thirteenth century, smaller Hindu landed potentates and Hindus who held high administrative offices under the Muslim rulers of Bengal assumed the role of presiding over kulin society—often through kulacharyas whom they appointed or supported. Thus, through many centuries of Muslim rule in Bengal, the office of the kulacharya and the practice of writing kulagranthas continued unabated.

Although these genealogies had circulated in Bengal for centuries, there was a renewed interest in them during the late nineteenth century—particularly in recovering "ancient" kulagranthas, preserving them, and interpreting them in order to arrive at conclusions regarding the history of Bengali society. This new interest was in part a consequence of a general enthusiasm for history that was evident among the colonial bourgeoisie in Bengal during this period. When the colonial census was conducted with an aim to create a permanent record of varna, jati, and kula hierarchies, some saw it as a move that would foreclose whatever opportunities for upward social mobility were possible within these classifications. The resulting anxieties

⁹ Pradip Sinha, *Calcutta in Urban History* (Calcutta, 1978), 86–94.

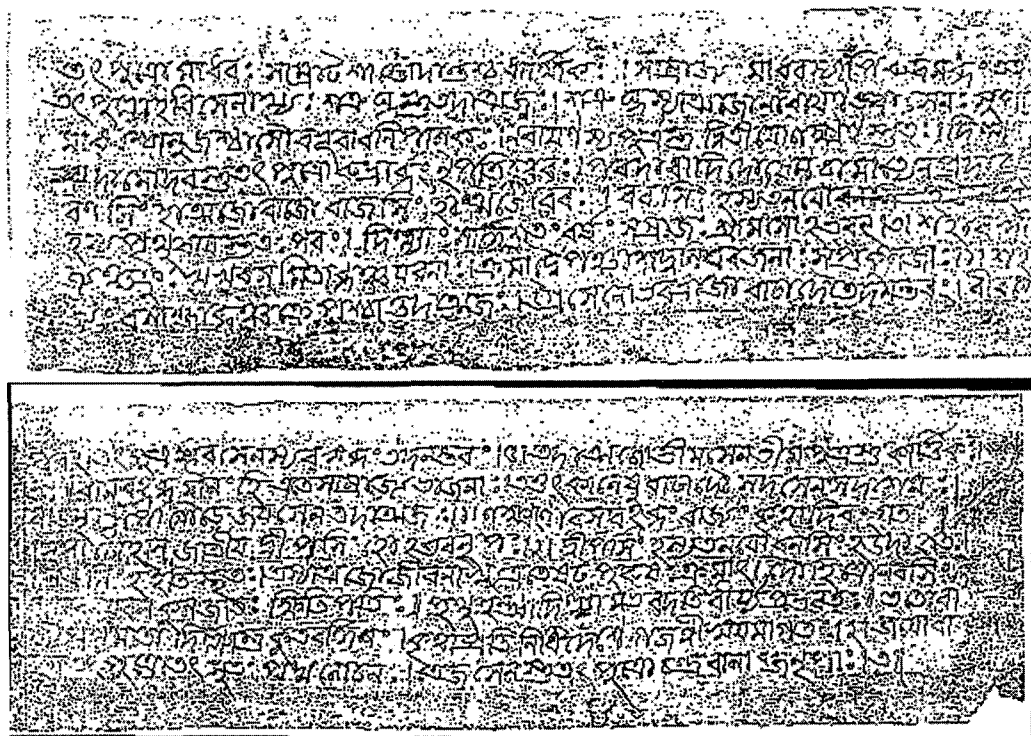


FIGURE 1: Left (top) and right sections of a page from "Rajabali," a handwritten kulagrantha housed in the Dhaka University Library. Manuscript number: K577A.

were largely instrumental in producing a spate of what are called caste movements in various parts of India, in which certain groups lobbied the census authorities to assign a higher status to their caste or subcaste.¹⁰ The renewed interest in recovering old genealogies and editing and publicizing them thus became an integral aspect of caste politics in Bengal.

This new surge of interest in "caste affairs" among middle-class Bengalis was probably at its strongest from 1850 until about 1930.¹¹ During this period, numerous caste associations were founded for the ostensible purpose of producing contemporary accounts about the past history of specific varnas and jatis.¹² Individual fam-

¹⁰ Sekhar Bandyopadhyaya, *Caste, Politics and the Raj: Bengal, 1872–1937* (Calcutta, 1990). For caste movements in other parts of India triggered by census operations, see Eugene Irschik, *Politics and Social Conflict in South India: The Non-Brahman Movement and Tamil Separatism* (Berkeley, Calif., 1969); Gerald N. Barrier, ed., *The Census in British India: New Perspectives* (New Delhi, 1981); Bernard S. Cohn, "The Census, Social Structure and Objectification in South Asia," in Cohn, *An Anthropologist among Historians and Other Essays* (Delhi, 1988), 224–254; Rosalind O'Hanlon, *Caste, Conflict and Ideology: Mahatma Jyotirao Phule and Low Caste Protest in Nineteenth-Century Western India* (Cambridge, 1985); and Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton, N.J., 2001).

¹¹ Inden, *Marriage and Rank in Bengali Culture*, 4.

¹² Examples of caste associations include the Bangiya Tili Samaj and Mahisya Samaj. Publications directly or indirectly commissioned or encouraged by these associations include Harakishore Adhikary, *Rajbansi Kulapradip* (Calcutta, 1314 B.S. [1907]), and Narendranath Laha, *Subarnabanik Katha O Kirti*, 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1940–1941).

ilies also took the initiative to publish chronicles detailing their lineage histories.¹³ Many Bengali scholars, professional academics as well as public intellectuals, joined in the quest for kulagranthas, often traveling to remote villages in search of them.¹⁴ The print medium, including popular journals and scholarly publications, was flooded with pieces on Bengal's history generally and the kulagranthas specifically.¹⁵ Kulajis were now being viewed as artifacts from the past that could be pressed into the service of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century agendas. The protagonists in the kulagrantha debate represented a spectrum of opinions. The majority of them, no matter what stand they took, were not attempting to use these chronicles for the primary purpose for which they historically had been composed, since such jati- and kula-based considerations—a subset of broader considerations of caste categories—had largely died out and become irrelevant by this time in the marriage practices of the urban, educated middle class.¹⁶ The participants in this debate, as well as its audience, were all essentially drawn from just such an urban bourgeois milieu. Historically, the kulajis also served as records of pride and honor for particular lineages vis-à-vis others. This dimension of their use surfaced occasionally during the twentieth-century controversy among Bengali intellectuals, thus serving as a reminder that past sensitivities about jati- and kula-related status had not been totally obliterated.

Nevertheless, the debate in the twentieth century was not focused primarily on such questions, but rather on whether the kulagranthas qualified as history. One group of scholars adopted the position that these materials did not meet the necessary qualifications. They elaborated what in their opinion distinguished history from other modes of commemorating the past as well as the appropriate methodologies that were requisite for its construction.

Among those who were strongly skeptical about the historicity of the kulagranthas were Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, Ramaprasad Chanda, Akshay Kumar Maitra, and Rakhal Das Bandyopadhyaya (who is also referred to here as R. D. Banerjee, which is how he sometimes referred to himself). Majumdar warned of the need to be wary of basing conclusions about Bengal's past on information found only in kulagranthas, because these materials contradicted each other so frequently. Many of the issues that figured into the controversy—including whether there ever was a king named Adisur, the exact dates of his reign, the dates and chronology of the kings of the Pal and Sen dynasties, the dates and authenticity of the actual Kulaji texts, and their authorship—were purportedly based solely on evidence from the kulagranthas, and thus it was important to try to disentangle the glaring inconsistencies among the genealogical texts themselves regarding these subjects.

The milieu in which the genealogies had been produced and circulated inevitably contributed to the situation that Majumdar found so problematic. The print medium

¹³ For instance, see Datta, *Datta Vamsavali*, and Kumar, *Vamsa Parichay*.

¹⁴ Basu, *Banger Jatiya Itihasa*, vol. 1, pt. 2: *Barendra Brahman Bibaran* (Calcutta, 1334 B.S. [1927]), 1–4; Gupta, *Jati Tattva Baridhi*, 2: 381–382.

¹⁵ The five articles on kulagranthas by Majumdar published in the journal *Bharatbarsha* in 1346–1347 B.S. [1939–1940] are a good example of this, as are Dinesh Chandra Sarkar, "Adisurer Kahini," *Bishwabharati Patrika*, Kartik–Paus 1371 B.S. [1964], 131–134, and Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, "Alochana: Adisurer Kahini," *Biswabharati Patrika*, Baishakh–Ashadh 1372 B.S. [1965], 337–340.

¹⁶ Rochona Majumdar, "Looking for Brides and Grooms: Ghataks, Matrimonials and the Marriage Market in Colonial Calcutta," *Journal of Asian Studies* 63, no. 4 (2004): 911–935.

did not catch on in Bengal until the very beginning of the nineteenth century. Any textual materials prior to that were necessarily produced under the conditions prevailing in a pre-print, manuscript culture. One of the foremost aspects of the debate was determining precisely when the kulagranthas were composed, but there was unanimous agreement that they had been composed or copied well before the advent of print. Thus, whatever the disagreements regarding the dating of the kulajis, their production and circulation were governed by conditions characteristic of any manuscript economy.

The texts of the genealogies were copied and recopied repeatedly by scribes, so discrepancies in copies made from the "original" manuscripts were common. Composers sometimes claimed to be reproducing a preexisting kulaji but in fact inserted new materials into it or, either unintentionally or deliberately, omitted to incorporate sections from the "original." They also did not always mention that changes had been made in the work being copied. Of course, also in keeping with the norms of a pre-print culture, it was not the convention for the composer or compiler of a kulapanji to inform readers about such things as the "sources" on which the work was based or why some materials had been incorporated and not others. But it was what I call the "porousness" of manuscript texts—the tendency for segments of particular works to migrate into other texts without explicit acknowledgment that it was being done—that appeared to pose the biggest problem for skeptics such as Majumdar.

The interpenetration of materials from one manuscript into another took place quite unrestrictedly; the notion that authors had the right of exclusive ownership and proprietorship of their compositions, and that no other author or compiler should be able to make use of them without permission or acknowledgment, was practically unknown before the advent of print culture.¹⁷ Most of these features relate to the absence of what Michel Foucault described as the "author-function":¹⁸ the attribution of a proper name to a work. In the case of the Bengal kulajis and much of the literature produced prior to the introduction of a print culture, there were indeed cases in which a specific author or compiler laid clear claim to the authorship or compilation of a particular text. But it was equally true that in many other cases, no clear author-function could be constructed. These characteristics stemmed from the prevailing culture, in which the individuality of the author was often subordinated to the perceived need to adhere to the conventions and stylistic and other traditions

¹⁷ My statements regarding the nature of manuscript culture are based on the study of actual genealogical chronicles in both manuscript form (for instance, the Dhaka University "Rajabali") and printed form (for instance, Datta, *Datta Vamsamala*), as well as on genealogies excerpted in Basu, *Banger Jatiya Itihasa*; Gupta, *Jati Tattva Baridhi*; and Lal Mohan Bidyanidhi, *Sambandha Niraya*, 4th ed., 5 vols., including appendix volumes (Calcutta, 1355 B.S. [1964]). An excellent discussion is also to be found in Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, "Sanskrita Rajabali Grantha," *Sahitya Parishat Patrika* 4 (1346 B.S. [1939]): 233–239. For a general description of manuscript culture, see M. T. Clancy, *From Memory to Written Records: England, 1066–1307* (Oxford, 1979).

¹⁸ Michel Foucault, "What Is an Author?" in Donald F. Bouchard, ed., *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1977), 113–138. See also Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books* (Stanford, Calif., 1994), 27–33; Martha Woodmansee, "The Genius and the Copyright: Economic and Legal Conditions of the Emergence of the 'Author,'" *Eighteenth Century Studies* 17, no. 4 (1984): 425–448; Mark Rose, "The Author as Proprietor: Donaldson v. Becket and the Genealogy of Modern Authorship," *Representations* 23 (1988): 51–85; and Carla Hesse, "Enlightenment Epistemology and the Laws of Authorship in Revolutionary France, 1777–1793," *Representations* 30 (1990): 109–137.

governing the production of certain types of works.¹⁹ These features frustrated and confounded scholars such as Majumdar, who considered the credibility of any historical material to be in doubt if its author-function and sources could not be clearly established. As a distinguished body of scholarly work associated with Jack Goody, Jan Vansina, Roger Chartier, Robert Darnton, and many others indicates, Majumdar's frustration actually reflects a much wider tension between oral traditions and the written word, on the one hand, and between manuscript culture and print culture, on the other.²⁰

Kulajis were typically owned by individual families and by ghataks and kulacharyas. The decreasing importance and relevance of kulacharyas meant that by the mid-nineteenth century they were functioning purely as matchmakers, and they no longer maintained and updated kulagranthas with as much care as before. Because of the relative decline in the social relevance of kula-based distinctions among Bengali Brahmans, Kayasthas, and Baidyas by the nineteenth century,²¹ families sometimes did not take good care of the kulaji manuscripts in their possession. Thus, the hunt for genealogies around the turn of the century frequently turned up only fragments of kulaji manuscripts, which often showed evidence of damage from insects and water. Professional historians such as Majumdar came to the conclusive view that kulajis were unstable materials and thus did not qualify as rational history, which he and other scholars considered to be the only proper definition of history. "True history," he wrote with devastating bluntness, "has only one version, but imaginary history [which to Majumdar was not history at all] has several."²²

The problems stemming from kulaji texts' having been produced in a pre-print milieu formed an important plank in the critique of the genealogies as works of history in themselves. But the centerpiece of this critique was associated with much more substantive methodological issues. This methodology, which Bonnie Smith characterized as "history professionalized in the nineteenth century west as a science of facts and details,"²³ was transmitted to India via the colonial connection. By the late nineteenth century, the institutions of colonial education had produced a generation of Indian scholars—typified by Majumdar and Banerjee—for whom the practice of history was inexorably associated with rational-positivist history grounded in verifiable facts. For them, not to hold history to these new, modern standards meant

¹⁹ I reiterate that there are numerous examples from premodern Bengal of individual authors who claimed sole authorship of a text—for instance, Mukundaram Chakrabarty in his celebrated work *Chandimangal* (see Sukumar Sen, ed., *Kabikankan Birachita Chandimangal* [repr., Calcutta, 1993]). But there were many other cases in which authors either did not reveal their identities or presented themselves as following earlier writers of the same genre or tradition.

²⁰ Some selective examples include Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison, Wis., 1985); Jack Goody, *The Interface between the Written and the Oral* (Cambridge, 1987); Goody, *The Power of the Written Tradition* (Washington, D.C., 2000); Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the World* (London, 1988); Roger Chartier, *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton, N.J., 1989); Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors and Libraries in Europe between the 14th and 18th Centuries* (Palo Alto, Calif., 1994); and Robert Darnton, *Revolution in Print: The Press in France, 1775–1800* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989).

²¹ Majumdar, "Looking for Brides and Grooms."

²² Majumdar, *Bangiya Kulashastra*, 106.

²³ Bonnie Smith, "Facts, Politics and the Gender of History," in Suzanne Marchand and Elizabeth Lunbeck, eds., *Proof and Persuasion: Essays on Authority, Objectivity and Evidence* (Turnhout, Belgium, 1996), 60. See also Bonnie Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women and Historical Practice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998).

to relapse into the state of history-writing in precolonial India, which they now regarded not as history at all, but rather as a collection of uncritical myths and stories. Together with this faith in rational analysis, this group of scholars also came to be united by a common faith in the primacy of “hard (material) evidence”—archaeological, numismatic, and epigraphic evidence—over textual evidence for purposes of historical analysis.²⁴ Hard evidence was supposed to be far more reliable than textual or oral evidence, and a resort to it came to characterize the brunt of the attack on the historical value of the genealogies.

Archaeology represented a new knowledge discipline in the late nineteenth century, and it was being pressed into service in emergent nation-states in different parts of the world as a resource that was indispensable to the practice of rational-positivist history. As Ian Hodder points out, in the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, nationalism and identity provided a self-evident context for the study of cultural sequence through archaeology. Japan, Hispanic South America, and Indonesia provide good examples of this, as do parts of Europe that were characterized in this period by struggles of nation-states and ethnic groups.²⁵ In Egypt and in the Ottoman territories, archaeology and its “auxiliary sciences,” including numismatics and epigraphy, were being deployed to produce histories that were different from what were now perceived as medieval narratives about the past that had not had the benefit of being based on the probings of science and reason.²⁶ The value of archaeology for the reconstruction of India’s past had recently been validated by many important discoveries, foremost among them probably being the discovery in 1924 of the cities of Mohenjodaro and Harappa.²⁷ Many of the scholars who were skeptical about the historical value of the genealogies, including Banerjee and Chanda, were professional archaeologists. For them, archaeology naturally held pride of place among the multiple tools available (including textual analysis) for the reconstruction of history. During the early twentieth century, Majumdar and other professional historians in India showed a clear preference for evidence furnished by archaeology and by other related “hard evidence” over textual evidence.

The principal argument in favor of privileging “hard evidence” as an accurate reflection of historical conditions at the time when the kulagranthas were produced ultimately came down to the issue of what was described as “authenticity.” These scholars were firm in their conviction that inscriptions and coins did not fabricate or exaggerate facts, whereas genealogical texts associated with sensitive issues such as social rank and status were clearly vulnerable to exaggeration or to gross misrepresentation of the past. Some critics of the kulagranthas were willing to concede the value of certain kinds of historical texts—for instance, Sanskrit biographies of kings such as Bilhana’s *Vikramankadevacharita* or Sandhyakar Nandy’s *Ramcharita*,

²⁴ I use the term “hard (material) evidence” following Tapati Guha-Thakurta in “Archaeology as Evidence: Looking Back from the Ayodhya Debate,” Occasional Paper no. 159, Center for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta (Calcutta, 1997).

²⁵ Ian Hodder, “Archaeological Theory,” in Barry Cunliffe, Wendy Davies, and Colin Renfrew, eds., *Archaeology: The Widening Debate* (Oxford, 2002), 81.

²⁶ Lewis and Holt, *Historians of the Middle East*, 417.

²⁷ Dilip K. Chakrabarti, *A History of Indian Archaeology from the Beginning to 1947* (New Delhi, 1988); Chakrabarti, “Indian Archaeology: The First Phase, 1784–1861,” in Glyn Daniel, ed., *Towards a History of Archaeology* (London, 1981), 169–185.

or the well-known Persian histories of India and Bengal²⁸—which were also receiving attention from modern scholars at the time.²⁹ They gave some credence to those materials because there was relatively credible information about the authors, their backgrounds, and the circumstances in which they had composed their works.³⁰ According to this line of thinking, if textual materials were to be used for reconstructing the past, they had to be materials such as these—not disorganized, mutually contradictory genealogies characterized by textual instability and disarray. Thus the kulagranthas clearly did not fall into the category of texts that could be seriously accorded the status of history.

Much of the “hard evidence” on which the history of Bengal and India was reconstructed in accordance with modern sensibilities was being unearthed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Stone inscriptions, copper plate inscriptions, coins, and sculptural pieces were among the many objects that were brought to light. The inscriptional evidence found in Bengal for the period from roughly the eighth and ninth to the tenth and eleventh centuries was used by scholars such as Majumdar, Banerjee, and Chanda to write the chronological political and dynastic history of Bengal during that time.³¹ As practically every one of these scholars pointed out, none of the recently discovered objects included any kind of reference to a king named Adisur. The conspicuous absence of even a single mention of this ruler dealt a blow not only to any value that the kulajis might have possessed as history, but also to the entire narrative that they told about the origins of Bengal’s social structure. Thus every major critic of the historicity of the kulagranthas took the position that because no epigraphic, numismatic, or archaeological data or other textual sources could corroborate the existence of King Adisur or the veracity of certain facts that the genealogical discourse presented as key to the story of Bengal’s social history, there was every reason to reject, or at least be skeptical about, these traditions.³²

Indeed, this emphasis on corroborative evidence formed an important part of the methodological critique of the genealogies. As Chanda wrote in his *Gaudarajamala*, the two most important methodological steps in historical research were a meticulous search for “sources” and the use of the right kind of scrutiny to sift out elements

²⁸ Persian histories refer here to a large body of Indo-Islamic chronicles that were produced in India from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries until about the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These texts were often in Persian, the official courtly language of many of the Muslim dynasties that ruled India, and embodied features reminiscent of classic Islamic historiography produced in the Middle East. These features included careful attention to chronology, identification of authorities on whose testimonies the work was based, and clearer identification of authors. For the nature and character of Indo-Islamic historiography, see, for example, Peter Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India: Studies in Indo-Muslim Historiography* (repr., Delhi, 1997), and Harbans Mukhia, *Historians and Historiography during the Reign of Akbar* (New Delhi, 1976).

²⁹ Akshay Kumar Maitra, *Antiquities of Orissa* (Calcutta, 1879), 1: 1–2, 11; Ramaprasad Chanda, *Gaudarajamala* (Rajshahi, 1319 B.S. [1912]), 1–4, and see also the preface to this work by Akshay Kumar Maitra (n.p.); Majumdar, *Bangiya Kulashastra*, 3, 5–6, 8–9, 92–93.

³⁰ Haraprasad Shastri, ed., *Ramacharita* by Sandhyakar Nandy (repr., Calcutta, 1910; revised, with English trans. and notes by Radhagobinda Basak).

³¹ Representative examples include Rakhaldas Bandyopadhyaya, *Banglar Itihasa*, 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1324 B.S. [1924]), and Chanda, *Gaudarajamala*.

³² Majumdar, *Bangiya Kulashastra*, 49, 88–89, 91–97; Chanda, *Gaudarajamala*, 56–59; Bandyopadhyaya, *Banglar Itihasa*, 1: 117–124, 186–187, 188–189.

that could not be verified as true facts.³³ The tendency to take at face value the claims made by a body of discourse such as the kulagranthas and accept them as factual history was not viewed by historians as proper methodology. Akshay Kumar Maitra asserted that historians needed to maintain professional objectivity and detached impartiality from the subjects of their research. He believed that a historian was required to be a disinterested judge of the sources of history at his or her disposal; there could be no room for feelings and emotions in the process of historical analysis.³⁴ Maitra felt that the current public controversies about such things as the origins of Bengal's social structure and King Adisur did not qualify as appropriate scholarly historical discussion because, in his view, they were sometimes emotionally charged and tainted by caste rivalries and chauvinism and came nowhere close to being an impartial, detached quest for the truth.

Finally, the fact that the kulagranthas were written in verse condemned them in the eyes of rationalist scholars, who deemed them unworthy of being considered serious history as they understood it. As Suzanne Marchand and Elizabeth Lunbeck write, "style was a crucial element by which authority was asserted and readers badgered to assert the authors' claims,"³⁵ and in this case the verse style was identified as yet another important element that precluded the kulajis from the realm of proper history. As scholars have shown, written prose narratives were associated with a certain sense of dialogue, and with the problem of gaining readers' assent to the text. The methodological concerns of some objectivist historians about evaluating and critically questioning evidence gave the author the right to claim authority for the text by representing "the process of research"³⁶ on which it rested. A poet or storyteller, by contrast, was believed to give much greater weight (particularly in oral performance) to the effort to "suspend his hearers' disbelief and engage them in his created world."³⁷ The verse form of the kulagranthas deepened the unease with which they were regarded by objectivist historians. As Maitra described it, they were "imperfect annals of civilization."³⁸

In contrast, for a fairly large group of intellectuals of the time, including Lal-mohan Bidyanidhi, Nagendranath Basu, Dinesh Chandra Sen, Kshitindranath Thakur, and Durgacharan Sanyal, not only were the kulagranthas not objects of dubious historicity, they constituted an invaluable trove of indigenous social history of the region.³⁹ This point of view was obviously derived from a concept of history fundamentally different from the one discussed above. To almost all of these scholars, history was understood as far more than a systematic, dry marshaling of verifiable facts related to the past and objective, analytic scrutiny of them. Dinesh Sen and

³³ Chanda, *Gaudarajamala*, 1–4.

³⁴ Ibid., preface (n.p.).

³⁵ Marchand and Lunbeck, *Proof and Persuasion*, x1.

³⁶ S. C. Humphreys, "From Riddle to Rigor: Satisfactions of Scientific Prose in Ancient Greece," in Lunbeck and Marchand, *Proof and Persuasion*, 5, 9. See also Gabrielle Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 53–98.

³⁷ Humphreys, "From Riddle to Rigor," 7.

³⁸ Maitra, *The Antiquities of Orissa*, vol. 1.

³⁹ Durgacharan Sanyal, *Banglar Samajik Itihasa* (Calcutta, 1317 B.S. [1910]); Basu, *Banger Jatiya Itihasa*; Basu, "Bangiya Purabritter Upakaran," *Sahitya Parishat Patrika* 1 (1314 B.S. [1907]): 1–24; Dinesh Chandra Sen, *Brihat Banga*, 2 vols. (repr., Calcutta, 1999); Bidyanidhi, *Sambandha Nirnaya*; Kshitindranath Thakur, *Adisur O Bhattacharayan* (Calcutta, 1933); Umesh Chandra Gupta, *Jati Tattva Baridhi*.

other like-minded scholars tended to understand history in its broadest possible sense to denote what I call impressions of the past. These impressions were manifest in and in turn also drawn from a wide range of things, including myths, legends, ballads, genealogies, architectural relics, sculpture, craft traditions, customs, and material culture (e.g., clothing styles, language, and food). In other words, history was a product of culture—not any culture, but the culture of the “people.” Such culture was perceived to constitute an important seedbed of tradition and heritage, from which ordinary people derived their perceptions regarding their traditions. History was thus synonymous with tradition rather than a circumscribed academic discipline that was preoccupied with the application of a rational-positivist methodology to artifacts and texts from the past. History was to be discovered in impressions or essences of the past, as cherished and valued by a specific people—in this case, the people of Bengal. Sen claimed that his ambitious project embodied by the two volumes of *Brihat Banga* symbolized his effort to capture this concept of history through telling the story of the past experiences of the Bengali people.⁴⁰ According to this view, the genealogical literature that had evoked a firestorm of arguments and name-calling among scholars deserved to be regarded as history precisely because the “people” viewed it as a pool of trustworthy accounts that explained the evolution of the region’s social organization over many centuries.

This concept of history as the story of the traditions and culture of a people was intimately associated with an ethnographic dimension: this was an indigenous Bengali view, rooted in the land and culture of Bengal, and it was therefore distinctively different from other concepts of history. Its validity derived from the fact that it was a native tradition and therefore uncompromisingly authentic. Other historical traditions could not be accepted primarily because they had been formed by what were viewed as “outside influences.” The Persian histories were to be rejected first, because they were perceived to have been composed by Muslims, who as “outsiders” could not understand the indigenous Hindu Bengali view of history.⁴¹ The modern rational-positivist concept of history was to be avoided, too. It was seen unambiguously as a “Western” concept that had been brought to India by a colonial regime. Its acceptance would therefore lead to the alienation of Indians and Bengalis from their own traditions and ways of thinking.⁴²

In a manner not uncharacteristic of colonial intellectuals who had developed the tendency to use Europe and European traditions as a constant reference point, some of the scholars who articulated this folk-oriented tradition of history chose to deliberately position such endeavors in the German Romantic tradition associated with Johann Gottfried von Herder and Johann Gottlieb Fichte. In fact, however, these Bengali intellectuals were also participating in practices of indigenous and in some cases nationalist ethnography that were evident during the same period and later in emergent and modernizing nation-states across Asia and elsewhere. Japan and Vietnam, for example, provide excellent comparative perspectives on the connections between ethnography, nationalism, and history. In Japan, the ethnographic and folk-

⁴⁰ Sen, *Brihat Banga*, 1: preface (n.p.).

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Sen, *Brihat Banga*. This idea runs like a recurrent theme through both volumes of this work; representative samples can be found in 1: 26, 460–461.

loric studies of Yanagita Kunio, Origuchi Shinobu, Yanagi Soetsu, and others underline the immense need felt by a segment of Meiji intellectuals to capture and commemorate the customs and beliefs of the “real” Japanese people⁴³ in an effort to rescue what Harry Harootunian describes as a “submerged authenticity”⁴⁴ under pressure from the hectic pace of modernization. To many of these intellectuals, the history of Japan was to be found in the practices and customs of ordinary rural people, because they reflected older cultural practices and were believed to still be capable of communicating “an authentic experience of the people.”⁴⁵ In post-1945, and especially post-1952, Vietnam, ethnographic explorations into the culture of the rural and presumed “real” people were also aimed at resuscitating genuinely Vietnamese cultural traits perceived to still be in circulation among them. This, in turn, would illuminate a truly *national* culture—untouched by Chinese or French cultural influences—which could then serve as the foundation on which a national history of Vietnam could rest.⁴⁶

This nexus between ethnography, nationalism, and history in places such as India, Japan, and Vietnam draws further attention to theories of nationalism,⁴⁷ particularly to Benedict Anderson’s notion that a modular formula of nationalism had been developed and tried in the Western world during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and that it then became available to anticolonial nationalisms in Asia and Africa.⁴⁸ The processes of nation-making and history-writing in colonial and formerly colonial regions such as India and Vietnam underline instead Partha Chatterjee’s rebuttal of the Andersonian model and his refusal to concede that anticolonial nationalisms in Asia and Africa were derivative and based on a conscious emulation of modes and methods that had been tried out in the West. As Chatterjee demonstrates, anticolonial nationalisms in many parts of the world drew strength from articulating their own cultural distinctiveness and authenticity vis-à-vis their colonizers.⁴⁹ The proclivity among groups of intellectuals in Japan (here the tension was not with colonialism per se, but rather with the phenomenon of modernity and its uneasy association with what was perceived to be the “West”), India, or Vietnam to identify value and authenticity with what was supposedly distinctive and unique to a particular language, culture, or history underscores the tendency of these nationalisms to attempt to articulate their indigenous distinctiveness vis-à-vis colonial and Western traditions. The propensity among a certain group of Indian and Bengali

⁴³ Ronald A. Morse, *Yanagita Kunio and the Folklore Movement: The Search for Japan’s National Character and Distinctiveness* (New York, 1990); Alan S. Christy, “The Making of Imperial Subjects,” in Tani E. Barlow, ed., *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia* (Durham, N.C., 1997), 141–169; Mehl, *History and the State in Nineteenth-Century Japan*; Gerald A. Fial, *Civilization and Monsters: Spirits of Modernity in Meiji Japan* (Durham, N.C., 1999).

⁴⁴ Harry Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), xxvi.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Pelley, *Postcolonial Vietnam*, 69–112.

⁴⁷ For example, Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism* (New York, 1944); John Plamenatz, “Two Types of Nationalism,” in Eugene Kamenka, ed., *Nationalism: The Nature and Evolution of an Idea* (London, 1976), 23–26; Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford, 1983); Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge, 1990).

⁴⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1991).

⁴⁹ Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, N.J., 1993), 1–13.

intellectuals to emphasize “colonial difference” produced a strongly nativist theory of history accompanied by an explicit disavowal not of universalist, but rather of “Western” notions of scientific history.

In this indigenous Bengali concept of history, the community or *samaj*—the civil institution of society—was upheld as the primary locus of interest and attention, in contrast to both the Islamic or Indo-Persian tradition and the modern Western notion of history as a rational-positivist discipline. The Persian histories were devalued by the proponents of a Bengali indigenist vision of history as “histories of the state (*rashtra*)” rather than a history of the “people.” The modern rational-positivist concept of history associated with the “West” was also characterized as preoccupied mainly with accounts of governmental regimes and their activities rather than commemorating the life and customs of the people. As Kshitindranath Thakur remarked, Europeans had taught some Indians to believe that only books in which past wars and conquests were discussed deserved to be regarded as history. Thakur supported a broader, holistic concept of history that was distinctively different from king- and war-centric histories. He also linked the absence of a tradition of war-centric histories in Bengal to the superior cultural values and attributes possessed by the Bengali people, including an aversion to warfare and violence.⁵⁰ Bengalis instead emphasized the importance of social institutions such as the jati- and kula-based samaj. The kulajis, the ostensible subjects of the controversy, were valuable histories, recounting the story not of warmongering governmental regimes, but of the social entity represented by the samaj. “I proclaim with pride,” wrote Basu, “that hundreds of Xenophons and hundreds of Thucydideses were born in Bengal”;⁵¹ but these Bengali Xenophons concentrated their geniuses more on writing about the development of the community and its customs than on battles and military exercises. In fact, some of the discomfort that scholars such as Banerjee and Majumdar exhibited toward these views may have derived from the very deliberate turn away from chronological, dynastic history of monarchical governments to narratives about the languages, crafts, and poetic traditions of the people. Inherent in the ethnographic, nativist impulse in Japan was a tendency to valorize the Japanese folk and the rural communities that provided a framework for their culture vis-à-vis the centrality of the emperor and the state as the primary sources of Japanese nationhood.⁵² But the implications of a people- and community-oriented vision of nationhood and history meant different things in different contexts. In Vietnam, the quest for a genuinely indigenous community and culture as embodied by the peasantry also highlighted traditions of political corporatism and opposition to a centralized state that were important components of peasant or folk culture, and these were of course not palatable to a state-supported project of national history.⁵³

In the case of colonial Bengal, the romantic nativist concept of history generated an impulse for what Sumit Sarkar describes as a “precocious” agenda to write the social history of the land, which came to be regularly counterposed to the *rashtra* or

⁵⁰ Thakur, *Adisur O Bhattachanarayan*, 113–116.

⁵¹ Nagendranath Basu, “Bangiya Purabritter Upakaran,” *Sahitya Parishat Patrika* 1 (1314 B.S. [1907]): 1–24.

⁵² Christy, “The Making of Imperial Subjects”; Mehl, *History and the State in Nineteenth-Century Japan*; Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity*.

⁵³ Pelley, *Postcolonial Vietnam*.

rajshakti (the state, the political domain).⁵⁴ The primacy of the civil sphere in recounting the past experiences of a people was reiterated in the writings of public figures and intellectuals such as Satish Mukherjee and especially Rabindranath Tagore at the turn of the twentieth century. Both insisted that the privileging of the community over tales of war and conquest as the main subject of history distinguished the quintessentially Bengali world view of history, as opposed to the then-preoccupation of rational-positivist academic history with dynastic narratives of territorial expansion and wars.⁵⁵ These scholars did not acknowledge the possible existence of links between the community and the state (the latter was conceived of here as a military and administrative apparatus). Instead, they sought to idealize the samaj as a sphere of peaceful quotidian activities that they ideologically isolated from the state as a governmental regime preoccupied with wars and conquests.⁵⁶

A powerful idea shared among scholars advocating the nativist concept of history was to be found in their critiques, both explicit and implicit, of Western education in India. They felt that by teaching adherents to believe that the Western style of writing history was the only true history, this education had succeeded in alienating some Bengali intellectuals from their own cultural traditions.⁵⁷ Banerjee, Majumdar, and others were taken to task for allegedly becoming alienated from the indigenous Bengali way of commemorating the past. Dinesh Sen, in particular, hypothesized that the only people in Bengal who had not suffered cultural alienation from their own traditions were the ordinary poor people living in the rural areas.⁵⁸ Thus the strictly professional rational-positivist view of history propagated by Majumdar and others created a gulf between the Bengali upper class and the poor, humble people of the region. The latter, according to this point of view, were the real custodians of Bengal's past. Those hypothesizing an "indigenist" Bengali concept of history thus made a very important claim: that history was not the exclusive academic preserve of professional archaeologists and historians, but rather a sphere to which nonspecialists had an equally strong claim. Much of the methodological criticism leveled by the professionalists at those espousing a more romantic, nativist concept of history was deemed irrelevant by the latter group. Sen, for example, stated clearly in his preface to *Brihat Banga* that he had written the work not for professional historians but for ordinary people, and in so doing he had deliberately chosen not to use detached scientific language or to separate myths and legends from facts.⁵⁹ The need to analyze and scrutinize evidence, to look for corroboration from other sources, and to evaluate the "truth" versus the "mythic" nature of information related to the past—these either were declared to be unnecessary or at best were assigned a fairly low priority by the indigenists. Interestingly enough, the proponents of this concept of history, while eschewing positivist history because they identified it as being non-Western in

⁵⁴ Sumit Sarkar, "The Many Worlds of Indian History," in Sarkar, *Writing Social History* (Delhi, 1997), 20–26.

⁵⁵ Satish Mukherjee's advocacy of a communitarian ideology is cited in *ibid.*, 28–29. For Tagore's views, see Tagore, *Rabindra Rachanabali*, ed. R. K. Dasgupta et al. (Calcutta, 1990), 12: 37–39, 40–43, 43–60.

⁵⁶ I am grateful to Dipesh Chakrabarty for drawing my attention to this point.

⁵⁷ Sen, *Brihat Banga*, 1: 251–252; Thakur, *Adisur O Bhattachanarayan*, 113–116; Gupta, *Jati Tattva Baridhi*, 2: preface (n.p.).

⁵⁸ Sen, *Brihat Banga*, 1: 252, 262–263, 274.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, preface (n.p.).

origin, betrayed a lack of awareness of and interest in classical Indian intellectual traditions, particularly those pertaining to theories of verifying evidence and the criteria for ascertaining the truth of a statement or a story.⁶⁰

In effect, the notion of history extolled by Sen and others rebelled against formal methodology, whether Western (this they made explicit) or indigenous (this they implied with their total silence on the subject). What these scholars valorized was rather an instinctive, nonformalized manner of recovering the past, unfettered by structured methodology or criteria and evaluation. In taking such a stand, these Bengali intellectuals were echoing the distinction between history and memory articulated by Maurice Halbwachs, and more recently by Yosef Hayim Yarushalmi and Pierre Nora.⁶¹ In the context of the kulagrantha debate, Sen and Basu expressed their preference for spontaneous, free-form memory as a mode of retrieving the past over professional history with its preoccupation with “abstract frameworks of chronology and factual detail.”⁶² Memory was to be further reinforced by conjoining it to emotion. Instead of being a deterrent to research about the past, emotion was in fact its underlying bedrock.

Many of the ideas discussed above had in fact been reinforced by the antipartition Swadeshi agitation (1905–1910/1911) in Bengal. The association of emotionalism with patriotism and the celebration of the people’s culture as the true substance of history was in full flower during and after the antipartition turmoil. The kulagrantha controversy antedated the Swadeshi movement, but many of the core ideas and concepts that characterized it—particularly the arguments and ideas articulated by the proponents of an emotional, nativist vision of history—were invigorated and actualized by it. The strongly emotive, romantic conceptualizations of the land as mother and as goddess in popular patriotic poetry, plays, and visual representations, which had been in evidence since the late nineteenth century, peaked during this period. The embodiment of the land as mother also provided a matrix of bonds based on love, affection, and familiarity that bound together the people with the land as well as with each other.⁶³

The Swadeshi years were also instrumental in strengthening the already strong interest in and awareness of history among the Bengali literati. The celebration of the “people’s culture”—an integral feature of the Swadeshi movement and of the

⁶⁰ The literature on classical Indian intellectual traditions is very large. Representative examples of standard surveys of Indian intellectual and philosophical traditions include Surendranath Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, 1922–1925), and Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, 2 vols. (London, 1923–1927). Gautam Bhadra, *Jaal Rajar Katha: Bardhamaner Pratapchand* (Calcutta, 2002), contains an insightful discussion of Indian theories of verifying evidence. See also Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, *Truth: A History and a Guide for the Perplexed* (New York, 1997).

⁶¹ Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory* (New York, 1980); Yosef Hayim Yarushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish Memory and Jewish History* (Seattle, Wash., 1982); Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire,” *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 7–25. The literature on history and memory is a large one. Here I refer to only those works mentioned directly in the text.

⁶² Susan A. Crane, “Writing the Individual Back into Collective Memory,” *AHR* 102, no. 5 (December 1997): 1372–1385.

⁶³ Sumit Sarkar, *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal, 1903–1908* (New Delhi, 1973); Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *The Making of a New “Indian” Art: Artists, Aesthetics and Nationalism in Bengal, c. 1850–1920* (Cambridge, 1992); Sugata Bose, “Nation as Mother: Representations and Contestations of ‘India’ in Bengali Literature and Culture,” in Bose and Ayesha Jalal, eds., *Nationalism, Democracy and Development: State and Politics in India* (New Delhi, 1997); Tanika Sarkar, *Hindu Wife, Hindu Nation: Community, Religion and Cultural Nationalism* (Delhi, 2001).

kulagrantha controversy—was embodied in the collection and systematization of folk ballads, folktales, and fairytales, a process that was pioneered in Bengal by Sen and Dakshina Ranjan Mitra-Majumdar.⁶⁴ This trend was reminiscent of the efforts of Japanese folklorists such as Yanagita Kunio during the same period. It represented efforts to valorize folk traditions as indigenous and untouched by “outside” or “new” influences—whether colonial, Western, or industrial.

Another important manifestation of the urge to preserve the people’s culture was the huge number of local histories written during this period by the Bengali gentry.⁶⁵ Studies of local places, however defined, were often far more typical of the romantic, nonprofessional historical impulse than the larger transcendental entity of the nation. Yet, as Celia Applegate points out, the tendency to place exclusive emphasis on the modern nation-state as the subject of history has resulted in the neglect of conceptualizations of the region or the locality both in terms of their relationship to the nation and as subjects of history.⁶⁶ Prasenjit Duara’s work demonstrates that historical discourses emphasizing a primary identification with the province or region existed in the interstices of nationalist historiography in early-twentieth-century China.⁶⁷ Perhaps an awareness that historical discourse can also articulate itself via a locality can serve to open up discussions about the region and the nation, their mutual relationships and their histories.

This growing interest in the redemption, recovery, and preservation of the people’s culture as an indispensable plank in the history-writing project found a more permanent and institutional form in the activities of many organizations that had emerged in Bengal before, during, and after the Swadeshi movement, including the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, founded in 1900, as well as a host of local organizations.⁶⁸ The term *sahitya* was most commonly used in reference to literature, but the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, like many other organizations of this type, tended to understand it in the broadest possible sense. Maitra once described it as “the wellspring of all possible types of intellectual and developmental powers” that could benefit human society.⁶⁹ Thus defined, *sahitya* could well accommodate within it the category of “history” as understood by its members. In the pursuit of this kind of history, the language, customs, and past achievements of the people were seen as essentially related objects of study. Dedicated gentleman enthusiasts associated with many of these organizations undertook walking tours devoted to photographing extant historical buildings and monuments, made notes about local traditions, and looked for

⁶⁴ Dinesh Chandra Sen, *Folk Literature of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1920); Sen, *Maimansimha Gitika*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Calcutta, 1923); Dakshina Ranjan Mitra-Majumdar, *Thakumaar Jhuli* (Calcutta, 1908). See also Jack Zipes, *The Brothers Grimm: From Enchanted Forests to the Modern World* (New York, 1988).

⁶⁵ Typical examples include Rasiklal Gupta, *Maharaj Rajballabh Sen* (Calcutta, n.d.); Nabinkrishna Bandyopadhyaya, *Bhadrapurer Itibritta* (Murshidabad, 1910–1911); and Saradacharan Dhara, *Nabab Harekrishna* (Calcutta, 1910).

⁶⁶ Celia Applegate, “A Europe of Regions: Reflections on the Historiography of Sub-National Places in Modern Times,” *AHR* 104, no. 4 (October 1999): 1157–1182. See also Kären Wigen, “Culture, Power, and Place: The New Landscapes of East Asian Regionalism,” *ibid.*, 1183–1201.

⁶⁷ Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation*, chap. 6.

⁶⁸ Amarnath Karan, *Sahitya Sammilaner Itibritta, 1900–1903* (Calcutta, 1994); *Sahitya Parishat Panjika O Bangiya Sahitya Parishader Unabingsha Sambatsarik Karya Bibarani, 1913–14* (Sahitya, 1320 B.S. [1913]); Gautam Bhadra and Dipa De, “Chintar Chalchitra: Bangiya Sahitya Parishad,” *Sahitya Parishad Patrika*, Centenary Volume, 1401–1402 B.S. [1994–1995], 39–68.

⁶⁹ Quoted in Karan, *Sahitya Sammilaner Itibritta*, 186.

hoards of old manuscripts stored in rural homes. Descriptions of these “history” tours are imbued with an infectious energy and enthusiasm that demonstrates the long reach and power of history as understood by nonspecialist amateurs.⁷⁰

The limitations inherent in the romantic celebration of the “people’s” history need to be kept in mind. The masses were eulogized as the custodians of the region’s history and customs, but it required urban, upper-class, often upper-caste, educated scholars to speak up for and represent village traditions in a bourgeois public sphere shaped by print. It was perhaps inevitable, too, that the perception of what was considered to be the people’s culture would be colored by class, caste, and other cultural considerations unique to the urban Bengali literati.⁷¹ These types of writings also tended to idealize and view the culture, beliefs, and practices of the “people” as fully formed, enduring, and in a sense almost timeless prior to the onset of the present with its problems of colonialism and nationalism, the dilemmas of negotiating modernity, and the predicaments of producing appropriate histories in such situations. They were in fact involved in the invention of a tradition⁷² regarding what they considered to be the people’s culture against the encroachments of an alienating colonial modernity. The significance here of this strand of romantic, nativist popular history lies in its potential to offer us a view of history that was significantly different from the academic history practiced by professional historians.

The debate among the two groups of scholars suggests that—discursively, at least—the battle lines between them were pretty clearly drawn. Despite the significant disagreements, however, almost all of the scholars involved in the kulagrantha controversy shared certain important concerns and objectives. For the most part, they did not adopt rigidly absolutist positions. The most important point uniting the two groups of scholars was the conviction that a (re)discovery of the past via Indian and Bengali agency was in fact an essential prerequisite to nation-building. But here, too, as the preceding discussion has demonstrated, significant distinctions separated the protagonists of the two groups discussed above.

Interestingly enough, the two opposing concepts of history discussed here came closest to an uneasy consensus on the question of oral tradition, which they described as *janashruti* (literally, “what the people heard”).⁷³ Umesh Chandra Gupta, an advocate of the historicity of the kulajis, insisted that oral traditions were not to be taken lightly as a typology of knowledge. He believed that there was always at least a kernel of truth in hearsay, and that without this grounding in truth, the hearsay could not originate, expand, and spread.⁷⁴

Predictably, the scholars on the opposite side in this debate were deeply troubled at the prospect that haphazardly written and compiled genealogies could be con-

⁷⁰ Nagendranath Basu, *Bardhamaner Itikatha* (Bardhaman, 1915); Kumudbandhu Basu, “Amader Aitihasik Bhandar,” *Bharati*, Kartik 1311 B.S. [1904], 700–718.

⁷¹ Sarkar, “The Many Worlds of Indian History,” 22–24.

⁷² Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1993).

⁷³ A large secondary literature exists on the subject of oral traditions in India. Examples include Stuart Blackburn, *Singing of Birth and Death: Texts in Performance* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1988); Blackburn, *Moral Fictions: Tamil Folktales from Oral Tradition* (Helsinki, 2001); Philip Lutgendorf, *The Life of a Text: Performing the Ramcharitmanas of Tulsidas* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991); Kirin Narayan, *Storytellers, Saints and Scoundrels: Folk Narrative in Hindu Religious Teaching* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1989); and Gautam Bhadra, “Kathakathar Nana Katha,” *Jogasutra*, October–December 1993, 169–278.

⁷⁴ Thakur, *Adisur O Bhattanarayan*, 1–2; Gupta, *Jati Tattva Baridhi*, 2: 6.

sidered history. Yet despite such weighty objections, the proponents of “objectivist” history ultimately and somewhat paradoxically agreed with the romanticists—although not without reservations—that these materials might be accorded some historical value. Majumdar and Chanda conceded that the kulagranthas, although of suspicious historicity, could not be totally dismissed as fabrications. Majumdar, and later Inden, rejected the contention of scholars such as Basu that the kulagranthas were datable to a time between the eighth and ninth and the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Both believed that paleographic and other evidence suggested that most extant kulajis had been composed or recopied from earlier chronicles during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁷⁵ Majumdar and Banerjee categorized the kulagranthas as janashruti from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁷⁶ The texts thus embodied memories and impressions of particular segments of Bengali society regarding the origin and development of the jati and kula rankings of the region. But the primary reason why they merited some consideration by historians was the persistence and power of certain types of janashruti and their overall uniformity. Banerjee and Majumdar both felt that a few specific stories included in the larger mass of oral tradition embodied in the kulagranthas merited cautious and limited acceptance—including the possible existence of a king called Adisur. Majumdar explained that he found this particular story somewhat plausible because it was repeated in most of the kulagranthas and in practically identical terms. These attributes were sufficient for a professional historian to accord grudging acceptance to the historical value of the kulagranthas.⁷⁷ But neither Banerjee nor Majumdar granted the genealogies the status of history; at best they could be cautiously considered to be “sources” of history. The materials had to be subjected to scrutiny and analysis by modern scholars, who alone possessed the intellectual training to write proper history. Other objectivist historians refused outright to acknowledge their possible historical value.

At one level, the disagreements among the participants in the debate can be attributed to differences in academic specialization and professional standing. Most of those who spoke for the need to deploy rational, objective modes of analysis, an attitude of detachment, and highly specialized expertise of the kind needed in fields such as archaeology and epigraphy were professional historians affiliated with institutions of higher education, with museums or the Archeological Survey of India, or with semiprofessional organizations such as the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Those articulating the nature of history as essentially meant to inspire the “people” of the country and insisting on trying to prize it out of the exclusive control of specialist scholars were not, despite their generally acknowledged scholarship and erudition, professional historians or archaeologists. Both Basu and Sen saw history as a public concern rather than the concern of a few specialists.

Despite the opposing positions adopted by these groups of scholars with respect to the genealogical materials, the lines separating the two camps did blur at times. Notwithstanding the conviction that historical research had to be free of emotion and

⁷⁵ Chanda, *Gaudarajamala*, 56–59; Majumdar, *Bangiya Kulashastra*, 23–26; Inden, *Marriage and Rank in Bengali Culture*, 4.

⁷⁶ Bandyopadhyaya, *Banglar Itihasa*, 1: 124; Majumdar, *Bangiya Kulashastra*, 26.

⁷⁷ Bandyopadhyaya, *Banglar Itihasa*, 1: appendix, “Shur Rajbangsha,” 209–214; Majumdar, *Bangiya Kulashastra*, 88–91.

of any desire to bolster national, sectarian pride, professional historians are charged with having succumbed to the very same emotions and feelings that they decried. Majumdar's view that the existence of strong Indian cultural influences in Southeast Asia from the seventh and eighth to the eleventh and twelfth centuries was proof of the operation of an Indian imperialism there has been interpreted by later scholars as an effort to glorify Indian achievements in the historical past.⁷⁸ Even the work of H. C. Raychaudhuri, the author of one of the early classic works on ancient Indian history, was not free from the impetus to find in ancient Indian history the lineages of a nation-state that nationalists in the early twentieth century dreamed of reestablishing.⁷⁹ The claim that "hard evidence" was truthful and impartial because it was impervious to cultural, national, or sectarian politics has also, of course, been punctured. Tapati Guha-Thakurta has shown that in disputes over architectural monuments, myth and memory could infiltrate the fields of history and archaeology, disrupting the properties of their methods and procedures, challenging their evidentiary logic, and refusing to keep "proven fact" apart from "imagined truths."⁸⁰

Some of the professional historians and archaeologists associated with the kulagrantha controversy were also practitioners of what is regarded as popular or romantic history. As the rich literature on the topic of romantic history reminds us, historical narratives constructed in accordance with the principles of rational positivism were but one important mode of representing the past. There could be, and indeed there were, other modes of representing the past as well, for example, through spectacles (such as waxworks), historical novels, and plays. Hayden White's postulate of the incestuous relationship between history and fiction is well-known.⁸¹ The work of scholars such as Stephen Bann, Ann Rigney, and Maurice Samuels on the close connections between academic history and romantic or popular history in nineteenth-century Britain and France demonstrates convincingly that a broader environment of historical awareness or interest had been created by and was at the same time manifest in cultural productions such as those mentioned above.⁸² The novels of Sir Walter Scott and of Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas, and other French romantics enjoyed phenomenal popularity, which underscored their ability to entertain and provide pleasure to a much larger audience than just highly educated, trained professional historians or archaeologists. Thus, the historical cultures of a

⁷⁸ R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonization in South-East Asia* (Baroda, 1955), 6–7; Dietmar Rothermund and Herman Kulke, *A History of India* (1986; repr., New York, 1990), 152–153.

⁷⁹ H. C. Raychaudhuri, *The Political History of Ancient India: From the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty, with a Commentary by B. N. Mukherjee* (1923; repr., New York, 1996), xi–xii.

⁸⁰ Guha-Thakurta, "Archaeology as Evidence," 15; Guha-Thakurta, "Archaeology and the Monument: On Two Contentious Sites of Faith and History" (unpublished ms.).

⁸¹ Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore, Md., 1978); White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore, Md., 1990). See also Carlo Ginzburg, "Fiction as Historical Evidence," *Yale Journal of Criticism* 5, no. 2 (1992): 165–178.

⁸² The literature on this subject is large. The works I found the most useful were Stephen Bann, *The Clothing of Clio: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth-Century Britain and France* (Cambridge, 1984); Bann, *The Inventions of History: Essays on the Representation of the Past* (Manchester, 1990); Lionel Grossman, *Between History and Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990); Ann Rigney, *Imperfect Histories: The Elusive Past and the Legacy of Romantic Historicism* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2001); and Maurice Samuels, *The Spectacular Past: Popular History and the Novel in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2004).

given society encapsulated academic history or “historiography proper,”⁸³ as many of them described it, and extended to include phenomena such as visual arts, historical novels, historical spectacles, and museums. In fact, romantic, popular history, with its ability to reach larger numbers of people, may well have been of critical importance in creating an overall environment of interest in the past. Professional history could have come into being and functioned only against this backdrop.

Yet much of the scholarship on the emergence of history in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century India overlooks the potency and significance of romantic history.⁸⁴ The historical novels of Scott allow us to establish a link to the intelligentsia of colonial India and Bengal. This period saw the production of large numbers of historical novels and plays in Bengal, and Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya, indisputably the most celebrated historical novelist of late-nineteenth-century Bengal, acknowledged his direct debt and inspiration to Scott’s novels. This sphere of imaginary romantic or popular history shared with the nativist conception of history the character of being a nonspecialist field in which emotion, imagination, and romance took center stage. Several proponents of scientific history—including Banerjee and Maitra, who were actively engaged in denouncing the historicity of the kula-granthas—were also authors of historical romances, both plays and novels.⁸⁵ This genre of imaginary history can be seen as a sphere in which “real” historical personalities could be endowed with the nobility and virtues that rational, credible sources of history made difficult or impossible in academic history. Similarly, real historical events could be made to have imaginary but more desirable outcomes.⁸⁶

Yet we must be careful not to completely blur the boundaries between professional history and archaeology, on the one hand, and popular, nonspecialist, romantic history, on the other. Despite the existence of this “intermediary zone—a space not quite history nor entirely fiction,”⁸⁷ professional historians and archaeologists, when writing for specialist scholarly audiences, worked within the methodologies prescribed by their academic disciplines—they evaluated evidence, sought corroboration for discovered facts, and attempted to explain why one kind of evidence was more reliable than another. Even when some among them wrote “imaginary” history, it was kept separate from their scholarly work.

The birth of the modern nation-state and the emergence of history as a rational-positivist discipline occurred in tandem in Europe after the French Revolution, and this is believed to have endowed history from the inception of its professionalization with the tendency to become a narrative of the state. This feature has been em-

⁸³ For instance, Bann, *The Clothing of Clio*, 3.

⁸⁴ Such omissions are noticeable in, e.g., Guha, *An Indian Historiography of India*; Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*; and Gyanendra Pandey, “The Prose of Otherness,” in David Arnold and David Hardiman, eds., *Subaltern Studies VIII: Essays in Honour of Ranajit Guha* (New Delhi, 1994). The exceptions to these are Sudipta Kaviraj, *The Unhappy Consciousness: Bankimchandra Chattopadhyaya and the Formation of Nationalist Discourse in India* (Delhi, 1995), and Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Postcolonial India* (New York, 2004).

⁸⁵ A. K. Bandyopadhyaya and B. N. Mukhopadhyaya, eds., *Rakhaldas Bandyopadhyaya Rachanabali*, 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1988, 1990); Akshay Kumar Maitra, *Mir Kasim* (Calcutta, 1906); Maitra, *Phiringi Banik* (Calcutta, 1922).

⁸⁶ Kaviraj, *The Unhappy Consciousness*, 107–157; Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories*, 132–139.

⁸⁷ Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories*, 133.

phasized for India by several influential scholars.⁸⁸ Prasenjit Duara agrees that this was undoubtedly a predominant tendency in China, but he also makes a persuasive case for other visions of history that existed there in the twentieth century. In these visions, it was not the state but other forms of community, such as civil society or local affiliations, that took primacy.⁸⁹ The kulagrantha controversy compels us to conceive of history and its cultures in broader and more complex terms and to acknowledge that professional history did not exhaust other, sometimes competing modes and genres of representing the past. This analysis of a romantic, indigenist concept of history belies the claim that nationalist historiography was essentially state-centric. This vision of history emphasized the community as its subject rather than the state and authorized the use of emotion and its constituent elements—including love, pride, and nostalgia—as legitimate tools for the articulation of this concept of history. These tendencies emphasizing the expression of such non-state-centric visions of history are also found in Japan, China, and elsewhere during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Thus the multiple intersecting and contradicting strands within national historiographies of India and other regions need to be acknowledged more fully. To characterize them simply as “statist” is to denude them of some of their richness, variety, and complexity.

In the case of the kulagrantha controversy, the battle between professional history and romantic history remained unresolved. In the long run, rational-positivist history probably captured what it perceived to be the academic high ground, but the resonance and appeal of romantic or imaginary popular history beyond the academy continued to be equally significant.

⁸⁸ For instance, Kaviraj, “The Imaginary Institution of India,” in Partha Chatterjee and Gyanendra Pandey, eds., *Subaltern Studies VII: Writings on South Asian History and Society* (New Delhi, 1992); Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*; Pandey, “The Prose of Otherness.”

⁸⁹ Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation*.

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Reviews of Books and Films

METHODS/THEORY

AVIEZER TUCKER. *Our Knowledge of the Past: A Philosophy of Historiography*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. 291. \$70.00.

This is a most remarkable book. It also is a difficult book, although not because the text is unclear or badly argued. On the contrary, the scholarship of the book is impeccable, even though the readers of chapter two will sometimes raise their eyebrows when seeing what Aviezer Tucker writes about the history of historical writing since the sixteenth century. If the book is difficult, it is because Tucker wishes to apply to historical writing the most advanced models of how to assess the probability of claims to knowledge developed in contemporary logic and philosophy of science. This is where the great merits of this book are to be situated and this is also what a review trying to do justice to Tucker's brilliant book must focus on.

I will begin with an old and venerable distinction made by nineteenth-century historians such as Leopold von Ranke and Johann Gustav Droysen. The distinction I have in mind here is the one between *Geschichtsforschung* and *Geschichtsschreibung*. The former is the domain of historical research, where historians attempt to establish what exactly happened in the past, and what may have caused it to happen. When this has been done, the historian will try to integrate the results of historical research as well as he or she can within an interpretation or representation of the past (e.g. a book or article). Hence, historical research is, so to say, the "hard" part of the practice of history, whereas *Geschichtsschreibung*, or historical writing, is its more "soft" and interpretative dimension.

Tucker focuses on historical research. One of the most fascinating aspects of his book is the author's effort to stretch the domain of historical research as far as possible and to see, next, how far one might penetrate into the domain customarily reserved for historical writing. He most brilliantly does this in chapters three, five, and six. But Tucker is well aware that there are limits, as he explains in chapter four. There is a dimension to historical writing that stubbornly resists fitting into the framework of "scientific historiography," and what historians say at the level of *Geschichtsschrei-*

bung might always be "vague," to use Tucker's own terminology.

The book's most important chapter is chapter three. In this chapter, the Bayes theorem and the notion of the common cause are proposed for assessing the probability of the historian's hypotheses about the past. The Bayes theorem is a theory on statistics developed by Thomas Bayes (1702–1761) that has been transformed by modern logicians into a theory about the probability that a certain hypothesis on A may be true, given previous hypotheses on A and certain background knowledge of A. In chapter three Tucker uses this variant of Bayesianism in order to establish what common cause is the best explanation of some historical event—and where the common cause had best be defined as the most important necessary condition of the event in question.

The importance of Bayesianism for the writing of history cannot be doubted, since it enables us to establish the probability that a historical hypothesis is true, given certain new evidence, background knowledge, and previous hypotheses. The many examples proposed by Tucker illustrate the cogency and strengths of his argument. Recalling the distinction between historical research and historical writing, it must be observed that Tucker's causal model penetrates deeply into the domain ordinarily attributed to historical writing. Until now, social-economic history was believed to be the only historical subdiscipline in which a rigorous causal analysis would suffice; this book convincingly demonstrates that there is much more scope for what its author calls "a scientific historiography."

Nevertheless, there are also problems. A condition of the applicability of Tucker's model is that hypotheses whose relative probability is investigated should all be about the same phenomenon. One cannot compare a hypothesis about quasars with one about quarks. It is no different in historical writing. But this condition is only rarely met in historical writing. For example, all historical writing about the French Revolution since Edmund Burke could be said to be a continuous debate about what the revolution actually is, or rather, was. Tucker might now say that this is precisely why historians tend to get entangled in the kind of impasse he discusses in chapter four and why they should stop asking themselves such useless questions. But this would be

a rather draconic solution and not likely to be adopted by historians—nor by Tucker himself, for that matter.

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VELCHERU NARAYANA RAO, DAVID SHULMAN, and SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM. *Textures of Time: Writing History in South India, 1600–1800*. (Cultural Studies.) New York: Other Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 296. \$30.00.

This book was first published in 2001 by Permanent Black, a Delhi-based publisher, but was difficult to obtain and therefore little read. The new edition by Other Press makes this important work easily available to a global audience and should help it receive the scholarly recognition it deserves. The book is a testament to the advantages of joint scholarship in the humanities, for the three authors together command numerous languages and the disciplinary perspectives of both history and literary studies. In this second collaboration between Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, the abrupt changes in topic or style that occasionally marred their previous endeavor, *Symbols of Substance* (1992), have been eliminated, resulting in a more consistent voice and tighter argumentation.

This volume is also a more ambitious work, whose aim is to recover “as history a significant body of literature from late medieval and early modern South India” (p. 3). Taking a middle path between the stance that historical writing only emerged with the advent of colonialism and the view that all indigenous traditions dealing with the past should be considered historical, the authors instead assert that “the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in South India saw the emergence of a new and specific historical awareness” (p. 136). As evidence for this claim, they examine upward of twenty texts, composed (primarily) in the languages of Telugu, Tamil, Marathi, and Persian. Only one of these texts is available in English translation and some have never been discussed in print before; the book thus introduces a substantial corpus of Indian writing to the world of English scholarship, no mean achievement on its own.

This book will be remembered chiefly for its provocative theses, however. One is that historiography in India, unlike in Europe, was written in a variety of literary genres. Because history writing might appear in the guise of a folk epic, courtly poem, or diplomatic report, its existence was overlooked by earlier scholars, according to Narayana Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam. But, they argue, the distinction between a history and a fictional work was understood by authors and their audiences in early modern South Asia and encoded within texts by sub-generic markers. These subtle markers are part of what make up the “texture” of a written work and texture is what ultimately determines whether a particular text should be considered a history or not. More and more writing that is historiographical in nature was produced in South India from 1600 onward, by

a growing class of service gentry encompassing scribes, minor court functionaries, and village-level officials who are collectively referred to by the Telugu term *karanam*.

After laying out their basic arguments in the introductory chapter, Narayana Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam proceed to support them with fine-grained case studies. Their favorite method is to analyze a cluster of works dealing with the same historical event, supplying translations of select passages in the process. In chapter two, they focus on three texts that cover the Battle of Bobbili, fought in Andhra Pradesh in January 1757. All three were written within a half century of this minor battle occasioned by the growing power of the English East India Company, and they offer a fascinating counterperspective to the more familiar colonial accounts. Because they differ in genre, this chapter convincingly illustrates the point that genre cannot be used as the primary means to identify Indian historiography. Chapters four and five examine a considerably larger set of works relating to the defeat of Tej Singh (or Desingu Raja) at Senji fort in Tamil Nadu in 1714. The range of languages and genres represented in this literature on Tej Singh leads to a correspondingly more complex analysis, one that touches on issues as diverse as models of heroism, Indo-Persian historiography, and the use of varying temporal modes.

In between these two extended discussions of eighteenth-century events as refracted through multiple, conflicting narratives is chapter three, which takes an altogether different tack. It goes back in time and looks at a series of disparate texts from the fifteenth century onward, in order to trace the emerging historical consciousness that culminated in the later works examined elsewhere in the book. From the outset, the texts produced by the largely anonymous members of the *karanam* class were characterized by a profusion of factual information. Over the course of time, they displayed more concern for chronological sequencing and a greater sophistication in the analysis of cause and effect. The concluding chapter of the book returns to the central (and highly original) concept of texture, by which means one is able to differentiate a history from other types of literature.

This is without doubt a landmark in the study of Indian historiography. It should settle, once and for all, any questions about the existence of historical writing in India before European influence. With its rich, nuanced, and complex exploration of individual works, it also provides an exemplary model of how to conduct the literary analysis of historiographic texts. The book’s own texture might be compared to a fine brocade: intricate in its construction, thick in its descriptions, and often dazzling in its poetic language. Some of its ideas—on temporal modes and factuality, in particular—could shape future studies of historiography, whether Indian or not, in interesting new ways. So should its persuasive demonstration that “writing history is not a matter of strict adherence to formal characteristics and types” (p. 4).

The book will also inspire much debate. Some may deplore its lack of attention to the context of historiographic production: the discussion of the *karanam* class of authors is notably vague and seemingly misguided in its dismissal of political motives for the writing of history. Similarly, little thought is given to why these texts were transmitted or the fact that many were compiled in a colonial-era archive. Others may find the notion of texture problematic, because of its ineffable nature and the emphasis on the author's intention to create a historiographic work. Fortunately, we are provided with concrete criteria by which to identify a history, in addition to texture: "Factuality, critical use of sources, non-trivial causal interpretations, the reflective organization of the materials into a 'readable' understanding of the past—all these are also necessary" (p. 260). A well-developed causal explanation, or at least a meaningful sequencing of the narrative, appears to be the feature Narayana Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam place most weight on, bringing them close to Hayden White's position on what constitutes a history.

With this book's publication, our thinking about Indian historiography has been raised to a much higher and sophisticated level. It may not be possible for less linguistically adept scholars to replicate its analytic methods, nor may they necessarily wish to be so literary in their approach. But no one will be able to write about Indian historiography in the future without taking this work into consideration; scholars of historiography in other regions could also benefit considerably from its insights.

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KATHLEEN WILSON, editor. *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660–1840*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 385. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$34.99.

"Can there be a 'new imperial history'?" With the profusion of "new" histories that have appeared in the last twenty years, the answer would appear to be a rather straightforward yes. As Kathleen Wilson reminds readers of this volume, however, the question of whether a new history of the British Empire can avoid replicating old patterns of European dominance is anything but straightforward. One of the new history's central premises holds that imperialism is a construct sustained by culture, especially cultures of "difference . . . between 'us and them'" (pp. 1–4). Given the overwhelmingly European and North American institutional basis of the historical profession, how can any historian hope to write narratives that do not reproduce, on some level, the very hierarchies that critical histories of empire ought to reject?

Faced with this problem, Wilson acknowledges the many pitfalls of even attempting such a history. "The new imperial history," she cautions, "is very much a work in progress" (p. 26). Wilson seems especially

mindful of the danger that, in seeking to eradicate the biases inherent in writing history from a Western or metropolitan vantage point, new imperial historians will end up creating postcolonial orthodoxies of their own. Nonetheless, both Wilson and many of the contributors to this volume make a strong case for the new imperial history, one centrally concerned with the primacy of culture in replicating, sustaining, and contesting British and European imperial power. Although the volume only covers the early modern period, it makes a significant contribution to the new imperial history, as well as supplying a good overview of the field as it currently stands.

Wilson organizes the volume's sixteen chapters into four parts: the "empire at home" (i.e. in Britain); imperialism in the colonies; Britain's Atlantic empire; and the "arts of discovery," a catchall category that includes both Britain and the empire. A recurring theme is the multifaceted interplay among hierarchies of class, gender, religion, and race in Britain and the colonies. Among the contributions that examine such connections are chapters by Gillian Russell on the role of London's "fashionable" women's societies in publicizing the exploration of the Pacific; Felicity Nussbaum on the performance of blackness on the London stage; Michael Fischer on the Persian Armenian Emin's autobiographical efforts to negotiate his own identity as an Asian immigrant residing in Britain; Philip Stern on gentlemanly sociability and the activities of the London-based African Society; Eitan Bar-Yosef on the impact of British incursions in the Middle East on the millennialism of Joanna Southcott and Richard Brothers; Hans Turley on the significance of Robinson Crusoe for British evangelicals; and Harriet Guest on the juxtaposed representations of Pacific explorer Captain James Cook and Omai, the Tahitian who visited London during the mid-1770s. Wilson also contributes a chapter on Cook's voyages and the representation of British gender and racial identities.

Although most contributors approach the new imperial history from the standpoint of culture, several treat the military and political dimensions of empire, notably Nicholas Rogers on the apotheosis of Captain Cook; Kevin Whelan on the "Green Atlantic" of Irish-American radicalism; and Sudipta Sen on the importance of Liberal notions of free trade for East India Company reform in India. Margaret Hunt also takes up military-political questions, examining the central role of women in English ports in managing the system by which the Royal Navy paid husbands, sons, and lovers in its service. In a wide-ranging chapter on ethnic identities, Colin Kidd probes the various meanings of race in the British Atlantic, including the often-overlooked theological dimensions of ethnicity. Walter Johnson makes a similar case for the variability and instability of "time" in European and African narratives of slavery. Kate Teltscher and Durba Gosh both use the colonial archive as a means for understanding imperial representations. For Teltscher, the letters of the East India Company envoy to Tibet, George Bogle, provide yet an-

other window into the relationship between metropole and empire. Gosh uses East India Company archives as a way to examine the ambiguous representation of Indian women who became companions of company servants.

The contributions to Wilson's book make up an impressive ensemble. The essays are uniformly insightful and well written. With an eye on the classroom market, Cambridge University Press has produced the book as a handsome paperback, with an extensive bibliography of recent books and articles on imperial history, broadly conceived. The volume joins a growing list of field-defining collections, notably the first two volumes of *The Oxford History of the British Empire* (1998) and David Armitage and Michael Braddick, eds., *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (2002). Taken together, this corpus has helped turn the history of the early modern British Empire into one of the most productive and exciting current areas of historical study. Whether the resulting narratives have succeeded in moving beyond the imperial hierarchies that Wilson cautions against in her introduction is hard to say. But if the quality of the work currently being produced is any indication, the new imperial history is much more than a possibility. It is an established fact.

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DAVID SCOTT. *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. 279. \$22.95.

Are the questions we have been asking the past to answer still questions worth having answers to? Are the stories we have been telling about the past's relation to the present still relevant? David Scott does not think so. In this book he strongly argues that it is not the answers but the questions that demand scrutiny: he stresses the need to identify the difference between the postcolonial questions that informed former presents and those that inform our own present. This study is a follow-up to his previous book, *Refashioning Futures: Criticism after Postcoloniality* (1999), in which Scott discussed the limits of postcolonial criticism.

Scott's picture of the postcolonial present, after the collapse of the socioeconomic and political hopes that animated anticolonial and independence movements, is bleak. He identifies an "acute paralysis of will and sheer vacancy of imagination, the rampant corruption and vicious authoritarianism, the instrumental self-interest and showy self-congratulation" as symptoms of a utopian project that has run out of steam and turned into a "nightmare" (p. 2).

Scott sees asking new questions about the colonial past as a way of working out new answers for the present and maybe the future. According to him, postcolonialism continues to emphasize the dismal effects of colonialism and the agency of the colonized in resisting and overcoming the hated structure. While not denying colonialism's violence and exploitation, he contends that

there is a need to reconceive the object of discontent. He hastens to add that he does not intend to revise the work of historians of African America, but Scott points out that their writings occurred in response to an ideological demand for an answer to the question about the "moral value of Africa in the New World," a question he considers no longer salient (p. 105).

Scott routes his argument through C. L. R. James's classic *The Black Jacobins* (1938), as one of the first anticolonial histories of the twentieth century. James recorded the making of Haitian slave society, the impact of the French Revolution, the slave rebellion, and the fight for liberty. *The Black Jacobins* is also a political biography of Toussaint Louverture, the leader of the rebellious forces. The first edition was an example of how the historical present shaped the study's anticolonialism and anticipated a particular postcolonial future. A revised edition, published in 1963, included an appendix, tellingly entitled "From Toussaint L'Ouverture to Fidel Castro." Scott uses and contrasts the two editions to demonstrate that *The Black Jacobins* is more than a history of anticolonial revolution and an allegory of redemption; it is "also explicitly an exercise in writing a history of the present" (p. 57). He argues that James instinctively knew that the earlier mode of history-telling, romance, needed displacement by another, tragedy, in the 1960s.

This displacement of romance by tragedy is one of Scott's main themes. In his view, James deliberately shifted the focus from a reverential and progressive anticolonial romantic epic of revolutionary heroism to a tragic narrative emphasizing the confrontation between human will and its conditioning limits. Louverture is the embodiment of this dilemma: his expectations for freedom and the conditions in which he sought to realize them were irreconcilable. He should be understood not so much as a revolutionary agent who made history but as an individual who "was constrained to imagine and make the revolution he imagined and made within the conceptual and institutional terrain of modernity" (p. 129). Louverture did not have a choice about whether to be modern or not, and therefore he was a conscript of enlightenment.

Scott concludes that past, present, and future are not to be understood as moments of epic succession; there is no linear movement from slavery to freedom, from colonial subjugation to sovereignty. Anticolonial revolution will not redeem the past. And if the past is traumatic, it should be acknowledged that this wound will not automatically lead to a future of salvation. In fact, the wound might not heal and it cannot be hidden by an act of romantic heroism.

This is a well-argued, rich book raising pertinent questions about the writing of history. Its drawbacks are occasional repetition and the sometimes rather lengthy theoretical discussions (for example, of Charles Segal's and Martha Nussbaum's work on Greek tragedy) that do not add much to the core of Scott's argument. His-

torians interested in the postcolonial era should take note of this important study.

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PATRICK H. HUTTON. *Philippe Ariès and the Politics of French Cultural History*. (Critical Perspectives on Modern Culture.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2004. Pp. xxv, 244. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$24.95.

Any French, European, or American historian will acknowledge it: in many respects Philippe Ariès is one the most puzzling historians among those who contributed to changing the writing of history in the twentieth century. Ariès participated in a major shift in French historiography, from a socioeconomic paradigm, à la Labrousse or Braudel, to that of *mentalités*, ushering in the prevalent strength of representation and cultural history. In the ranks of French historians he remained, for a very long time, a maverick without any of the academic tokens required in a country where historiographical revolution came from the heights of the corporation, often from heirs of academicians (Marc Bloch's father, for example, was a leading historian of ancient Rome teaching at the Sorbonne). Failing the *agregation* (the competitive examination that warrants careers in French lycées and later universities), neglecting to write a doctoral dissertation, Ariès worked nearly all his life as the director of an institute of documentation on tropical fruits. He worked in a very scholarly manner but had only an amateur status until the end of the 1960s. In the mean time, he was a journalist, an editor of renowned historical collections.

Ariès is a peculiar case as far as political convictions are concerned. While most of those who participated in the *Annales* enterprise shared republican, socialist, or even communist convictions, Ariès belonged to a bourgeois family of royalist tradition, settled in the French West Indies and then reinstalled in France. His basic education was strengthened by an encounter with Charles Maurras's doctrine. Even if a few other academic historians (Raoul Girardet) went through the same experience, they were actually a small minority among the so-called annalists. Last but not least, the academic recognition of Ariès's works was greatly due to foreign readers (especially Orest Ranum) and foreign institutions.

These elements and others justify the interest Patrick H. Hutton takes in Ariès and "the politics of French cultural history." Hutton's aim is not to produce a narrative biography but to spotlight several topics, including Ariès's initial monarchist convictions, his choice of history, his elaboration of mentality history and progressive participation in the Annalist stream. After a short biographical sketch, the book deals first with Ariès's royalist background and its evolution. Then Hutton stresses the historiographical specificity of Ariès, with his conception of the History of Mentalities and an

analysis of the reception of and debates over his two most famous books, *Centuries of Childhood* (1960, 1973; translated 1962) and *The Hour of Our Death* (1977, translated 1981). When historians of the Action française such as Jacques Bainville, were making politics the "backbone of history," Ariès, while still faithful to his monarchist conviction, exploited his marginal intellectual situation, the lore transmitted through his education, the importance of faith, tradition, and familial organization to build a new frame to read the cultural and mental history of western societies.

The facts and the interpretations given by Hutton are convincing. For instance, chapter three describes the participation of Ariès in the Ecole Nationale des Cadres supérieurs launched by the Vichy government; it shows in detail how his historiographical style reflects this background and the limits of Ariès's involvement in Vichy. Above any political or moral judgment these pages demonstrate with accuracy the way politics and historiography were articulated in Ariès's mind.

Hutton's general overview of Ariès's work is also quite convincing. Step by step, from its first interest in historical demography, its construction of an evolution of occidental representations of childhood and death, Ariès, following Hutton, has constructed a frame to reconsider the birth of our modern nuclear familial model and an understanding of its crisis. Astute comparisons with Michel Foucault's and Norbert Elias's conceptions help to build this synthesis. Through the eye of a French reader, one might regret that the bibliographical resources ignore a good deal of the contemporary works on the topic in France, by Bertrand Muller, Peter Schotter, and Patrick Garcia. A few minor details require reappraisal, but the book contains pages with no equivalent that push and pull the reader to get back to Ariès's books.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

A. ROGER EKIRCH. *At Day's Close: Night in Times Past*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2005. Pp. xxxii, 447. \$25.95.

The night is an illusive subject, understudied and ill-appreciated. A. Roger Ekirch refers to night as *terra incognita*, ignored by all but the most "enterprising scholars in Europe." He aims to rectify this neglect by exploring "the primeval passage from daylight to darkness" in Western society "before the advent of the Industrial Revolution," his canvas being Europe and early America in the period 1500–1750. He aspires to a broad social and cultural history, one that presumably addresses "night in its totality" (pp. xxv, 347).

This is a tall order, reaching as it does across geographies and a chronology of two and a half centuries. Ekirch approaches the night thematically, ordering his text in four sections. Part one outlines the dangers of night, and how it was lived as a time of fear, fueled by apocalyptic visions, perceptions of evil spirits, and var-

ied Satanic apprehensions, as well as plagued by plunder, fire, theft, and violence. Following logically on the heels of this opening section is part two, an account of authority's inability to rule decisively in darkness. This led to retreats into domestic fortifications and human efforts to make darkness visible, or at least negotiable. In part three, Ekirch shifts gears somewhat, outlining the endeavors of the night, from specific labors and crafts to sociability and sex: princes and peers opted for different evening activities than peasants and urban plebeians. Part four closes, appropriately and most innovatively, with three chapters on sleep.

This is an often insightful, engaging, and imaginative book. Ironically, its strength is also its weakness. Ekirch has read voraciously in the printed sources of the early modern period, mining them for references to the night. His evidence becomes his method. Much of the text is judicious quotation, and many sections, even chapters, end with the words of contemporary diarists, poets, or balladeers. Relentlessly descriptive, the book perhaps too comfortably avoids engagement with a host of analytic questions that emerge from the obscure and dark recesses of night's history.

Was darkness a source of stability or disorder? This is a question Ekirch largely bypasses as not his foremost concern. Yet he ends his chapter, "Masters by Night," with a Luddite cropper's song: "Night by night, when all is still,/And the moon is hid behind the hill,/ We forward march to do our will/ With hatchet, pike and gun!" (p. 258). The special appeals of night to particular classes (somewhat ill-defined in this study) are thus not usually read politically, although Ekirch is willing to assert, without delving deeply into the statement's meaning, that "After dark, power shifted from the mighty to the meek" (p. xxvi). Where is Michel Foucault, one is tempted to ask, when you need him?

Gender, as a signpost of meaning and an analytic category, figures weakly in the text. Ekirch is content to end his chapter on "Ordinances of the Bedchamber" with a paragraph on mortal violence against husbands, likeliest to happen between the sheets. A stocking-maker's "girlfriend" took a knife to his penis as he lay asleep in the dark, protesting his failure to make good on years of marriage promises. Discussion could flow from such an event, but instead Ekirch retreats into routine citation. Only after losing "a great quantity of blood" and "his pain increasing" did the journeyman "apprehend what was amiss" (p. 284). About same-sex relations and race Ekirch is equally conceptually close-mouthed.

A venturesome treatment of the night, with much to recommend it, then, appears overly dependent on a reproduction of evidence. This produces inevitable repetition. Acts of violence appear routinely on pages that take us through chapters on fear, authority, class difference, and sleep. The avoidance of analytic issues and the valorization of sources also seems to prompt Ekirch to be rather ungenerous in his references to historians at the same time as he is ever solicitous of the contemporaries who provide him with passages to quote. Samuel Pepys and James Boswell are seldom cited without

their names appearing in the text, but scholars who have cleared our way to understand the darkness of night (Piero Camporesi, Carlo Ginzburg, and Wolfgang Schivelbusch, to name but three) are buried in footnotes or, as in the case of Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, make their way into Ekirch's pages by way of carping comment.

In part this is because such impressive scholars have studied night's reciprocities with the day, or, in metaphorical and analytic terms, the meanings of night's transgressions and covers of darkness are explored in terms of the powers of the day. And this may still be where we will find night's diverse content, which, after all, did indeed unfold and reveal itself day's close. Where night begins and day ends, how and why, and what such demarcations mean are questions historians need to be asking. Ekirch's book has the considerable virtue of making this more obvious than ever, and for that alone we are much in his debt.

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HELEN M. ROZWADOWSKI. *Fathoming the Ocean: The Discovery and Exploration of the Deep Sea*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005. Pp. xii, 276. \$25.95.

According to Helen M. Rozwadowski, profound mid-nineteenth century cultural and technological changes transformed the sea from an obstacle to be crossed, feared, or simply avoided into a familiar, picturesque space to be explored and possessed. The Victorian age that made *Moby Dick* (1851) and *20,000 Leagues under the Sea* (1870) possible also witnessed the "discovery" and exploration of the deep sea. Nineteenth-century imperialism, telegraphy, whaling, and yachting were largely responsible for these developments. In the Anglo-American Victorian imagination, the deep sea became a new frontier: virgin territory to be penetrated or unveiled. But Rozwadowski is not really interested in exploring the gendered and colonial dimensions of the Victorian imaginings of the sea. This is a history of the technological (sounding and dredging devices, steam engines), economic (shipping, submarine telegraphy), social (yachting), and political (state patronage) forces that allowed a handful of nineteenth-century Anglo-American scientists to reach the bottom of the sea. One should not underestimate the challenges these scientists faced, for it turned out that the bottom was hundreds of miles deep. Was there anything worth studying at such depths? Rozwadowski offers a fascinating account of how patrons and scientists answered this question.

Shipping, whaling, and submarine telegraphy caused the mapping of the deep sea to become an important mid nineteenth-century economic and geopolitical priority. Although soundings had long been a staple of maritime crossings, captains and sailors never sought to reach bottom; their goal was simply to avoid shallow waters and vigias (shoals in the middle of deep waters).

As ships became larger and new sea routes were opened by whalers, however, navies began to develop new hydrographic charts. Navies collected detailed measurements and created Humboldtian charts of winds, currents, and depths. Patriotism and yellow journalism, in turn, contributed to keep the search for ever greater depths going. Yet submarine telegraphy was the main impulse behind the mapping of the deep sea. Companies and navies set out to find relatively shallow plateaus across the Atlantic for cables to be laid. This search, Rozwadowski argues, led to the curious transformation of representations of the Atlantic sea floor: from a jagged, hostile landscape to a flat terrain hardly touched by erosion, a protective environment for telegraph cables to rest.

As the new charts evolved, so, too, did the technologies to measure depths at sea (cables, winding machines, and sounding devices). Scientists and navies also developed technologies to dredge the bottom of the sea. The finding of life forms at ever greater depths, in turn, helped elucidate debates over theories of life (i.e. the pressure organisms could withstand) and evolution. Many of the newly found organisms happened to be also earth fossils of species presumed to be extinct, sparking heated controversies over geological change. Rozwadowski unfortunately has not much to say on these crucial aspects of Victorian oceanography.

The dredging pursuits of naturalists originally developed in isolation, for geology and evolution were not priorities of telegraphy, shipping, or whaling. Thus, according to Rozwadowski, dredging was an activity that first developed out of private networks: naturalists with patrons among the practitioners of the new, upper-class culture of yachting. Before long, navies incorporated dredging into their repertoires as naturalists became government employees. Rozwadowski closes the book with a study of the hybrid culture that developed among professional scientists aboard navy ships. Oceanographers became "field workers": half rugged sailors, half naturalists. These oceanographers, in turn, contributed to instill a growing "civility" among nineteenth-century crews.

This book itself is a hybrid: part traditional history of science, part cultural history. Such hybridity is surely welcome. Less welcome, though, is the author's tendency to take England and the United States for the world. There is nothing in this book on French and German "discoveries," let alone on the contributions by scientists and navies of countries of the Pacific realm. Did Japan, a maritime empire par excellence, have no role in Victorian oceanography? Did, say, scientists in Peru, a country whose entire mid-nineteenth-century economy rested on the management and study of guano, sea gulls, and ocean currents, do nothing worth exploring? There is also a deafening silence on the imperial and colonial dimensions of oceanography. For all her exquisite attention to the lives of scientists aboard navy ships, Rozwadowski fails to explore the imperial ideological projection of their expeditions at their various ports of call. It would be intriguing to know how the

scientists presented themselves and were received in Singapore, Hong Kong, Buenos Aires, or Cape Town. These important caveats aside, Rozwadowski ought to be congratulated for producing a richly textured cultural history of Anglo-American Victorian oceanography.

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HUGH THOMAS. *Rivers of Gold: The Rise of the Spanish Empire, from Columbus to Magellan*. New York: Random House. 2003. Pp. xxi, 696. \$35.00.

In his typically engaging narrative style, Hugh Thomas recounts the early decades of Spain's colonial project in the New World and conveys well the ambiguity, contradictions, and ad hoc nature of that endeavor. The author relies almost entirely on secondary sources and published documents in telling this rather complex story in which familiar names parade across the pages—Ferdinand and Isabella, Christopher Columbus, Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, Vasco Núñez de Balboa, Hernán Cortés, Ferdinand Magellan, and the Emperor Charles V—as well as a multitude of lesser-known figures. The one person who links the multiple story lines is that great champion of the Indians (and important historian of the period) Bartolomé de Las Casas, upon whom Thomas relies heavily as an authoritative source. The careful reader will discern several recurring themes in this lengthy book: the difficulty in establishing royal authority in Spain and in the Spanish Indies, the notorious mistreatment of native peoples at the hands of Spanish settlers and slavers, the uncertain and often contradictory measures undertaken in establishing government policy for Indians under Spanish rule, and the international nature of what is usually regarded as an almost exclusively Castilian undertaking.

The great strength of the work is the way in which the author examines events on both sides of the Atlantic, a strategy that involves a continual shifting of locale and focus. Historians of the conquest of the Americas or of early modern Europe rarely demonstrate to such an extent the interplay between the two geographic settings, and indeed it is no easy task. Painstakingly, Thomas explains the hot social and political issues of the times, introduces us to the strong personalities who wielded influence at court, and underscores the pronounced international flavor of Spain's economic and political life. If the crown bumped along toward a coherent program of incorporation and exploitation of new lands and peoples, it was often the result of European and domestic concerns as much as it was of the diversity of the Indies. Thomas is to be commended for this important scholarly contribution.

There are, however, some shortcomings. First, while the author makes no other claim than wishing to consider "the first two generations of explorers, colonizers, governors, and missionaries who opened the way to Spain's vast American empire" (p. xix), the work lacks

any clear guiding theme or interpretive framework to push the story along. Thus, the reader is left to wonder what to make of the numerous "side trips" on which the author takes us as he muses on some fact, event, or place that strikes his fancy. In the end, we see these desultory meanderings for what they are: "side trips." But without a roadmap, it is sometimes hard to tell if they lead to any significant destination (or to know when we are back on track). Second, although up to date on some of the historical literature, Thomas appears much more comfortable with older, traditional explanatory paradigms and is somewhat dismissive of newer literature that might diminish the "European triumph" (p. 510) of exploration and colonization. Thus, after asking readers to consider the complexity of motives that drove the early years of Iberian expansion, he falls back on the well-worn "Glory, God, and Gold" triumvirate (pp. xix, 478), which undermines his meticulous work. One will not find a feminist reading of the supposed insanity of tragic Queen Juana—in Spanish known as *Juana la loca*—and, although the author trusts the veracity of Las Casas for all manner of information, he offhandedly dismisses as mere exaggeration the latter's estimates of native population at contact. (Thomas weighs in as a "low-figure" partisan in the numbers debate.) Finally, the editing of the book is deficient. The author may not be to blame for many of these problems, but more care should have been taken to ensure correct enumeration of endnotes, consistency in rendering proper names, accurate and regular placement of diacritics, and so forth.

Specialists will be familiar with much of what is told here, but the wealth of detail and transatlantic dimension of the story should enlighten and entertain both the expert and the general interested reader. The work is an apt reflection of a mature and thoughtful scholar who has dedicated much of his life to understanding the meaning of things Hispanic.

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STAFFORD POOLE, *Juan de Ovando: Governing the Spanish Empire in the Reign of Philip II*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2004. Pp. x, 293. \$37.95.

CAYETANA ALVAREZ DE TOLEDO, *Politics and Reform in Spain and Viceregal Mexico: The Life and Thought of Juan de Palafox, 1600–1659*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 336. \$98.00.

The emergence of what was the best-developed bureaucracy in Europe in the sixteenth century failed to save the Spanish Empire from bankruptcies and precipitous decline through the late sixteenth and seventeenth century. Corruption, struggles for preeminence between factions, insistence on absolute loyalty, the use of cumbersome *consejos* (councils), and the failure to understand economic principles reduced the efficiency and

effectiveness of government. Nevertheless, the emergence of university educated *letrados*, often from quite humble origins though of certified old Christian blood, provided Spain with generations of well-trained and capable civil servants. These studies on Juan de Ovando, who served King Philip II in the sixteenth century, and Juan de Palafox during the regime of the count-duke of Olivares in the seventeenth century, brilliantly illustrate the strengths and weaknesses of Spain's system of metropolitan and imperial governance. Both Stafford Poole and Cayetana Alvarez de Toledo offer original approaches that advance our understanding of the epoch.

Although Poole discovered little information about Juan de Ovando's early years in Cáceres, he shows that in 1545 Ovando won a scholarship to the prestigious Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé at the University of Salamanca. After years of study under strict monastic discipline, Archbishop Fernando de Valdés of Seville, a fellow alumnus of San Bartolomé, appointed Ovando as his chief ecclesiastical judge. Since Valdés was an absentee archbishop, Ovando administered the archdiocese as a rough enforcer of the faith. In 1564, he received a commission to head a general reform of the University of Alcalá de Henares, where he investigated the academic programs thoroughly and revised the university constitution and statutes. Having completed this mission with great success, in 1566 Ovando received a new commission to conduct a *visita* (investigation) of the Council of the Indies.

Ovando's investigation (from June 1567 to August 1571) concerned internal organization and required him to reach out to the Americas to assemble material on government, trade, missionary work, and other subjects. A questionnaire asked respondents to report on possible abuses by authorities and on the status of Indians. Particularly in Peru, there was continuing anxiety about separatist threats and possible uprisings. Rather than leave policy making to the Council of the Indies, Philip II established the smaller Junta Magna to examine questions in the Americas concerning the future of encomiendas, taxation, finance, royal patronage over the church, and the establishment of the Inquisition. Ovando dispatched questionnaires, commissioned Juan López de Velasco to compile a history of Spanish America, acquired copies of the work of Bernardino de Sahagún, and sought to codify the laws of the Indies. In 1571, Ovando became president of the Council of the Indies, and in 1574 he served concurrently as president of the Council of Finance. Heavily involved in the growing imperial fiscal crisis, he spent his last year of life struggling with the Cortés for funds to pay the bureaucracy, to defend the kingdom against the Turks, and to fight the Protestant heretics in Flanders.

Employing impressive archival documentation, Alvarez de Toledo casts new light on the well-known career of Juan de Palafox. The son of an Aragonese nobleman, Palafox graduated from the University of Salamanca in canon law and became a protégé of Count-Duke Olivares. In 1629, when Palafox decided to

marry, Olivares directed him instead to become a priest and dispatched him on a tour of Europe to write a report on the intentions of allies and potential foes. Although Olivares sought to impose Castilian institutions to centralize and tax the peripheral kingdoms of the Peninsula, Palafox was of the view that the protection of regional interests could be maintained through compromise and cooperation with the central government. In 1633, he became a member of the Council of the Indies. In the Americas, the creole elite complained bitterly about injustices, corruption, taxation, and nepotism practiced by peninsular Spaniards. There were concerns about growing social unrest in New Spain of the sort that in 1624 provoked the overthrow of Viceroy Marquis of Gelves. Fearing a repetition of these events against Viceroy Marquis of Cadereita, in 1639 the crown appointed Palafox as Visitador General of New Spain and Bishop of Puebla, the largest diocese in the country. His commission granted him broad powers to investigate areas of concern, to strengthen royal authority, to improve the financial administration, and to extract resources to support the mother country.

Palafox arrived in New Spain in June 1640, at almost the same time as the duke of Escalona, who had been appointed viceroy. From the beginning their relationship was difficult. Palafox began his task by seeking to remove the mendicant orders from Indian parishes and to replace them with creole members of the secular clergy. The visitador general obligated the Jesuits to pay tithes to the diocesan church. The creoles supported the visitador general against the mendicant friars, who most often were peninsular Spaniards. The regular clergy fought back and created alliances with the *alcaldes mayores* (district magistrates). Palafox insisted that in their own province the creoles should enjoy the same rights and prerogatives as peninsular Spaniards. Supported by the landed and urban creole oligarchies, he moved to make Indian labor more readily available. In his view, the friars must return to their original roles as missionaries.

At a time of desperate need for funds to support metropolitan military endeavors against the 1640 revolts of Portugal and Catalonia, New Spain suffered from its own economic recession and continuing demographic decline in the Indian population. Increases in the *alcabala* (sales tax) and efforts by the crown to confiscate shipments of silver bullion provoked talk about rebellion. At first, Viceroy Escalona sought to befriend Palafox, but he was in debt and had to find positions for many family members and retainers. He believed that his duty was to extract as much money as possible from New Spain to support the metropolis. Palafox wanted steps taken to end corruption and inefficiency and to appoint creoles as *alcaldes mayores*. While he had no intention of introducing policies detrimental to the crown, his proposed reforms decentralized viceregal powers to the creole city governments and weakened the provincial magistrates.

The ongoing battles between Palafox and Escalona took a strange turn when news of the Portuguese revolt

arrived in 1641. Escalona had ties with the duke of Braganza, now King João IV of Portugal. Palafox received orders to depose the viceroy, and if there was proof of treason he was to be murdered. In the end, soldiers arrested Escalona at dawn and escorted him to Veracruz, where he was put on the first ship for Spain. Palafox became interim viceroy of New Spain, president of the *audiencia*, captain general, and archbishop of Mexico. For five months, he wielded power and sought to implement a wide-ranging reform program. He created twelve infantry units commanded by members of the creole elite, appointed many to administrative offices, and investigated the corrupt practices of the *alcaldes mayores*. In his writings, Palafox proposed an alternative to the overly centralized Olivares regime that would establish a system of constitutional plurality for Spain's diverse provinces. As might be expected, Palafox's enemies did their best to condemn the visitador general for inciting a spirit of rebellion in New Spain. In October 1642, a new viceroy, the count of Salvatierra, arrived with orders to scour New Spain for resources to support the mother country. His method of fundraising was to wink at corruption that diverted a large part of the money to royal officials. Alvarez de Toledo describes Palafox as a visionary while Salvatierra was a pragmatist who wanted to assist the mother country. The viceroy bribed *oidores* (judges), handed out jobs to peninsular Spaniards, and renewed the much-hated *repartimiento de comercio* that forced Indians to produce goods and products. Although Palafox fought back, Salvatierra convinced many that the highly popular visitador general might trigger a rebellion.

In the end, the viceroy's attacks discredited Palafox, who fled into hiding for a time before he returned to his cathedral at Puebla. The imperial government decided to get Salvatierra out of the way by promoting him as viceroy to Peru. In 1649, Palafox received orders to end his *visita* and to return to Spain. While cleared of many false charges, he received a cool welcome in Madrid, where the revolts of Naples (1647) and (1648) were still fresh. The king met with him for an hour, but he was discharged from the Council of the Indies. Refused permission to return to New Spain, where his popularity made him dangerous, Palafox received an internal exile appointment as bishop of the destitute diocese of Osma in Castile.

Although these two books are written from different perspectives, each author provides a compelling view of the chaos that swept Spain from a world power to become a much less important player. Major political-religious figures in governance and politics, Juan de Ovando and Juan de Palafox provide the historians with new insights about the internal workings of Spanish bureaucracy and society. Alvarez de Toledo encourages both Latin American and Spanish historians of the period not to neglect influences on the other side of the Atlantic. Both historians challenge existing interpretations, but Alvarez's research on Palafox in the Archivo

del Duque del Infantado represents a real tour de force.

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HENRY GOLDSCHMIDT and ELIZABETH MCALISTER, editors. *Race, Nation, and Religion in the Americas*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 338. Cloth, \$74.00, paper \$24.95.

This collection of intriguing and provocative essays is a successful outgrowth of two recent conference panels in anthropology and religious studies, respectively. The chapters, all based on solid historical and/or anthropological case studies, commonly center on race and religion in the Americas, but they deal with differing topics in the historically and geographically diverse times and spaces of the Americas, including the Spanish Floridas, Haiti, Brazil, and Mexico. By bringing such varying topics into a single collection, editors Henry Goldschmidt and Elizabeth McAlister, both scholars of religion, do an excellent job in "exploring the coarticulation of race, nation, and religion—and more broadly, to develop a theoretical and methodological understanding of the complex ways such categories intersect in the construction of collective identity, difference, and hierarchy" (p. 5), while acknowledging that this is "[a]n ambitious project" (p. 21).

The twelve essays included in this volume are divided into six distinctive thematic pairs, and, fortunately, the reader is provided with a meticulous summary of each theme by the coeditors. In the first section, on "heathens" and "Jews" in the colonial imagination, Daniel Murphree and McAlister discuss the historical creation of racial categories based on religious differences under European colonialism in the case of Florida and Haiti, respectively. In the second section, on white America and Afro-Brazil, historian Daniel B. Lee and anthropologist John Burdick examine a symbolic association between Christianity and whiteness. Derek Chang and Julia Cummings O'Hara, authors of the essays for the third section, explore the ways by which Christian missionary work in the Americas has reinforced racial divisions for the sake of the white dominant nations. James B. Bennett and Danielle Bruce Sigler contribute the fruits of their research to the fourth section on segregation, congregation, and the North American black-white racial binary. While Bennett examines the important roles of the Catholic Church in redefining race at the expense of the Creole community in New Orleans at the turn of the twentieth century, Singer presents two interesting cases in which the individual's identity politics ("whitening" through ministry) actually ended up helping the nation maintain and even strengthen its racial divisions and social hierarchy. Essays by Kate Ram and Jennifer Snow for the fifth section discuss the nation-states' continuous efforts to police the racial and religious boundaries of "civilization" for the sake of elites in nineteenth-century Haiti and early twentieth-century northern Mexico. The sixth section focuses on rituals and representation of race. Whereas Lindsay

Hale examines the aesthetics of Afro-Brazilian religion Umbanda in Rio de Janeiro in relation to Brazil's national myth of racial democracy, Judith Weisenfeld, studying Hollywood movies from the 1920s through the 1940s, discusses the projection of blackness on the screen, with special emphasis on the presentation of African American religion.

This reviewer would have liked to read a concluding chapter, in which Goldschmidt and McAlister suggest theories and/or methodologies for future studies on race, nation, and religion, however tentative. Nonetheless, this book is an exciting addition to the growing interdisciplinary and comparative literature on race and identity in the Americas, as well as in the Atlantic world, and joins other edited volumes, such as Richard Graham, ed., *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940* (1990), and Nancy Priscilla Naro, ed., *Blacks, Coloreds and National Identity in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (2003). Yet unlike many of the preceding studies, this collection sheds new light on race in the Americas by connecting it directly to religion. The book will appeal strongly not only to specialists but also to a wide range of nonspecialists who are interested in race, nation, and identity. To this reader, a most significant contribution of this book to our historical understanding of the New World lies in its documentation and scrutiny of "the parallels and links between race and religion" (p. 11). In conformation to historical patterns, religion continues to be used by the powerful to transform religious "others" into racial minorities and to paint and even punish them as our common enemies in the "global age."

MIEKO NISHIDA
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THOMAS SUMMERHILL and JAMES C. SCOTT, editors. *Transatlantic Rebels: Agrarian Radicalism in Comparative Context*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 300. \$29.95.

This volume offers a motley collection of strong essays in pursuit of a pivotally important historical challenge. The assembled studies examine diverse aspects of agrarian societies around the Atlantic world—Europe and the Mediterranean, Africa, and the Americas—from the sixteenth through the twentieth centuries. Most focus on the era from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries. The integrating premise is that the histories of peoples in the diverse societies of the Atlantic basin demand analyses that emphasize transatlantic interactions. The goal is to extend the Atlantic vision that has flourished in recent studies of the early modern era of European colonialism and the slave trade to illuminate our understanding of more modern nation making, migrations, industrialization, agricultural transformations, and the ideological and cultural visions swirling around them—here emphasizing agriculture and rural communities. The collection demonstrates both the importance of the goal and the difficulty of achieving it.

The studies take three different perspectives. Some focus on transatlantic transfers of cultigens, mostly moving west to east. Others emphasize agricultural reform and improvement, early moving east to west, and later southeast to Africa. And many focus on the assertions of rural peoples in the politics of nation making, mostly across the Americas from Canada to Colombia. The first achievement of the book, then, is to press scholars and readers to think across borders. One fundamental difficulty is the title. Perhaps maize introduced into Europe and Africa, technical reformers pressing new ways of cultivating across the Americas, ideologues demanding land reform across the Atlantic, and insurgents challenging power holders everywhere all qualify as agrarian radicals. Only the last operated as rebels.

The strength of the volume is in the individual essays. As a historian of agrarian insurgencies in Mexico, I was most drawn to Thomas Summerhill's important rethinking of the history of the U.S. from independence to the Civil War, emphasizing the persistence of the slave-based export economy and enduring political conflicts, making the early U.S. more like its American neighbors and less the presumptive ancestor of the capitalist behemoth of the twentieth century. I learned much from Rusty Bitterman on agrarian protests on Prince Edward Island from the 1760s to the 1840s, from Daniel Samson on agricultural improvement in Scotland and Nova Scotia in the early nineteenth century, from Reeve Huston on land reform movements in Ireland, England, and New York in the 1830s and 1840s, and from David Chang on agrarian socialism in Oklahoma in the 1910s. The last gained my attention with reports that Oklahoma radicals were especially focused on the agrarian radicalism simultaneously driving the Mexican revolution. Yet that key link is not explored, either by engaging Gregory Crider's fine essay on textile radicalism in the peasant region of Atlixco, Mexico, or by turning to the vast and accessible literature on agrarian mobilizations in the Mexican revolution. Chang identifies an opportunity for cross-border study of agrarian radicalism that is left for others to pursue.

Chang's discovery that Oklahoma radicals were inspired by Mexican agrarian revolutionaries points to a critical challenge in taking an Atlantic vision into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Transatlantic interactions persisted and deepened in investment and trade, migrations, and ideologies of power and resistance. Simultaneously, however, new patterns of interaction shifted to a north-south axis across the integrated Atlantic basin. European imperialism in Africa is well known but rarely seen in Atlantic context. The rise of U.S. assertions in the Americas beginning in the 1840s with the war to claim northern Mexico and continuing through investment, trade, gunboats, diplomacy, and ideological assertions are studied intensely, usually without a larger Atlantic perspective. Chang reveals that inter-American interactions were not restricted to capital, power, and their ideologies, or to flows from north to south. More than sugar and coffee,

silver, copper, and petroleum flowed back to the United States. That Oklahoma radicals looked to Mexican rebels for inspiration reveals a reverse flow in the domain of popular mobilizations and their ideologies that demands analysis.

A larger challenge emerges from the intersection of Chang's study of Oklahoma radicalism (looking to Mexico in revolution for inspiration), and Sara Phillips's probing exploration of the relationship between the dust bowl crisis (with Oklahoma at its center, after the defeat of the radicals), the state-sponsored solution of scientific conservation, and the transplantation of the latter to South Africa. There, it justified and accelerated policies of exclusion (parallel to those that had generated agrarian revolution in Mexico) and eventually helped stimulate African resistance to white rule. The complex links among processes of agricultural intensification and social exploitation everywhere, and among the successes (however limited) of radicalism in Mexico, its containment in Oklahoma, and its provocation in South Africa, deserve careful consideration. I would not have imagined such linkages without the juxtaposition of these essays—and my own understanding of the Mexican revolution. Scholars grounded in different regions and problems will surely find parallel revelations in the studies assembled here.

Still, the absence of an essay that attempts to integrate the volume will limit its impact. No one offers a rationale for the inclusion of the three kinds of "radicalism" that emerge from the diverse studies. If it is too soon to attempt an integrated vision of agrarian societies and their radical participants across the Atlantic world during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, an essay focused on identifying and shaping the questions essential to pursuing such a perspective would be exceptionally useful. I closed the volume convinced of the importance of developing Atlantic understandings of modern history. The assembled essays are essential contributions to such a history. Other scholars are left to take up the implicit challenge of offering more integrated and broadly comparative visions and engaging the debates that will follow.

JOHN TUTINO
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ALEXEI MILLER and ALFRED J. RIEBER, editors. *Imperial Rule*. (Pasts Incorporated, CEU Studies in the Humanities, number 1.) Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2004. Pp. 212. Cloth \$47.95, paper \$24.95.

The nature of imperial rule and the meaning of empire have received significant scholarly attention in the past decade, and the growth in interest in world history will surely generate interest in the various types for the foreseeable future. With the collapse of the USSR it briefly seemed that the last empire was finally gone, but in today's "globalized" world, the study of empire continues to have a vital political significance. It is perhaps appropriate that this new collection of essays should issue

from the Central European University (CEU), itself a production of postimperial *Mitteleuropa*. The nine essays collected here originated as contributions to CEU's project on the comparative history of empires and provide ample food for thought for both specialists and those first venturing out into the field of "empire studies." The broad perspective and comparative method used in many of these essays, their diverse foci, and the international roster of authors all add to the book's interest and value.

The specific focus of the essays varies greatly, and they have been grouped by the editors into three sections—dealing with nationalism, legitimacy, and center-periphery relations in imperial rule. Topics include Germany in the 1871–1914 period, the late Ottoman Empire, religion (especially “non-Orthodox” religion) and the Russian Empire, the end of the Spanish Empire and its impact on twentieth-century Spain, and legitimizing Habsburg rule in the late nineteenth century. The collection does have its limits: it focuses squarely on Europe (including the Ottoman Empire), does not take on the issue of empires before the modern era except tangentially, and does not attempt to wade into the sometimes murky waters of postmodern or feminist interpretations of empire. Still, within these (still very broad) limits, the essays are of excellent quality. I know of no other single work more calculated to excite discussion and that covers so many aspects of modern empire studies.

Rather than mention each essay in turn, I would like to discuss those that had the most to say to me. Alexei Miller gets the ball rolling with a contribution entitled “The Empire and the Nation in the Imagination of Russian Nationalism.” Among other things, Miller argues that a major task for Russian “nationalism” (he disputes those who claim that the term does not fit for the Romanov period) working on various levels (society, bureaucracy, literature) was the attempt to chart the proper extent of the “Russian land”—a phrase that certainly was not synonymous, according to Miller, with the empire as a whole. The definition of Russian was very much contested, as several diverse and well-chosen quotations make clear. Miller bemoans the fact that “too many historians underrate . . . ideas and sentiments,” a valid point. But just how does one get at these slippery creatures and corral them into some kind of understandable argument or narrative? It is strange that Miller does not consider, for example, Christopher Ely's *This Meager Nature: Landscape and National Identity in Imperial Russia* (2002) in his analysis. In the end his essay, though stimulating, leaves the reader hanging. Many important issues are raised—the developmental nature of Russian nationalism, the need to differentiate different meanings of “russification,” the interplay between “public” and “officialdom” (a distinction Miller quite rightly rejects) in creating Russian identity—but none particularly developed. With luck, in a future work Miller will fill out in greater depth and detail some of the suggestions he makes in passing here.

Selim Deringil's contribution focuses on religious

toleration and conversion in the post-1839 Ottoman Empire, with comparison to the situation in Russia. As Deringil points out, the Tanzimat Edict of 1839 promised freedom of religion, although this was interpreted (as in the Russian Empire) to exclude the possibility of conversion from the reigning religion (Islam and Orthodoxy, respectively). In both empires, acceptance of the dominant religion brought with it certain material advantages, with the consequence that such conversions were often viewed with suspicion. Furthermore, once the conversion had taken place, there was no way back: leaving the dominant religion brought the most dire consequences, in principle even death (although in reality this penalty was rarely carried out). In his comparison with Russian policies, Deringil's examples (taken mainly from the eighteenth century) suggest that the Russian Empire had a concerted program to convert non-Christians (and perhaps even non-Orthodox Christian) peoples that came under its rule. “In Russia, the spread of Orthodoxy remained a state project” (p. 125). This is true enough, but it was a “project” that was honored much more in the breach than in practice. Ilya Vinkovetsky's excellent essay on the Russian-American Company shows that the company opposed expenditures on churches, and Russian policy on the whole in the nineteenth century avoided proselytizing. Although during some periods the Russian Empire did press its non-Christian (especially Muslim and “pagan”) subjects to accept Orthodoxy, at other times conversion was neglected entirely. Thus it seems to me that the parallels between Ottoman and Russian practice with regard to religious conversion were even closer than Deringil suggests.

The book ends with an ambitious essay by Alfred J. Rieber entitled “The Comparative Ecology of Complex Frontiers.” Rieber presents five case studies of “complex frontiers” (among three different empires or empire-like polities): the western Balkans, Pontic steppe, Caucasus, and two “inner Asian frontiers, Xinjiang . . . and the Ordos-Liao line” (p. 180). In each case, Rieber shows how the triangular relationship among battling empires, each with its own peculiar civilization (i.e. religion, administrative practice, language), left a lasting mark. He concludes that “Empires not civilizations [*pace* Huntington] are the agents of cultural and political interaction” (p. 198) and emphasizes the universalist, “messianic” element present in imperial ideologies. Unlike nation states, which at least in principle recognize some limits to their boundaries, “imperial boundaries have no intrinsic limitations and are solely established by force” (p. 199). In the context of this essay, these statements seem very convincing. In practice, however, as Rieber is aware, traditions, lack of resources, and simple inertia also hampered imperial expansion.

This collection brings together new insights, methodologies, and views of how empires work and what constituted an empire. For anyone wanting a better grasp of this complex phenomenon or to get acquainted

with the best recent scholarship on the topic, the volume is a must read.

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TONY BALLANTYNE and ANTOINETTE BURTON, editors. *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 445. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$24.95.

An impassioned plea for world history, this collection of articles treats topics ranging across half a millennium and far-flung geographical locations. As editors Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton note, it is no longer possible to think uncritically in terms of "the West," "Asia," or "Europe" as distinct political and cultural entities because they have been in contact, conflict, and deeply interdependent relationships since at least the fourteenth century. The volume focuses on empires and imperial power because these have been powerful sponsors of the cultural intermixing, fusion, appropriations, and extinctions that have molded the global politics of today's world. The editors have gathered articles that analyze high politics and state practices, to be sure, but that also bring to light the stuff of everyday life: the languages we speak, the food we eat, the clothes we wear, our sexual mores, our bodily adornments, and our religious outlooks.

This volume has a specific purpose not registered in the title, and that is to help bring the study of women and gender into world history. The editors rightly point out (and one is shocked that it is necessary to do so in 2005) that gender as a research theme is almost totally absent from world history. The goal of this volume, as the editors express it, is to use gender as one analytical tool among many—one that can provide historically nuanced accounts of gendered divisions of labor and political power across cultures.

Why, then, the volume's title? One purpose is to dramatize how and under what conditions women and gender can become integral parts of world history. One might object to the notion that "body" can serve as code for "woman." Such a stance tends to harden the mind/body dualism at the heart of Western culture in a way that would appear to privilege that culture. It is true, however, that women do not appear in the primary sources from which much imperial and world history is written: for the most part, women did not serve as sailors, explorers, voyagers, naturalists, colonial governors, state ministers, missionaries—the list could go on. Yet concern surrounding women's bodies, in contrast to their minds, does fill the colonial archive. Europeans expressed tremendous unease about colonial women's sexuality, whether this was the sexuality of the native women who served fragile European voyagers' needs in harsh and unfamiliar settings, or the sexuality of slave women who could not be coaxed into creating more property in the form of offspring for plantation masters, or the female European bodies that were thought to

bring forth black children (no matter who the father) when they crossed the equator into torrid zones. There is, however, more to it than that. The editors are also interested in race and the nuances of gender, especially those that incorporate understandings of masculinities into particular political settings. In their own words, Ballantyne and Burton wish to see the "body-as-contact-zone" as a powerful analytical tool that allows historians to "navigate the dynamic relationship between representation and 'reality' and to see the work of mediation that embodied subjects perform between the domestic and the foreign, the quotidian and the cyclical, the dynamic and the static" (p. 407).

The volume chapters span centuries and circle the globe. Emma Jinhua Teng takes us to Southeast Asia, where Chinese travelers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries viewed Taiwan as a mythical "Kingdom of Women, the Chinese equivalent of the land of the Amazons" (p. 38). The Chinese stared in disbelief at women tribal heads and matrilineal families. Teng remarks that in early modern Chinese ethnographic writings the theme of gender inversion commonly represented foreignness. Furthermore, the rigidity of sex roles in Confucian ideology led travelers to interpret deviation from those norms as signs of "barbarism." Gender, she shows, functions much as it does in the West as a metaphor for conceptualizing inequalities.

Lucy Eldersveld Murphy zips us onward to the northwestern shore of Lake Michigan's Green Bay, where in the nineteenth century *métisses* (women of mixed race, mostly Menominee or Ojibwe and French) served as mediators between people of diverse cultures living in the region. In what Murphy describes as "public mothering," creole women (women of varying ancestries born in the area) took on a quasi-public role nurturing, welcoming, and feeding neighbors, newcomers, travelers, or kin. One of those roles, especially for native and *métis* women, was that of healing. The women's medicines were often so effective that many residents of the area preferred to remain in their care even after a U. S. Army physician arrived. These often multilingual women who showed generosity to all became effective glue holding together sometimes fragile frontier communities.

Heidi Gengenbach turns our attention to Southern Mozambique and women's tattooing, or *tinhlanga*. The habit of body marking in this region became associated with women because the majority of men abandoned such practices as they migrated to work in South Africa in the late nineteenth century. Gengenbach reports how Europeans—mostly Portuguese colonials—were simultaneously fascinated and repelled by these body markings, which they interpreted as "primitive" and depraved. Despite European efforts to eliminate tattooing, Mozambique women clung to their traditions. In this bold yet secret language, they literally wrote their histories on their own skins. Gengenbach tells us that these markings mapped and solidified female relationships and had meaning for strictly female audiences. Women carved into themselves intricate

patterns (which later scarred) not to mark their clan affiliation or sexual maturity, as many Europeans taught, but to make themselves beautiful. And, as Gengenbach discusses, the common experience of enduring the pain of tattooing served to build community among women.

Individually, the chapters are excellent and interesting. Each one nudges the reader to learn something new and offers methodological techniques for uncovering new and relatively inaccessible materials. Each chapter shines light on some new corner of the globe. But, even taken together, these spotlights do not (and cannot) illuminate the whole of world history. It remains for others to write more comprehensive accounts. Hopefully this volume will help to map new pathways toward that goal.

LONDA SCHIEBINGER
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CARLA GERONA. *Night Journeys: The Power of Dreams in Transatlantic Quaker Culture*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2004. Pp. x, 290. \$35.00.

This is a work that is impressive, persuasive, provocative, and, perhaps inevitably, occasionally disconcerting. It has much to say about subjects ranging from race to religion to the supernatural to class to imperialism. Generally, its conclusions are thoughtful and measured, based on a clear and compelling reading of appropriate evidence. Occasionally, at least in the judgment of this reviewer, Carla Gerona's speculations lead her astray, but not so much as to detract from what this book accomplishes.

Gerona argues that what she calls "dreamwork," dreams and visions, were central to the development of Quakerism in the British Isles and North America. Certainly previous historians have seen Quakers as visionaries; how else could anyone interpret a movement that was founded on the possibility, indeed necessity, of direct communication with God? Gerona, however, makes a convincing case that Quakers systematically used dreams as a way of defining their communities and responding to the larger world.

As Gerona notes, Quakers were not alone in seeing dreams as revelations, as ways that God tried to communicate with and guide humans. Quakers were compulsive, however, about recording their experiences or recording the accounts that they heard from others. Thus they left an extensive body of literature that Gerona has mined imaginatively. She draws appropriately on a wide variety of disciplines, in her own list, "ethnohistory, anthropology, psychology, sociology, literary studies, women's studies, black studies, Native American studies, cartography, art, and art history" (p. 4). Blessedly, Gerona is able to incorporate these insights without subjecting the reader to jargon or vague theory.

Gerona argues that Quakers used their dreams not just for the spiritual edification of their members but to conceptualize and influence the larger world around them. Certainly, many of the dreams that Quakers

shared with each other involved internal matters: George Fox in the 1670s dreaming about Quaker schismatics as a fierce bull pursuing him, or Mary Horner's 1770 vision of a burning house whose inhabitants appeared insensible to their danger as a rebuke of Friends who were indifferent to their own spiritual welfare. More important for Gerona, however, are dreams that reinforced Quaker attempts to influence the larger society around them, especially for humanitarian and reformist reasons. Thus Quakers used "dreamwork" to admonish their neighbors about the evils of slavery, to warn about the horrors of warfare, especially the American Revolution, and to find common ground with Native Americans, who also attached great meaning to dreams.

While Gerona generally admires her Quaker subjects, she is not uncritical of them. She finds that they shared some of the racial and ethnic stereotypes of other English people: for example, Quaker opinions of the Roman Catholic Irish were invariably low. And by the early nineteenth century, while adamantly opposed to slavery, Quaker dreams tended to be as horrified by "amalgamation"—interracial unions—as those of any slave owner. She also concludes that, by the early national period in the United States, urban Friends in New York and Philadelphia increasingly used dreams, as she puts it, "in ways that emphasized individualism over communalism, gentility over spirituality, and stratification over egalitarianism; identity became increasingly founded on race and class rather than church" (p. 246). Gerona accordingly sees a decline in "prophetic" dreams.

Some of Gerona's conclusions are open to argument. Gerona's American sources come disproportionately from the Philadelphia area, which was certainly central to Quakerism, but Friends in the Delaware Valley were a minority of all American Quakers. And those in the city of Philadelphia were a minority in the Delaware Valley, meaning that her conclusions based on their experiences are not necessarily representative. Gerona's speculations are usually well grounded, but occasionally they lead her astray. The worst example is when she uses an account of the Philadelphia Quaker minister William Savery imitating his German business partner's accent to speculate, with no other evidence, that Savery belittled the black Quaker Paul Cuffe by entertaining polite Quakers with a racist imitation of Cuffe.

These failings are slight, however, compared with the real achievements of this book. It deals thoughtfully and nearly always sensibly with an exceedingly slippery subject, and so contributes significantly to our knowledge of Quakerism, religion, and psychology from the seventeenth into the nineteenth centuries.

THOMAS D. HAMM
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GERARD MORAN. *Sending Out Ireland's Poor: Assisted Emigration to North America in the Nineteenth Century*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2004. Pp. 252. \$55.00.

Few population movements in human history can compare in scale or drama with the emigration of Irish paupers during the nineteenth century. Between 1800 and 1921, more than eight million people fled Ireland for diverse ports in Great Britain, British North America, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. Many relied on some form of financial assistance, often from family and friends who had already emigrated and managed to scrape together enough money to send tickets. A relatively small portion of these Irish migrants—perhaps five to ten percent of the total—sailed with the help of a formal assisted emigration program, funded either by private philanthropists, the local poor law union, or the British government.

In this useful volume, Gerard Moran surveys a diverse array of private schemes and public programs designed to transport poor Irish men and women from their overcrowded homeland to settlements in North America, largely British North America. Long before the great Irish famine migration of the late 1840s and early 1850s, various landlords and politicians concluded that severe overpopulation was behind Ireland's economic woes and rampant agrarian lawlessness. Their challenge, they felt, was to devise solutions that were both politically viable and fiscally sound. As Moran sees it, the most successful plans combined the efforts of an energetic individual with material and logistical support from the government. In the early 1820s, Peter Robinson established the model for assisted emigration with his carefully orchestrated plan that relocated over four hundred families from Munster to Ontario. A half century later, philanthropists James Hack Tuke, Vere Foster, and Father John Nugent each took a stab at ameliorating a small portion of Irish poverty with their own assisted emigration schemes. Not surprisingly, the most disappointing efforts occurred when circumstances were most dire and resources most limited. Under the Irish poor law, the poor law unions had the authority, but often not the funds, to assist pauper migration. In the midst of the potato blight, some unions responded to overcrowded workhouses by assisting migration to North America, and in other cases they provided landlords with partial assistance in disposing of their unwanted poor. Moran concludes that when these "workhouse emigration schemes" were "properly coordinated," the results pleased all concerned (p. 158). But when unscrupulous landlords or desperate poor law unions merely acted to "dump" their excess populations without sufficient planning, the results were sometimes tragic.

This is an encyclopedic work rather than a highly interpretive volume. Following a broadly chronological structure, Moran sketches out a wide array of assisted emigration plans, providing valuable detail about how organizers raised funds, selected emigrants, and prepared communities in North America. And although the evidence is limited, Moran adds useful nuggets about the experiences of the migrants in transit and their reception in their new homes. Perhaps unavoidably, this is largely a top-down narrative in which we

learn much about the fiscal and benevolent motives of the organizers and politicians, while the Irish paupers themselves are given little agency. And, again perhaps unavoidably, Moran often presents a seemingly uncritical reading of his sources. Those responsible for the various schemes act almost universally out of the best intentions, although their efforts are occasionally hampered by poor planning or insufficient funds; although Irish nationalists sometimes questioned the motives behind the schemes, the migrants themselves are generally thrilled with the opportunity to abandon a harsh world for a new life in North America.

This volume is a valuable addition to the literature on Irish migration, combining original research with a synthesis of the previous scholarship on assisted emigration. A more ambitious book might have placed these emigrants more fully into the larger narrative of Irish migration. How did the experiences of this five to ten percent compare with those who traveled on their own? In the long run, what were the differences between joining a planned community in Quebec or Minnesota, as opposed to arriving on the docks in Boston, New York, or Philadelphia? Moran hints at these comparisons but leaves the systematic analysis to other scholars.

Unfortunately, this book's ultimate contribution is limited by poor editing and sometimes frustrating prose. Although this is a slim volume, it suffers from persistent redundancies, often including nearly identical phrasing separated by only a few pages. Most troublesome is a peculiar reliance on passive verbs throughout, sometimes five or six times on a single page. This usage not only makes for dreary reading; it also produces a lack of clarity where precision is required. Phrases like "it was alleged that" (p. 25), "it was claimed that" (p. 73), "it was argued that" (p. 75), and "it was felt that" (p. 192) pockmark the prose, leaving the frustrated reader wondering exactly who was doing all this arguing and feeling and alleging. These reservations aside, specialists on Irish history and immigration will find much of value in this book.

J. MATTHEW GALLMAN
University of Florida

JANET NOLAN. *Servants of the Poor: Teachers and Mobility in Ireland and Irish America*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 191. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.00.

In this slim, engaging volume, Janet Nolan examines the role of education and teaching in the lives of Irish Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. She points out that public school teaching offered many daughters of Irish immigrants well-paying, respected jobs and contends that it was "at the center" of the Irish American experience (p. 138). She notes that it proved to be the lifeblood for her own family: her father, her mother, and two of her aunts taught in the public school system. For the Nolan family and for thousands of other Irish Americans, teaching jobs offered access into America's middle class.

Nolan begins her account in Ireland in the late nineteenth century. By this time, the British government's National School system was well established. Even in the most remote rural areas, Irish boys and girls were learning to read and write and compute sums. In addition, girls were being taught to cook, sew, and launder clothes. In the higher grades, children could study French or German but not Irish, and they became familiar with English history and culture. While the National Schools were providing Irish children with a good—albeit Anglo-centered—education, Ireland's economy was still reeling from the aftershocks of the Great Famine of 1845–1850. With no industry on most of the island and few jobs available for farm workers, thousands of young men and women left for America in the 1880s and 1890s just as previous generations had done.

Nolan focuses mainly on the female emigrants, noting that many utilized their training in needlework and cooking as maids on the estates of Gilded Age millionaires. These women retained their love of learning and were able to instill it in their own children. By 1910, Irish American women comprised one-third of the public elementary school teachers in Chicago and New York and almost half of those in San Francisco (p. 2).

Nolan offers interesting vignettes of several Irish American schoolteachers who came to prominence in the beginning of the twentieth century. She describes Julia Duff, a charismatic former teacher who became the first Irish American woman to gain a seat on the nativist-dominated Boston School Committee in 1901. She also profiles two Chicagoans, Amelia Hookway and Margaret Haley. Hookway, who was the elder sister of the author Finley Peter Dunne, rose through the ranks as a teacher and for twenty years served as a principal. Haley began her career as a teacher but soon became a union organizer and advocate of women's suffrage.

By the 1920s, what Nolan terms a "golden age" for Irish American women had drawn to a close (p. 122). Swayed by educational reformers, school boards had decided that only those with university degrees should be entrusted with administrative positions. No more would women like Hookway be able to become principals. With the onset of the Depression, school budgets were cut sharply and teachers experienced repeated "payless paydays" (p. 108). Worse yet, by the early 1930s, laws were enacted that forced women to resign from teaching as soon as they married. This "marriage bar" was intended to help struggling male heads of households find jobs (p. 124).

While Nolan's work is impressive in many respects, there are some curious omissions. For example, she does not devote much attention to New York City, where the Irish were very numerous. She also spends little time on religious questions. In 1884, the Catholic bishops in America decreed that all parishes had to erect schools. The bishops saw the public schools as secularist and wanted to keep Catholic children from attending them. Considering their suspicions toward public education, some bishops surely must have had

misgivings about Catholic women being employed in these institutions in such large numbers. Nolan only alludes to the bishops a couple of times, and when she does, she confuses their names and titles. She claims that Benjamin Fenwick was Bishop of Boston until 1866. Fenwick's first name was Benedict and he died in 1846. Likewise, she states that Cardinal George Mundelein was opposed to a 1903 Chicago school board ruling imposing quotas on Irish American teachers. Mundelein did not come to Chicago until 1915 and was not made a cardinal until 1924.

These gaps notwithstanding, there is much to commend in Nolan's work. She has provided an informative description of Ireland's educational system and has offered many new insights into the challenges that Irish American teachers faced. This work will appeal to readers interested in Irish America, women's history, and the history of education.

JOHN F. QUINN

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GIJS MOM. *The Electric Vehicle: Technology and Expectations in the Automobile Age*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 423. \$54.95.

Gijs Mom has training as both engineer and historian, which, combined with mastery of French, German, English, and Dutch makes possible an in-depth international perspective. Mom only grudgingly accepts part of Thomas Hughes's systems approach and does not adopt "technological momentum" to explain the gasoline car's victory over the electric (see Hughes, *Networks of Power* [1983]). Mom insists that "the expectations, technology, organization, applications, and automobile culture of the two types of vehicle were and are entirely different" (p. 297) and argues that the triumph of the gasoline car was not inevitable but due to the cultural construction of these technologies. Indeed, in 1900 electric cars were more numerous and just as reliable, but cultural factors tipped the balance. Western culture valued quiet operation and low pollution levels less than individualism or the craze for speed inherited from cycling. Furthermore, "the dirty hands of the early motorist" seemed a "remedy against the decadence of comfort" (p. 40). There seemed "little sport in driving an electric carriage" compared to the dramatic and surging movement of the gasoline car, which almost seemed to have a nervous disposition. In Britain it was dubbed "the poor man's yacht." But there was also resistance to the autocar. Many Frenchmen considered it a "right wing machine" primarily owned by "anti-Dreyfusards," and in 1906 Woodrow Wilson declared: "Nothing has spread the socialistic feeling in this country more than the use of automobiles. To the countryman they are a picture of arrogance of wealth with all its independence and carelessness" (p. 44).

As these examples suggest, Mom's book is not a dry technical account. He organizes his story according to three overlapping generations of vehicles, with the third already emerging as early as 1907. Innovations

flowed among builders of bicycles, trams, and all forms of cars, and competition stimulated improvements. The electric vehicles contributed much to the design of the gasoline car, including gearing systems, cord tires, and electric starters. Chapters one and two explore the first generation (1881 until 1902) when the few automobiles were unreliable, expensive, and experimental. In the late 1890s, a fleet of seventy-one electric taxicabs operated in London, but they wore out tires too fast and faced opposition from horse cabs. In Paris, electric taxis operated profitably for 12,000 vehicle days at the 1900 World Exposition but at a loss in later years. Batteries were heavy (400 kg or more) and lasted only three months. A New York service proved more successful, and briefly electric taxis were the most numerous automobiles in the United States.

Between 1902 and 1925, the second-generation electric vehicles (with improved tires, better batteries, and higher speeds) functioned well in urban settings, as fire engines in Berlin, fleets of taxis in many European cities, and delivery vehicles for commercial establishments, notably trucks in New York City, which had more than 4,000 in 1920. Where fleets of electric vehicles were used, extra batteries were kept on hand. Recharging did not keep vehicles off the road, and they could remain in almost continuous operation. Electric cars were less attractive to private owners, who seldom used a vehicle so intensively, did not have a maintenance department handy, and had to buy, install, and operate charging equipment. As traffic speeds increased and cities grew larger, private electric vehicles struggled with a weak service infrastructure. Had there been a larger number of recharging or battery exchange stations, the electric car could have held its large share of the urban market. The countryside was another matter, especially in the United States, where until after 1935 less than one farmer in ten had electricity.

While the research is exhaustive, there are gaps in the narrative. Mom briefly mentions Virginia Scharff's *Taking the Wheel: Women and the Coming of the Motor Age* (1991) but does not really engage her argument that American companies, by marketing electrics as safe for women, stigmatized them as effeminate and harmed overall sales. Nor does his emphasis on technical development in many nations give much scope for the effects of automobility on class or race relations. Yet Mom did not set out to write that book. Rather, he shows how competition between the electric and the gasoline car involved much more than the vehicles themselves, and he helps us understand the electric vehicle as the center of an alternative system. This has future implications: "the history of tomorrow's car is ultimately a history of our deepest desires (although this study provides room for the assumption that these desires have a strong masculine flavor)" (p. 301). The electric car's "failure" was not technical but cultural.

DAVID E. NYE
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WILLIAM H. SCHNEIDER, editor. *Rockefeller Philanthropy and Modern Biomedicine: International Initiatives from World War I to the Cold War*. (Philanthropic and Non-profit Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2002. Pp. 251. \$44.95.

This collection of essays was inspired by a good idea: that it would be valuable to have a set of comparative case studies showing the Rockefeller Foundation's influence on the development of biomedicine outside the United States during the period from World War I to the Cold War. As is sometimes the case, however, this good idea did not result in a successful book. The editor, William H. Schneider, is a fine historian who knows a great deal about the Rockefeller Foundation, its internal organization and dynamics, and its ways of working in a variety of national settings. But Schneider's ideas have their own limitations, and in this project he was required to work with eight other scholars who do not fully and consistently share his depth of understanding, his expository skill, or even his intellectual agenda. The resulting volume is something of a hodge podge.

Schneider sets out his themes in an introduction and a chapter on Richard Pearce and Allan Gregg, the directors of the Foundation's Medical Education and Medical Sciences divisions from 1919 to 1951. He carefully explains the history of the two divisions within the Foundation's frequently realigned political structure, and he outlines broad changes over time in funding mechanisms and priorities. He notes, for example, the shift in focus, from the 1920s to the 1930s, from capital projects and institutional subventions to research grants and fellowship support, and underscores the rise and fall of various countries and scientific fields as primary claimants on philanthropic resources. Schneider also sets the goal for this volume: to look at countries other than the United States where the Foundation attempted to "establish the scientific practice of medicine" and to consider in each of these settings how "philanthropic interests attempted reform amidst the complex play of local and wider influences" (p. 3). Through a set of comparative studies, it should be possible to see "similarities and differences" and to develop a "better understanding of the consequences of local as well as broader influences" (p. 3).

Eight essays—the putative comparative case studies—follow. There are essays on the Rockefeller Foundation's efforts in Ireland, Hungary, France, the Soviet Union, China, and Germany and one essay on the initiatives of the English Nuffield Foundation that were inspired in part by Rockefeller precedents. A couple of the essays are excellent and right on target: Gábor Palló's on the Foundation's successful strategies in the 1920s and 1930s in building a major biochemistry institute at Szeged University in Hungary, and Jean-François Picard's (with Schneider as co-author) on its frustrated attempts to induce the "modernization" and Americanization of French medical schools in essentially the same period. Three are solid but off-target:

Margaret Trott's look at the United States' mixed efforts to aid desperate Soviet medical researchers in the 1920s, Qiusa Ma's study of shifting Rockefeller medical agendas in China, and Paul Weindling's astute essay on the Foundation's ethical dilemmas and internal struggles about supporting German medical science after World War II. The remaining three essays are unimpressive and, in fact, detract from the announced themes of the volume: J. B. Lyon's anecdotal tale of appeals for Rockefeller medical educational funding in the early days of the Irish Free State, Giuliana Gemelli's convoluted and often jumbled account of the long-term history of the Naples Stazione Zoologica, and Doris Zallen's tangential look at the Nuffield Foundation and the start-up of medical genetics in England.

Taken together, what is most striking about this collection of essays is how much is left out and how many opportunities are missed. Why is there no essay on the Rockefeller Foundation's efforts in Latin America, an area of major recent scholarly activity? Why none on its projects in Germany during the 1920s and 1930s, on which Weindling has elsewhere written so solidly, or on its increasingly extensive initiatives in England when its grants to Germany tapered off after the rise of the Nazis to power? Why is there no serious study of Rockefeller biomedical projects in the 1950s through the 1970s—that is, during the height of the Cold War so prominent in the volume's title? And why is there no critical probing of the origins, purposes, and limitations of the Foundation's biomedical agenda (seemingly presumed by Schneider to represent straightforward and unalloyed "progress" in all fields, settings, and national contexts) and no systematic and synthetic look at how local circumstances, strong personalities, and institutional cultures modified or thwarted Rockefeller intentions? Also, what about major national and world events—the Great Depression, fascism, war—and how they affected the Foundation? In light of these gaps and shortcomings, the book under review seems more like a patchwork of oddly selected remnants than a well-planned and skillfully realized work of historical craftsmanship. The subject deserves better.

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E. MELANIE DUPUIS, editor. *Smoke and Mirrors: The Politics and Culture of Air Pollution*. New York: New York University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 360. Cloth, \$65.00, paper \$22.00.

In the introduction to this book, editor E. Melanie DuPuis notes that a "growing number of studies are looking at environmental issues as a struggle over power and meaning" (p. 1). The volume, which consists of fifteen essays, examines air pollution in this manner, with DuPuis noting that a society's reaction to "smoke" (and other forms of air pollution) is a "mirror" of that society. Each of the contributing authors, about half of whom are historians, peers into that mirror for different times, places, and conflicts.

DuPuis points out that she embarked on this project partly as an antidote to economists and policy analysts who blindly place their faith in cost-benefit studies, risk analyses, and other tools that disguise political choices as technical calculations. Expressing frustration with those who ignore historical and social complexity, she and colleagues at the University of California, Santa Cruz, organized a conference to bring together scholars who did pay attention to such complexities. The book under review emerged from that conference.

The various authors succeed in dissuading readers of any simplistic notion that air pollution is a purely technical problem best left to be solved by experts. For the most part, they do so not by highlighting the weaknesses of analytical tools but by examining the broader context of particular cases. In the process, they reveal how responses to air pollution are embedded in a matrix of values, perceptions, knowledge, and power. At the very least, DuPuis suggests, those who perceive themselves as using "objective" decision-making models should become aware of this broader context and, perhaps, the limits of their tools.

Organizationally, the book is divided into two sections: one on the emergence of air pollution as a problem (eight chapters) and another on the construction of current air pollution policy (seven chapters). The tightest chapters are the first four, which illuminate the English response to the dense black smoke that poured out of nineteenth-century industrial centers such as Manchester. In these chapters, authors Peter Brimblecombe, Harold Platt, Stephen Mosley, and Matthew Osborn examine how different groups of people perceived, experienced, and responded to that smoke. Here, one is struck both by the complex ways in which various groups wrestled with the problem and by their failure to achieve much in the way of a systematic solution. For example, Platt demonstrates that nineteenth-century scientists understood that gases such as sulfur dioxide were as great a problem as the dense black smoke, representing an "invisible evil" that smoke abatement alone would not solve. Osborn also focuses on this invisible evil, but from another perspective: its acidic effect on land surrounding industrial centers. Both Brimblecombe and Mosley examine, among other things, the different ways in which various groups perceived the smoke, with an interesting twist being how the visual aspects of smoke got entangled with romantic perceptions of fog.

The volume then jumps to the middle of the twentieth century, with a brief look at the context in which Pittsburgh leaders framed their smoke control efforts (Angela Gugliotta), the way in which the 1952 London "fog" disaster changed how residents of that city viewed air pollution (Peter Thorsheim), and the reaction of health-conscious residents of Los Angeles to the smoggy haze that descended on their city in the 1940s (Joshua Dunsby). Differences in the three cases, rather than similarities, stand out. In London, the death of approximately 4,000 people due to a severe air pollution incident succeeded in breaking the romantic connec-

tion that joined smoke and fog in the minds of many people, a connection that had previously muted responses to such incidents. In sunshine-soaked Los Angeles, however, no such disastrous event was necessary; the daily formation of an irritating haze was enough to mobilize its residents, many of whom had moved to the area for its attractive climate. Pittsburgh's response was different still, representing an effort by workers and elites to transform the city into an industrial jewel, a vision influenced both by labor's view of a radical New Deal and by Lewis Mumford's portrayal of neotechnic industrial society. Amid these chapters on urban responses to air pollution—perhaps setting up the chapter on Los Angeles—is an essay by Frank Uekoetter that examines the early response of the United States and Germany to automobile emissions; he argues that the lack of a precautionary principle and a mismatch between popular and expert concerns resulted in little action on this front.

The second half of the book turns to contemporary responses and policies, expanding its coverage both in terms of geography and topics. As a result, less of a connection between chapters exists in this section. In terms of the broader geographic coverage, this section includes essays on the driving forces behind Spanish air pollution policy (Alex Farrell), the social and political construction of air quality policy in Mexico City (José Lezama), and the experiences of an American environmental engineer in places such as China and Russia (Roger Raufer). Articles that expand the topical coverage include one on the implications of defining "pesticide drift" as an air pollution problem rather than the result of isolated accidents (Jill Harrison) and one on the role of advocacy groups in shaping the science and policy of asthma prevention (Brown *et al.*). Two other articles look more directly at air pollution control policy, with DuPuis exploring the way in which the Clean Air Act inadvertently transformed what we breathe into a "property-like thing" and Sudhir Rajan focusing on how California air quality policies accommodated rather than challenged the "automobility" of society.

The volume succeeds in illustrating the importance of the broader social, political, and historical context in understanding different responses to air pollution. Knowing facts about levels of contaminants is never enough; we also need to know who pollutes, who bears the burden of that pollution, and how their perceptions of the problem and their power to do anything about it differs. The implication is that those who attempt to address air pollution concerns without understanding the broader context often place their trust in analyses and procedures that reflect one view of the problem. The individual chapters also directly contribute to our understanding of the nineteenth-century English response to coal smoke, the mid-twentieth-century U.S. urban response to air pollution, and what happens as efforts to address air pollution expands both geographically and topically.

A problem may be that the people to whom DuPuis wants to demonstrate the importance of politics and

culture might not necessarily make the connections that DuPuis hopes they will. With a few exceptions, the essays were not written with this particular audience—professionals who apply tools and models without much reflection—in mind. Furthermore, the role of scientific and technological innovation is underrepresented in the essays, giving the impression that new knowledge has not been important in developing sophisticated responses to the problems at hand. But as Joel Tarr mentions in the book's afterword, responding to air pollution concerns in sophisticated ways requires both scientific and constructivist knowledge—and more attention to integrating the two may be necessary to engage the readers who DuPuis desires to reach.

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MICHAEL J. COHEN. *Strategy and Politics in the Middle East, 1954–1960: Defending the Northern Tier*. New York: Frank Cass. 2005. Pp. xiii, 272. \$65.00.

Michael J. Cohen has published eight books, edited another, co-edited two more, and published fourteen volumes of documents about the Middle East, Britain, and the United States in the middle decades of the twentieth century. He knows the archival and secondary sources. This volume is the second of two he has written on British and U.S. contingency planning in the Middle East during the early years of the Cold War. The first volume, *Fighting World War Three from the Middle East, 1945–1954: Allied Contingency Plans*, was published in 1997. In his introduction to this second volume, Cohen states that the two books stand as a single work or may be read as distinct entities. Only the second one is reviewed here.

The book begins in 1954, when Britain signed the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement to withdraw from Egypt, where some British 50,000 troops, at a cost of 50 million pounds per year, comprised what was then Britain's biggest military base. The book ends in 1960, after the Eisenhower administration set up the Central Treaty Organization, which linked up with the North Atlantic and South East Asia Treaty Organizations, largely based on nuclear deterrence.

During those six years, technological developments in aviation, nuclear, and weapons systems changed global strategy and altered the ways the British and U.S. defended their own interests in the Middle East. During these years, the United States remained the world's only economic superpower, while Britain became more dependent on the oil of the Middle East and the financial support of the United States. The Suez Crisis of 1956 shocked London and Washington but did not disrupt the institutions of Anglo-American cooperation in the Middle East. The Iraqi Revolution of 1958 also surprised the British and Americans but actually increased cooperation between their two governments. At the same time, political and military quarrels persisted within the British and the U.S. political and defense establishments, at home and in the field. The British

and Americans still achieved more success than failure in the Middle East as they protected their oil and economic interests, promoted stability within and among indigenous states, and reacted to real and imagined threats posed by the Soviet Union.

The British could neither get along with nor get rid of Gamal Abdel Nasser, the ambitious Pan-Arab president of Egypt. London therefore turned its attention from Cairo to Baghdad, where the British relied on Nuri Said, who ran Iraq for the Hashemite Kingdom set up by Britain after World War I. Iraq's oil and location at the head of the Persian Gulf mattered more after the recent oil showdown with Iran, with Britain then importing most of its oil from Kuwait. The British also subsidized the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, where the influx of Palestinian refugees was hostile to Israel, Britain, and King Hussein. The United States supported Israel but tried to avoid neocolonialism in the Arab world, where the U.S. also had economic interests. Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan were backed by the United States as northern-tier buffers against the Soviet Union.

The Suez Crisis in Egypt and the Iraqi Revolution stunned the British and the Americans. In 1956, when Britain, France, and Israel attacked Egypt without U.S. permission, the Eisenhower administration was furious, but it soon recovered after realizing what Nasser and the Soviets were gaining at the West's expense. For fear of raising Israeli demands and stirring up Arab anti-Americanism, the United States refused to join the Baghdad Pact but secretly bankrolled the enterprise. The Iraqi Revolution so upset Washington and London that U.S. troops were sent to sustain a friendly regime in Lebanon, and the British sent their air force to back Jordan's king.

Cohen's book offers the reader more strategy than politics. There is much repetition, and the reader is frequently referred to other parts of the book. Much less attention is paid to the Middle East than to the two large governmental establishments making policies for an enormous, diverse region. The reader who does not already know the history of the modern Middle East will be at a loss as to the region's leaders, peoples, resources, and religions. The reader who is already familiar with the British and U.S. policy-making establishments may have trouble with the sixty-four abbreviations listed at the beginning of the book and rarely identified afterward, from ACAS (Assistant Chief of the Air Staff in the UK) to VCAS (Vice Chief of the Air Staff in the UK). Maps and legends are inadequate, and the index is unsatisfactory. Typographical errors in the first third of the text and careless mistakes in the footnotes also mar the book.

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ASIA

LYNN A. STRUVE, editor. *Time, Temporality, and Imperial Transition: East Asia From Ming to Qing*. (Asian Interactions and Comparisons.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2005. Pp. x, 300. \$52.00.

It is no exaggeration to say that different perceptions and periodizations of the segments of time often arise in coincidence with the changing practice of historical writing. This phenomenon is particularly salient in Chinese historiography. In 1902, when Liang Qichao (1873–1929) called for a “historiographic revolution,” he chose to target the age-old practice of dynastic historiography, or the tradition of constructing the notion of time on dynastic cycles. In place of the dynastic framework, students of Chinese history since then, particularly those working in the United States, have used (borrowed) new periodizations like “medieval” and/or “late imperial” from Western historiography to generalize the change and continuity in Chinese history. But the new periodizations remain cognizant of the significance of dynastic transitions, such as the ending of the Han in the third century and the Tang in the tenth.

What about the Ming and Qing transition? Should they be lumped together in constituting the “late imperial” period? In this well-researched and pleasantly coherent collection of essays, Lynn A. Struve and her contributors prompt us to ponder this question by looking at “the multidimensionality of time” (p. 9). The book is not intended directly to challenge the use of the term “late imperial” among China scholars today, nor to propose a new periodization. Instead it invites us to examine the Ming-Qing dynastic transition from a cross-cultural, multiethnic scope and perspective. In the first chapter, Mark Elliott presents a detailed analysis of the invocation of history by the early Manchu rulers in founding the Qing. In preparing for and justifying their southward conquest, he states, Manchu elites harked back to the experiences of such “frontier dynasties” as the Liao and Jin in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Particularly, the Manchus made effort to identify themselves with the Jin and elevate the latter's success. In other words, in the conjuncture of the Ming-Qing transition, there were multiple historical times at play. Elliott's article ends before the actual founding of the Qing, which piqued the reader's curiosity about what happened afterward. Did the Manchus persist in their effort to remain a “frontier dynasty”? At the very end of the essay, Elliott notes that the Manchus accorded homage to Zhu Yuanzhang, the founder of the Ming, which suggested that they had hoped to emulate Zhu's success (pp. 62–63).

The impact of the Qing establishment on the change of historical consciousness is dealt with more directly by Roger Des Forges in the second chapter, albeit with a different focus. Des Forges examines how the Han Chinese in the Central Plain, or the Henan province/region, reacted to Manchu rule. Like the Manchus, the Han Chinese resorted to historical memory to justify their action (collaboration or resistance) under the new

ruler. If the Manchus fell short of finding an appropriate historical precedent in legitimizing their regime, it seemed that the Han Chinese had found one for them by equating the Qing succession to the Ming with the Zhou's succession to the Shang in the eleventh century B.C.E. The example of the Tang seemed also useful because, while founded by the steppe people, it constituted a golden period of Chinese culture, that Qing literati hoped to replicate.

If the Han Chinese, at least those living in Henan, appeared to adjust relatively easily to Manchu rule, the Koreans apparently had a hard time. JaHyun Kim Haboush shows that after the downfall of the Ming, while the Yi dynasty had no choice but to renew the tributary relation with China, Korean scholars, especially those of the Neo-Confucian persuasion, were reluctant and resistant. Decades into the Qing's reign, Haboush observes, many Korean scholars remained committed to the use of Ming reign titles in dating their works. This suggests that although the Han Chinese had lost the Central Plain, they retained a certain cultural hegemony by supplying a prevalent time-reckoning tool. The same could also be said about the use of the sexagesimal calendar—while politically neutral, it still serves as a reminder of the Chinese cultural influence. The coexistence of the two dating methods (reign year and sexagesimal cycle) illustrates the “multidimensionality of time” in East Asia through the centuries. It also, on a more practical level, offered an alternative not only for the Koreans but also for the Mongols to circumvent political coercion from the Qing. As Johan Elverskog documents, after the establishment of the Qing, Mongol history was incorporated (dissolved?) into the Qing historical narrative. However, the Mongols managed to trace their origin to India, via Buddhism and Tibet, and came up with a different conceptualization of time in the “Buddhist cosmological continuum” (p. 151). This continuum did not directly challenge Qing rule, but it succeeded in affording the Mongols an important place and an independent identity in Qing historical narrative.

The last two essays return to the multifarious development of Chinese historical consciousness during the Ming-Qing transition. Eugenio Menegon studies a Christian community in Fuan, Fujian, with some very interesting observations. Unlike the conventional belief that the Jesuit mission failed in eighteenth-century China, Menegon finds that the Christian community, cultivated mainly by the work of the Dominicans, survived and even thrives to this day. Its success resulted partially from the willingness of the friars to “modify the Catholic orthopraxis to suit the needs of Chinese converts” (p. 219), again an observation that undermines the conventional notion that the friars were the most obstinate among all the missionary orders. In the Christian community in Fuan, therefore, both Christian time and Chinese time coexisted; whereas Chinese Christians gradually ceased to perform rituals for ancestor reverence, they nevertheless celebrated holidays on the Chinese calendar.

Although most festivals in China are seasonal and secular, some do not lack political connotations. Zhao Shiyu and Du Zhengzhen present a study of the origin of the “birthday of the sun” in China's southeastern regions. According to their intriguing essay, which is translated effectively by Struve, the so-called birthday of the sun, which falls on the nineteenth day of the third month in the lunar calendar, began as an act of mourning for the death of Emperor Chongzhen, Ming's last emperor. The ceremony had been introduced by the forces loyal to the Ming in the early Qing. After the Qing defeated these forces, the commemoration was changed into a ceremony for the birthday of the sun and has more or less continued as such in those regions.

In the last years of the Qing, it was Zhang Taiyan (1869–1935) and other Zhejiangese in southeast China who first invoked anti-Manchu memories among the Han Chinese to mount a revolution that eventually toppled the regime (p. 271). This event, occurring in a different historical time, exceeded the purview of the book under review. But by revealing the temporality and arbitrariness of such time constructions as the Ming, the Qing, and/or the “late imperial,” Struve and her contributors have opened our eyes to the much richer and more complex processes of historical movement.

Q. EDWARD WANG

Rowan University [All reviewers of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

JAMES REARDON-ANDERSON. *Reluctant Pioneers: China's Expansion Northward, 1644–1937*. (Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 288. \$60.00.

In the American historical imagination, the frontier occupies a special place as the locus of freedom, opportunity, and self-actualization. Lively debates about the nature of the frontier and its relationship to the core from which it may have developed have animated historians from Frederick Jackson Turner to the present. An important feature of James Reardon-Anderson's authoritative study of modern China's expansion into the vast northern territories of Manchuria (northeast China) and Inner Mongolia is that it not only confronts key issues in modern Chinese historiography, such as the nature of the Manchu state and China's premodern economy, but also engages the comparative history dialogue on frontiers to examine what has hitherto been viewed almost entirely from a sinocentric perspective. The author's core thesis is that, rather than creating a new society with novel social norms and organization and innovative economic practices, “the Chinese occupation of Manchuria appears as the seamless extension of an existing society and culture across the fading boundary of the Great Wall” (p. 101).

Making scrupulous use of a wide variety of scholarly works, government reports, economic data, and trav-

elers' accounts in Chinese, Japanese, and Western languages, Reardon-Anderson examines in turn the land, the people, and the economy of Manchuria and, secondarily, Inner Mongolia, during the great era of expansion from the Manchu conquest of China in the mid-seventeenth century through the onset of the second Sino-Japanese War in 1937. It was during this period that the modern Chinese state assumed its present contours. The central figures in his account are the farm families of north China who dispatched surplus labor toward the frontier region as sojourners intent on making their fortunes before returning to ancestral villages that were "stable, insular, and resistant to change" (p. 117) to share their fortune with their families. Those who remained in Manchuria as permanent settlers were the eponymous figures of the book's title who had no ambition other than to recreate insofar as possible the conditions they had left behind in their native places.

If migrant Chinese farmers appear almost as an elemental force of nature in Reardon-Anderson's account, a human glacier that grinds slowly northward, the Manchu state and its Republican China successor are far less powerful agents whose attempts to control migration and shape the conditions of landholding and economic activity are overwhelmed by social forces beyond their control. Initial Manchu attempts to control Han Chinese migration into Manchuria and preserve the territory as a homeland and military reserve for the Manchu warriors (bannermen) and their Mongol allies by instituting a system of manorial estates farmed by peasant vassals failed because of the agricultural fecklessness of the Manchus and the inexorable force of Chinese farmers who, in collusion with the local estate owners and officials, circumvented the web of restrictions intended to control them and recreated on the Manchurian plain the commercialized agriculture of private landholding that prevailed whence they had come. A conclusion one may draw from this study is that state policies work best when they align with and take advantage of social forces and trends; otherwise they are ineffective. Engaging the thesis that premodern China experienced economic development, the author argues that the Manchurian economy was a case of growth without development (i.e. without the technical, financial, and entrepreneurial innovations that development implies). The reason, he suggests, is the nature of Chinese social institutions, including personalistic ties that limited credit to small-scale projects and the risk aversion of Chinese entrepreneurs in Manchuria who preferred to spread their capital among diverse businesses rather than concentrate on developing large-scale, technologically advanced farms or industrial enterprises. Neither material nor social conditions inhibited the economic development of Manchuria with its vast resources and multiple opportunities; rather it was Chinese culture understood in terms of the prevailing customs, values, and horizons of north Chinese villagers.

The broad outlines of Reardon-Anderson's analysis are familiar to students acquainted with the pioneering

studies of Manchuria in the 1920s and 1930s by scholars such as Owen Lattimore and C. Walter Young. Reardon-Anderson frequently cites the works of these pioneers and generously acknowledges his intellectual debt to them. What distinguishes his book, *inter alia*, is the breadth and depth of his research and his systematic comparison of the Manchurian experience with other frontier regions in China (Xinjiang and Taiwan), tsarist Russia's expansion into Siberia, and the American frontier experience that frames the inquiry. One wonders, however, whether that comparative framework really makes sense except as a heuristic device. Why should the American model of the frontier and pioneers be considered in examining the opening of Manchuria? Given that conditions in America during the opening of the West were vastly different in so many respects from those in China, it would be remarkable indeed had Chinese migrants behaved like American pioneers on the Western frontier.

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DAVID ANTHONY BELLO. *Opium and the Limits of Empire: Drug Prohibition in the Chinese Interior, 1729–1850*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 241.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. 2005. Pp. xxi, 361. \$50.00.

Historical research on the Chinese opium question has certainly moved beyond the narrow confines of the Sino-British war (1840–1842) to broader historiographical and theoretical issues. Recent contributors to the new scholarship include Edward Slack, Joyce Madancy, Frank Dikötter, *et al.* and now, David Anthony Bello. Unlike most authors on the subject, Bello tracks the opium trails in China's western and southwestern landlocked border regions and attempts a multiple ethnogeographic "reorientation" from the Han-dominated core of China proper to Xinjiang (Eastern Turkestan) and the Yunnan, Guizhou, and Sichuan provinces, from the Euro-American traffickers to a mixed cast of Han, Muslim, tribal, and Central Asian smugglers and poppy cultivators. His work fills an important gap in the literature and illustrates successfully, through the travails of the Qing prohibition campaign, the "limits of empire."

Bello's main argument is that Qing territorial expansion in the west and southwest had created "crucial geographic spaces" (p. 284), which the imperial government did not control by imposing the Han core's centrally administered *junxian* (prefecture-district) system, secured by the local household registration (*baojia*). Instead, a hybrid structure engaging the administrative assistance of Muslim *begs* in Xinjiang and of tribal chieftains in the southwest was put in place. Weak control in these regions subsequently allowed foreign opium from Central Asia and (non-British) north India to penetrate and domestic cultivation to spread. Recognizing these problems only belatedly, the

Qing court enforced absolute prohibition based on the Han core's experience with opium as an urban, coastal, mercantile, and Euro-American problem. Consumption and cultivation were criminalized in 1813 and 1831, respectively, and the draconian New Regulations were promulgated in 1839.

Bello explains in detail how the systemic flaws of the borderland administrations undermined imperial policy. In Xinjiang, traffickers and cultivators thrived under cover of the territory's sheer expanse and fragmented authority, official apathy, and the *begs'* connivance. In the southwest, Han and non-Han locals depended on commodified opium for income. When local officials could not suppress cultivation, they taxed it instead for revenue. The government's half-hearted program of crop substitution did not even begin to address opium's deeply embedded role in the region's socio-economic structures. In short, prohibition faltered as the logic of empire turned on itself: expansion, over-extension, monolithic vision, and crippling inefficiency.

Bello's main conclusions are sound, as are his other observations. He argues, correctly, I think, against the assumed machinations of a "prohibitionist cabal" in the 1830s policy debate, as suggested by scholars like James Polachek (pp. 9, 134). He also notes that, "No foreign trafficker was ever sentenced to death, let alone executed" (p. 215), whereas Qing offenders were not so leniently treated. In light of the Qing practice to govern the ethnic-geographic borderlands partly through broker agency (the Cohong in the southeast, the *begs* in Xinjiang, and the native chieftains in the southwest), the double standard may have reflected, other than the dynasty's "enlightened self-interest" to avoid interethnic conflict (pp. 297–298), a paternalistic attitude toward marginal groups that were stereotyped as naturally ignorant and inferior. Bello detects "terminological nuances" in the administrative language for Yunnan (pp. 104–107). Expressions like *neidi*, *waidi*, and *yanbian*, ("the land within," "the land without," and "along the edges") may indeed be seen as broadly suggestive spatial signifiers of ethnic-cultural divisions that corresponded with the throne's bifurcated policy.

Space does not allow discussion of other pertinent issues raised in Bello's well-researched, richly textured study. As he is aware, the reconstruction of the border regions' opium connections does not fundamentally revise our understanding that coastal imports remained the chief culprit before the drug trade was thoroughly "nativized" (p. 301) in the late nineteenth century. I do find the comparison of prohibition in Qing China and in British India somewhat superfluous. The Qing court, unlike the British Raj, imposed the ban for reasons too complex and varied to be reduced to revenue concerns alone. Bello does not explain his choice of 1729–1850 as his chronological framework. The latter date, marking the end of Daoguang's reign, is not quite relevant as the former, when the first anti-opium statutes were issued. Replacing it with, say, 1842 or 1843, when the initial results of the New Regulations were known (not

to mention the conclusion of the Sino-British hostilities over the cause célèbre) would seem more congruous. It is also odd to read that if legalization was adopted, the "only criminals left would be those who dealt in foreign opium" (p. 160). Legalization, as proposed by Xu Naiji in 1836, did aim to permit the legal import of foreign opium. Finally, the few typos should not detract from this otherwise well-produced and substantial work: the Chinese characters for *shi* in *shilu* (p. xxi) and for *Tong* in *Dao, Xian, Tong, Guang* (p. 329), "were be responsible" (p. 71), "Chi'na" (p. 220), and *Qingshi lu* (p. 307).

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THOMAS H. REILLY. *The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom: Rebellion and the Blasphemy of Empire*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 235. \$45.00.

Readers seeking a brief history of China's Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864) might be attracted by the title of this book, but they should look elsewhere. This latest contribution to the voluminous scholarship on China's best-documented rebellion is not a narrative history with the usual attention to social and political context. It is instead a rambling essay on Taiping religious beliefs and practices, designed to demonstrate "the uniquely Christian character of the movement" (p. 11). Thomas H. Reilly is particularly intent on explaining the implications of the Taiping term for God: *Shangdi*. The first two chapters of the book explore prior Catholic and Protestant debates on the proper term for God, *Shangdi* having been rejected by Pope Clement XI in 1704 in favor of *Tianzhu* (Lord of Heaven) but later accepted by most Protestant churches. Early Jesuits such as Matteo Ricci and the Taiping favored the use of *Shangdi* because the term helped to link their God to ancient Chinese textual references to a supreme deity.

Reilly's most important contribution is to call attention to the political implications of the Taiping use of this term. Since the first empire of Qin Shi Huangdi, Chinese emperors had been called *huangdi*, the "*di*" meaning "Supreme Being" and being the same character used in *Shangdi*. The Taiping insisted that "*di*" should refer only to God and that its use for secular rulers was blasphemous. From this, Reilly concludes that the Taiping objective was "to topple the entire imperial institution" (p. 93) and that its historical legacy was the "delegitimization of the old imperial order" (p. 170).

It is rare to see a major university press publish a book that is so transparently the product of a preconceived intellectual agenda. The acknowledgments reveal that the project was conceived while the author was serving as a missionary in Taiwan and came in contact with two small churches seeking "to shape Christianity into a Chinese religion" (p. ix). The book is dedicated to "the Chinese Church," and Reilly believes that his "examination of the Taiping experience helps us to

make sense of religious changes that are occurring in China today" (p. 17). Simply put, he has set out to present the Taiping as an indigenous variant of Christianity, and to "make the case for this new Chinese Christianity" (p. 17).

The problem is that there is an enormous literature on the Taiping Rebellion and Reilly engages it only in passing as he single-mindedly pursues his particular agenda. Most disturbing for the historian is his failure to discuss the evolution of the movement from its gestation in the early thoughts and writings of Hong Xiuquan, through its development in the conflict-ridden hills of Guangxi, to its final stage as a heavenly kingdom with a capital in Nanjing and a court engaged in sanguinary factional feuds. Both the practices and the texts of Taiping religion changed over time, and Reilly gives scant attention to this evolution.

The Christian textual origins of the Taiping god *Shangdi* are well established, but Rudolf Wagner has also demonstrated that Taiping ritual and iconography show undeniable traces of the Jade Emperor (Yuhuang) in the Taiping conception of *Shangdi* (*Reenacting the Heavenly Vision: The Role of Religion in the Taiping Rebellion* [1982]). Reilly is intent on stressing Karl Gutzlaff's translation of the Bible as the inspiration for Hong Xiuquan's religion. So far so good. But he never engages the fascinating discussion in Jonathan D. Spence's *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan* (1996) of Hong Xiuquan's extensive editing of the Bible to remove offensive sexual material and bring the text into accord with Hong's own vision.

Most troubling, in view of Reilly's conception of the Taiping as an anti-imperial movement, is his failure to discuss the Taiping political system. The Taiping heavenly kingdom was also governed by a supreme monarch, Hong Xiuquan, who ruled through a court and bureaucracy and spent much of his time secluded with an extensive harem of young women. Hong saw himself as God's son, while Chinese emperors ruled as Son of Heaven (*Tianzi*). It is true that Hong was called *Tianwang* (Heavenly King) and not *Huangdi*, but is this name change sufficient to make the Taiping anti-imperial? That seems doubtful. When later revolutionaries looked to the Taiping for inspiration, it was not for their opposition to empire but for their anti-Manchu message.

Chinese and Western documentation on the Taiping is better than for any other Chinese rebellion, but this volume selects just those items that fit Reilly's limited interpretation. The field of modern Chinese history should long since have surpassed scholarship of this quality.

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HENRIETTA HARRISON. *The Man Awakened from Dreams: One Man's Life in a North China Village, 1857–1942*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 207. cloth \$40.00, paper \$16.95.

Biography has become unfashionable in Chinese studies. Yet it offers an irreplaceable window into alien worlds. In the case of Liu Dapeng, long before his death, most Chinese would have found his mental and spiritual world as alien as may the readers of this journal. Liu (1857–1942) was a local notable in Shanxi Province, a prestigious provincial degree-holder (*juren* 1894) who nonetheless never became an official, lived in relative poverty (real poverty by the 1930s), worked as a kind middle-man in the coal industry and as a farmer, and hated all "progress." Liu would seem to be another candidate for the title of "last Confucian," as he remained devoted to his interpretation of Confucian principles, which, Henrietta Harrison shows, formed the basis of his identity.

Liu meticulously kept a diary—even using scraps of newspapers when necessary—for fifty years. A highly abridged version of the diary was published in 1990, but Harrison makes use of the nearly complete version in the Shanxi Provincial Library to offer a sympathetic analysis of Liu's life. To a great extent, Harrison allows Liu to speak for himself; she provides readers with historical context and perceptive appraisals of Liu's conduct, but she does not probe impertinently. The advantage of this approach is that the reader is left in a good position to make his or her own judgments; the disadvantage is that when Harrison is best equipped to answer certain questions, she refrains from doing so. For example, I was left uncertain whether Liu gradually became less moralistic and self-righteous over time.

Harrison wants to complicate our picture of late imperial and republican Chinese society: the lines between elite and subaltern, urban and rural, littoral and hinterland, as well as progress and reaction all blur as seen through Liu's life. Harrison notes that Liu's Confucianism was opposed not to popular culture but to the truly alien concepts of the late Qing reformers. This did not mean that Liu ever saw himself or was seen as an ordinary villager, but by and large he earned respect throughout his county due to his ability to embody shared values. Here, his Confucian rectitude not only allowed him to represent the community vis-à-vis the authorities in time-honored fashion but continued to give Liu real social capital, allowing him to participate in Shanxi's coal enterprises without any of his own cash. Inevitably, some issues get short shrift. Harrison points to the importance of the practical learning movement on Liu's Confucianism, but what was his relation to the cutting edge of Qing Confucianism, evidential studies? One could further explore the roots of Liu's search for personal perfection through self-writing in the Confucian tradition. As Harrison points out, Liu used of the image of the hermit farmer-scholar to come to terms with his professional failure.

This book also complicates our picture of conservatism. Liu feared and distrusted political reforms, both those that affected him personally, such as the addition of Western subjects to the exams, and those that seemed to exalt the state at the expense of the people. Indeed, he repeatedly and bravely protested the tax in-

creases that reforms inevitably required. Harrison points out that Liu's Confucian pedigree, plus his local reputation for upright conduct, gave the man a voice beyond his immediate community, but it was a voice generally ignored by power holders. Harrison remarks that by the late Qing, "the government had so completely abandoned its Confucian past that there was hardly even a language left in which to criticize" reforms (p. 93), and Liu complained that all those sharing his views were dismissed as mere "reactionaries." I am not sure Confucianism was as dead as all that, but the point is striking.

Liu's conservatism did not diminish his capacity to criticize officials and institutions of the Qing (including a favorite target of the reformers, the eight-legged essay) and the republic. The latter he regarded as utterly illegitimate. Although Liu participated in several Shanxi elections, he considered them a farcical way to choose "good men." Yet he urged his sons to follow the new learning. He was never tempted into support for warlords or the Japanese invasion, even though both sometimes cloaked themselves in Confucian rhetoric.

The book also describes the decline of rural Shanxi as it was decommercialized. Again, Harrison does not offer a complete analysis of this complex process, but she provides many suggestive details. She also provides a wonderful portrayal of everyday life, from food and clothing to fertilizer and mule carts. Concrete details, the generous translations, and Harrison's insightful commentary make this book a great teaching tool as well as a major contribution to modern Chinese studies. I hope it will be used in courses across the curriculum, and not only in Asian history classes. It should be on any short-list of "necessary" books on modern China.

PETER ZARROW
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XIAORONG HAN. *Chinese Discourses on the Peasant, 1900–1949*. (SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 259. \$75.00.

With the collapse of the Qing dynasty in the early twentieth century a government structure and political culture that had evolved with remarkable continuity for two millennia suddenly disappeared, to be replaced by political chaos and widespread despair. Relentless pressure for increased privileges and power by Western nations and Japan increasingly cast doubt on the future of China as an independent entity. In these circumstances, national survival became the central preoccupation of the educated class in China.

Until the late nineteenth century, the very concept of nation was new to Chinese intellectuals. China had been regarded above all as a culture, one that derived meaning and legitimacy from tradition; change was anathema. But after several decades of confrontation with hostile nation-states, intellectuals in China increasingly came to believe that China must change radically or be devoured in a Darwinian struggle. The fail-

ure of the Republic following the Revolution of 1911, and ensuing warlord rapacity, made it clear that national survival would require more than superficial alteration of governmental structure; nothing less than comprehensive transformation in the way Chinese people thought and acted could save China. For many intellectuals the peasantry, the great majority of the Chinese population, came to be seen as the key to national salvation.

How intellectuals came to that conclusion, and the variety of ways they responded, is the subject of Xiaorong Han's book. He traces the emergence of a new intellectual class in the early twentieth century that rejected Confucian orthodoxy and sought answers to the national question from abroad. Science, democracy, pragmatism, Marxism, and other ideas from the West were studied and employed in the service of the nation. As the critical role of the rural population in the national salvation effort became increasingly apparent, conceptions of the nature of the peasantry changed. Whereas Sun Yat-sen, the "father of the nation," and Chen Duxiu, later a founder of the Chinese Communist Party, had regarded the peasantry with despair in the early twentieth century as ignorant, superstitious, and indifferent to the nation's plight, by the late 1920s most intellectuals saw peasants in a more positive light. Han identifies four characteristics of the peasantry on which virtually all intellectuals agreed: they were ignorant, innocent, poor, and potentially powerful.

Aside from that general agreement, two other characteristics were common to intellectuals, including writers of fiction and artists: the political nature of their work and the assumption that peasants should be guided by intellectuals. Their approach, according to Han, was largely deductive. Differing conceptions of the nature of rural society and the proper relationship of intellectuals and peasants were largely preconceived, shaped by ideology. The major divisions were between Marxists and liberal intellectuals, with many divisions of opinion within those broad categories. Han examines the disputes among them in great detail.

The book is not for the casual reader, and even many students in courses on China will be bewildered by the enormous number of names mentioned and the seemingly arcane differences of opinion discussed. But it cannot be denied that ultimately those differences were of great consequence in the history of twentieth-century China. Han's book is a testament to the belief that ideas do matter. His work will be criticized by some for sacrificing depth of analysis for breadth of coverage, and for a rather pedestrian writing style, but few will disagree that it is the most comprehensive treatment of its subject now available.

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POSHEK FU. *Between Shanghai and Hong Kong: The Politics of Chinese Cinemas*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 202. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$19.95.

In this richly detailed account based on newspapers, journals, film archives, interviews, and close viewings of old movies, Poshek Fu presents a history of Chinese cinemas in two cities during the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945). Shanghai and Hong Kong both claimed the distinction of being the “Hollywood of the East.” Shanghai was a major market, while Hong Kong supplied many technicians and performers. The industries in the two cities meanwhile were linked by a ready exchange of capital and talent. Chinese cinema in its formative period was thus not a national enterprise self-contained within the boundaries of the nation-state but a diasporic venture connecting the Chinese populations in Shanghai, Hong Kong, Singapore, Southeast Asia, Australia, and North America.

A majority of Shanghai and Hong Kong films were low-budget productions adapted from local operas. The “hits” among them relied on the appeal of the stars, the familiarity of the genre, the glamor of the sets, and the insertion of “fun and noise”—comic acts that enlivened the screen if not the intellect. The real origins of Chinese cinema were therefore not transnational influence but local operatic routines much beloved by the illiterate folks.

Not surprisingly, box office sales and film critic reviews did not move in tandem. The critics denounced the hits as vulgar, frivolous and commercial. Their rave reviews, however, sold few tickets. Fu deploys cultural theories to shape historical analysis and argues insightfully that such discrepancy reflected contestations in the public arena. In the case of Shanghai cinema under Japanese siege (1937–1941), major productions such as *Mulan Joins the Army*, hailed for its “patriotic” overtone in Shanghai, were burned as collaborationist in Chongqing, the wartime capital of the Chinese Nationalist Government, simply because the productions had come from behind enemy lines. The burning might not have happened, according to Fu, had Chongqing critics, Nationalists and Communists alike, not already been hurling insults on Shanghai productions for the latter’s commercial preoccupation. Similarly, Hong Kong cinema during the war operated in a space of double marginality. To the British colonialists Chinese films had been the affairs of an “anonymous multitude.” To the Chinese intellectuals arriving from the mainland, the colony’s Cantonese-speaking productions were both inferior and marginal to the authentic Chinese culture of the Mandarin-speaking “Central Plains (*Zhongyuan*).” Upon Japan’s full occupation of Shanghai (1941–1945), Japanese authorities pressured Shanghai producers to make films that would propagate positive images of an anti-European “East-Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere.” Those who collaborated risked the sometimes lethal ire of the censors and the government in Chongqing, which banned the films thereby denying them access to the Mandarin-speaking film market under Nationalist control. Fu argues that Shanghai cinema negotiated the treacherous terrain between the occupiers and the resisters by insisting upon their pecuniary incentives and apolitical nature. The politics of the cinemas was thus

anyone’s guess in between the scenes. This ambiguity did little to help Shanghai’s film industry after 1945, when the Nationalists returned in triumph to prosecute the collaborators. Shanghai cinema’s mere success in surviving the war was enough evidence of its complicity and collaboration. A large number of film luminaries were subjected to government-sponsored humiliation and harassment. Many fled to Hong Kong, where the film industry, after 1949, again survived despite the Communist take-over of the mainland that closed down its access to the Mandarin-speaking market.

This book directs attention away from the heavily theorized film studies of the late twentieth century to a much less glamorous historical period. It also turns the spotlight on the often maligned commercial producers and their much denigrated audiences. It represents “marginality” and “centrality” not as immutable absolutes locked in opposing binaries but as evolving positions dynamically reconstituted in a multilayered relational hierarchy. On wartime experience the volume effectively deconstructs the binary of “resistance” and “collaboration” as useful categories. It seeks to present the hunt as the story of the lions rather than the hunter. It does so, however, without first asking whether the hunter had his story in order in the case of modern Chinese cinema. Is the “national discourse” a deserving target? Or is it a mere straw man in a romanticized construction of “local culture”? The volume’s very persuasiveness on behalf of the latter paradoxically raises intriguing questions about the state of the former.

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TIMOTHY BROOK. *Collaboration: Japanese Agents and Local Elites in Wartime China*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 288. \$49.95.

Timothy Brook’s superb book is an example of the doing and writing of history at its best. Its probing analysis of the “terrible ambivalences” and “tremendous ambiguities” (p. 11) of living and coping under a military occupation shatters the ideologically rigid moral framework that has generally posited a simplistic polarity of collaboration and resistance. Brook compellingly takes on that politically correct view (at least in contemporary China) of collaboration, a “term,” he says, that “leaves no middle range between innocuity and damnation, no space in which ambiguity might arise, no reason to look back and ask what might actually have been going on” (p. 10). His exploration of the social and political processes at the most local level of the occupation state reveals the emptiness of such a conception.

In many ways a more fitting title for Brook’s work might be “Occupation.” His five case studies from the Yangzi River delta go far beyond the phenomenon of collaboration to analyze the panoply of disruptive and devastating effects wrought by the occupation experience. In addition, he uncovers more information on

Japanese pacification agents than on Chinese collaborators. But despite limited sources, Brook brilliantly details how occupation was a relationship with hosts of meanings, motivations, and consequences for occupied Chinese and occupying Japanese alike.

Brook's case studies focus on the three to four months after the arrival of the Japanese pacification teams, and he finds that the process of pacification "tended to be the same everywhere" (p. 30), although there were clear variations, especially in the cities of Nanjing and Shanghai. In his research and analysis of the five sites, a theme, capturing "the tensions and problems that arose within and around the occupier-collaboration relationship" (p. 28), emerged for each.

For the county of Jiading, he focuses on the theme of "appearances." The goal of the Japanese pacification team was to establish as quickly as possible the appearances of normalcy by setting up a new regime whose existence would begin both to obscure the violence of invasion and to give Chinese collaborators an aura of legitimacy. The team's work diary and a memoir (both written by a team member) show not only how difficult it was to put "appearances" into place, but even more to move beyond that into some effective administration.

In his chapter on Zhenjiang, Brook explores "costs": of invasion, of repairing the damage of invasion, of rebuilding a shattered economy and a viable political regime, and of human life, lodging, and livelihood. The county's commercialized agricultural sector and small industrial sector were ruined, Brook argues, from "the crisis that the occupation induced in the regional economy" (p. 119).

The many entanglements between collaborators, noncollaborators, resisters, Westerners, and Japanese—seen by Brook as "complicities"—are clearest in Nanjing. Two dozen Westerners who constituted an International Committee for the Nanjing Safety Zone to harbor refugees countered and made deals with the Japanese. Chinese collaborators dealt with the Japanese and Westerners. Japanese military officers and the Special Service Agency dealt with all. The often bleak process and its result are summarized thus: "managing as best one can, under the circumstances one did not seek and could not change, to achieve something, often at costs none ever wished to pay and with consequences none anticipated suffering" (p. 158).

In Shanghai Brook finds that complicities more likely turned to "rivalries," as he focuses on the Great Way Government (December 1937–April 1938) and its unsuccessful attempts to bring local self-government committees under its administrative control. Whereas the Japanese had hoped to begin building the occupation state from the bottom up, the experience here showed the bottom to be a level vulnerable to fracturing.

On the Yangzi River island of Chongming, Brook finds that disturbances in the countryside, often denoted as resistance and treated as such by the Japanese, were really the "working through of other conflicts" (pp. 214–215), such as longtime community feuds. The reality of resistance was that these social outbursts

"prey[ed] on the local population rather than battling the Japanese" (p. 197).

In addition to painting a compelling picture of the multileveled and multidirectional complexity and ambiguity of politics and society under the occupation, Brook's work is studded with notable insights. Many Chinese collaborated; few resisted. Despite the danger to collaborators, there were always other collaborators waiting in the wings. Collaborators, whatever their motivation, enabled the Japanese occupation. The general public at the time was "relatively indifferent to the moral claims of resistance and collaboration" (p. 246). In its long-term consequences, the occupation eroded the standing of local elites and their potential to serve as the base for a modern state.

Brook's writing style is at the same time urbane and engaging. In sum, this is an excellent study and a great read as well.

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JOSHUA H. HOWARD. *Workers at War: Labor in China's Arsenals, 1937–1945*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. xix, 452. \$70.00.

In his admirable study, Joshua H. Howard tells the story of the 60,000 workers, staff officers and soldiers who toiled in the arsenals of Chongqing during the war against Japan (1937–1945) and the civil war (1946–1949). Following the outbreak of war with Japan, the Nationalist government rapidly relocated industrial plants to Sichuan province in western China. By the early 1940s, two-thirds of the armaments industry was based in that province, mostly in the area around Chongqing. Using a rich array of archival sources and interviews, the author provides a highly original and subtle account of the three interlocked struggles in which arsenal workers engaged after 1937, namely, the war of national resistance, the civil war, and the class war. As elsewhere in China, ties to native place structured workers' access to jobs. Howard highlights the division between Sichuanese workers and "down river" incomers, revealing how management initially recruited Sichuanese workers into skilled positions. He shows, however, that by the end of the war common economic problems, combined with the political fallout of war, eroded native-place and skill divisions, pitching different types of workers into a common struggle against the management of the arsenals. In so arguing, he sets out to rebut what he calls the "politics of place" thesis, i.e. the assumption that labor militancy in China was generated by native place rather than class solidarity, and this is likely to prove contentious. He also challenges a widespread assumption that welfare measures, combined with inflation-proofed wage increases, led to an improvement in the condition of workers in this period. Faced by high levels of labor turnover, the government developed an elaborate welfare system in the arsenals, consisting of social insurance and savings schemes, housing, canteens and cultural programs,

which reflected its own corporatist ideology and the needs of the ordnance industry to control and stabilize the workforce. Howard, however, shows that after 1941, at least, hyperinflation slashed wages, while the demands of production and the greater intensity of work sent industrial accidents and disease rates soaring. In the civil war, moreover, managers succeeded in linking wages to productivity and in shifting from extensive to intensive forms of exploitation, one result being a leveling of income and status between skilled and unskilled workers.

Historians in the People's Republic of China have accepted the claims of contemporaries that class conflict was subordinated to national unity during the war, since employers and workers had a common interest in defeating the Japanese. Howard, however, reveals that the war brought huge economic and social dislocation that engendered industrial disputes aplenty. Most worker grievances were economic in nature, but the fact that the arsenals were state-owned meant that these were easily politicized. He shows that despite high levels of apparent support for the Guomindang, workers frequently appropriated its ideology in order to press for better wages, conditions and treatment. Workers' demands were essentially defensive, but Howard argues cogently that they were inspired by a strong sense of injustice that made them susceptible to politicization. He offers a superb account of the writings of Yu Zusheng, a Communist worker executed by Nationalists in 1949, and contends that the ideas of radicals such as Yu, suffused as they were with ethical concern, gave political articulation to the resentments felt by wide groups of workers. This leads to a climactic argument that the arsenal workers of Chongqing developed a class consciousness in the decade up to 1949 as a consequence of their sufferings at work, their aspirations to break free from the militarized regime of the arsenals, their experience of industrial conflict and, not least, their exposure to political activists. It is a powerful argument, backed by evidence of workers' antagonism toward the military administration, but how far this was class consciousness in the full-blown sense will be disputed by some, since it remains unclear how far workers perceived their relationship to the administration as rooted in a structural antagonism and how far they felt commonality with workers in other industries.

Howard takes his story into the early years of Communist rule, neatly anatomizing elements of continuity and discontinuity across the year 1949. He shows how the civil war proved a learning experience for workers that gave them confidence to demand better treatment and improved status once the Communists were in power. He suggests that the party tapped into a "politics of revenge" simmering in the working class, enabling it to involve workers in the various mass campaigns of the early 1950s. He confirms the general view that workers in this period benefited from rising living standards, the expansion of educational opportunities, and promotion into administrative, political, and technical positions. Altogether, this is a fine achievement that succeeds in

significantly redrawing the lines of debate within the now quite extensive historiography of Chinese labor.

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MORRIS L. BIAN. *The Making of the State Enterprise System in Modern China: The Dynamics of Institutional Change*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 331. \$45.00.

The dominance of state enterprise is one of the major distinguishing features of Chinese economy during the period between 1952 and 1975. Even today, the reform of unprofitable state-owned enterprise is still one of the keys to the fate of China's economic reform in the twenty-first century. However, few scholars of China studies could correctly explain when, how, and why the state enterprise system took shape in modern China.

Focusing on the ordnance industry and other heavy industries, this book systematically traces the origin and evolution of China's state-owned enterprise system and its major characteristics. According to the author, state enterprises first appeared in the period between the 1860s and 1894, as Chinese elites' response to crises such as the Taiping rebellion and the Second Opium War. The Chinese government established a modern ordnance industry in China's coastal areas. The Sino-Japanese War in 1894–1895 and the Sino-French War a decade later, however, exposed the vulnerability of coastal arsenals and forced Chinese officials to establish arsenals in the interior provinces after 1895. The Nationalists began modernizing the ordnance industry as soon as they came to power in 1928. The second Sino-Japanese War forced the massive relocation of ordnance factories into China's interior and led to their rapid expansion and centralization. In the meantime, the Japanese invasion also led to the relocation and reorganization of a central planning bureaucracy and a tremendous expansion of heavy industry. Led and managed by the National Resources Commission, state-owned industry finally achieved a dominant position by the end of the Sino-Japanese War. As Morris L. Bian suggests, the weapons and ammunition made by these Chinese state-owned enterprises "sustained Chinese resistance against the much better equipped Japanese forces during the Sino-Japanese War" (p. 44).

Drawing on extensive research in previously inaccessible archives, Bian proves that the basic institutional arrangement of China's post-1949 state enterprise system, including its bureaucratic governance, management and incentive mechanisms, and provision of social services and welfare to employers, was not derived from the Soviet model as is commonly believed but took shape before the communists came to power. More interestingly, the author specifically discusses the origin of *danwei* (work unit), a unique feature of Chinese state enterprise system, to which virtually all urban residents belonged by the 1950s. Scholars have attributed the *danwei*'s possible origins to various sources: Soviet influence, the communist free supply system, the man-

agement practice of a major bank, the evolution of labor management institutions. Dissatisfied with these explanations, Bian finds that, as an institution, "the post-1949 danwei identity of state-owned enterprises also originated in the Nationalist era" (p. 153).

In explaining modern China's state enterprise system, Bian also presents a new theory to clarify the mechanisms behind institutional changes. Applying the concepts of mental models and resource endowments, the author argues that the changes to China's state enterprise system were both path-dependent and path-independent. Existing institutional endowments exerted a profound impact on China's modern transformation, confining state enterprise governance structure to the organizational model of the formal administrative bureaucracy from its beginning in the 1860s throughout the 1940s. However, the sustained political crisis and the Chinese elite's response to it allowed for more radical institutional change and determined its timing and magnitude. At the same time, the dramatically increased availability of intellectual and ideological resources across national boundaries and the emergence of Chinese technocrats made it possible for Nationalist Party elites to transform their existing mental models and restructure the institutional environment. They adopted a cost accounting system to rationalize business management, launched a work emulation campaign to enhance productivity, and expanded social service and welfare institutions to increase work efficiency. A combination of limited institutional resources, endogenous creation, and exogenous appropriation of institutional resources thus explain the formation of the state enterprise system and its characteristics.

As a major study of wartime China's economic system, Bian's work will certainly further our understanding of developments in twentieth-century China.

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DAVID DER-WEI WANG. *The Monster That Is History: History, Violence, and Fictional Writing in Twentieth-Century China*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. vii, 402. \$24.95.

This book by David Der-wei Wang offers reflections on violence in modern Chinese fiction and history by a leading scholar in the field. The essays are a tribute to the author's impressive learning, ranging in coverage from well-known literary figures such as Lu Xun and Mao Dun to more obscure writers from Taiwan and the People's Republic of China. Wang offers insightful readings of these authors that will be of much interest to specialists in the field. The essays will be less appealing to nonspecialists, who will have to work their way through necessary but tedious descriptions of literary works some of which are of dubious merit, and who are likely to experience some frustration at the author's personalized and, on occasion, arbitrary interpretations. The book has much of value to offer to historical

understanding, but the insights need filtering through critical historical evaluation. Wang shares in a tendency of contemporary literary criticism to substitute fiction for history, and to privilege its fictions as a basis for totalizing claims upon the past.

The book derives its title from a monster (*taowu*) that in ancient legend was endowed with the power to see into the past and the future. "The Monster That Is History" is also the title of chapter six where Wang acknowledges his intellectual debt to a 1957 novel, *A Tale of Modern Monsters* (*Jin taowu zhuan*), published in Taiwan by Jiang Gui, an emigré from the communist mainland. The questions Wang extracts from Jiang's work are the questions that guide his readings of twentieth-century Chinese literature: "How did political calamity and personal trauma during the Great Divide of 1949 affect the imagining and inscribing of history? How can we make sense of a modernity that is so full of irrationalities and contradictions as to preclude any coherent, rational 'employment'? How can we negotiate the relations between historiography, ideology and, the literary representation of scars? And above all, what drives one to seek an ethical and intellectual heritage in a century that purports to break with tradition and reach the end of history?" (pp. 184–185). Running through all these questions is a concern with the intellectual, political, and ethical role of the writer in society.

Regardless of its intellectual inspirations, this book is no simple anticommunist tract but a reflection on violence in the history of the Chinese Revolution as a whole, from its origins in the early twentieth century to its *denouement* in the 1980s. Violence provides the thematic unity of the essays, but Wang's exploration is multidimensional, delving into the representations in fiction of the relationship of violence to other preeminent concerns with justice, suicide, hunger (social and economic violence?), gender, and eroticism. Wang confesses to an autobiographical stake in these studies, and his Taiwanese upbringing no doubt plays a central part in identifying 1949 as the "Great Divide" that lies at the source of his questions. But the essays here do more. As the revolution in its various phases (late Qing to the May Fourth period, Guomindang rule and communist revolution in the 1930s and 1940s, and the post-1949 division are the major phases that are chronicled here) promised an end to violence and injustice by offering resolutions of problems of inequality, oppression and injustice, it is not very surprising that revolutionary violence itself looms large in the failure of revolution to deliver on its promises. Given the entanglements of the revolution in modernity, the question presents itself ultimately as a question of modernity.

Against an ideology-driven tendency presently to separate questions of modernity and revolution, Wang confronts the contradictions between the two, following the examples, among others, of Walter Benjamin, Raymond Williams, and Agnes Heller—albeit in a conservative mode that renders into a monstrosity what they perceived as tragedy. Surprisingly, the author makes lit-

the effort to articulate and theorize this relationship. This may be due, at least in part, to a preoccupation with "being Chinese," which leads him to look for answers to the questions being explored in "civilizational" and cultural legacies. As he speaks through the writers he discusses, moreover, Wang does not seem to be sure whether it is modernity that accounts for the distortion of being Chinese, or Chineseness that has distorted modernity. A suggestion of the former is to be found in his statement that "stories about how Chinese civilization has been maimed and distorted across the century must be told and retold so as to be remembered" (p. 2) as well as in his reference to "a land brutalized by modernity" (p. 36). However, he seems also to concur with writers who found in the Boxer Uprising of 1900 "the barbarism inherent in Chinese civilization" (p. 19) and states that "violence and modern literature" erupted at the same time "as Chinese literati set out to gaze at the bloody consequences of their cultural heritage" (p. 51). These statements may well be a consequence of Wang's identification with the authors he discusses, which includes sharing with them their contradictory attitudes toward being Chinese and modern. They also point to a culturalism that negates his own claims to historicity, which may also account for the privileging of a violence-based version of modern Chinese history against his own insistence that, in its complexity, history may be grasped only as a "network of histories" (p. 8).

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ANDREW E. BARSHAY. *The Social Sciences in Modern Japan: The Marxian and Modernist Traditions*. (Twentieth Century Japan: The Emergence of a World Power, number 15.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 331. \$55.00.

Despite the enormous influence of Marxism on the development of social scientific research in Japan, the English-language scholarship on Japanese Marxism as a body of thought is very thin. Moreover, few works by Japanese Marxists have been translated into English. Many readers will be surprised to learn that Marxism flourished in the late 1920s and early 1930s, survived the violent oppression of leftist thought during the war years, and exploded in the postwar period to become the dominant idiom of social science discourse in the Japanese academy.

The scope of Andrew E. Barshay's book is narrower than the title implies. With one major exception, the theorists are economists. Yamada Moritarō, whose theory of the "semi-feudal" character of modern Japanese agriculture anchored the "Lectures" faction's theory of Japanese capitalism, is the central figure in chapter three. Uno Kōzō's theory of "pure capitalism," which reinvigorated the "Labor-farmer" faction of Marxist economics after the war, is the subject of chapter four. Chapter five examines the theoretical adaptations of the Uno model developed by his "adepts" Ōuchi Tsutomu, Baba Hiroji, and Tamanai Yoshirō during the era

of high economic growth. The last two chapters shift the focus to political thought. Chapter six considers conceptions of civil society advanced by the "Lectures" faction economist Uchida Yoshihiko and Hirata Kiyoaki, a historian of economic thought. The only noneconomist discussed is the intellectual historian Maruyama Masao, whose "modernist" democratic vision is critiqued in chapter seven.

The focus on political economy is defensible, for it was here that Marxist scholars made their greatest empirical and theoretical contributions. Nevertheless, readers should be advised that, given the reach of Marxism in the Japanese academy in the 1950s and 1960s, Barshay does not cover all the social sciences or even all the important Marxist thinkers.

The defining condition of the social sciences in Japan, Barshay argues, was Japan's status, along with Russia and Germany, as a "late" developing capitalist economy. Japanese social scientists saw Japan's difference as more than a matter of temporality; "lateness" decreed traveling an institutional path to modernity that deviated from the Anglo-American norm. Barshay labels this consciousness "developmental alienation," whose legacy was preoccupation with Japan's historical particularity.

I read the book as a linked set of essays, each of which illuminates its subject, often brilliantly. Barshay's singular talent is to plunge deeply into deeply theoretical texts and reveal the inner logic, deftly, cleanly, sympathetically, and also critically. He presents the texts that most capture his imagination, Yamada Moritarō's *Nihon shihonshugi bunsiki* (Analysis of Japanese Capitalism [1934]) and Uno Kōzō's two-volume *Keizai genron* (Principles of Political Economy [1950–1952]), not as laboratory specimens to be dissected and classified but as works of power and imagination to be probed and appreciated for the artistry and passion of their creators. The result is a text of great originality, written with verve and economy, and one that avoids reproducing the abstraction and scholasticism that characterized much of the original discourse.

Not all readers will be satisfied by a book that is so much about texts and so little about contexts and effects. Readers expecting a balance between intellectual history and social history of ideas will be disappointed. A striking sociological fact about Barshay's theorists is that all were professors at Tokyo University, Japan's premier university. Barshay does not examine other vital centers of Marxist thought. Of greater concern, he does not pause to consider the possible ramifications of the institutional insularity of his principal theorists, Yamada and Uno, who completely ignored gender as a category of analysis and paid little attention to Japanese colonialism and Japan's position in East Asian political economy.

Tamanai Yoshirō, the most eclectic of Uno's students, decided to end his teaching career at the University of Ryūkyū, the equivalent of moving from Harvard to Boise State. He moved to the periphery, Barshay tells us, "so that the center of authority and its

structures of control would become more visible" (p. 156). Greater distance from the power centers of the Japanese academy would have yielded a more complicated picture of Marxism in the social sciences.

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LONNY E. CARLILE. *Divisions of Labor: Globality, Ideology, and War in the Shaping of the Japanese Labor Movement*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2005. Pp. x, 292. \$55.00.

Lonny E. Carlile's book is welcome on two counts. First, it provides a lively narrative of the political history of the Japanese labor movement from 1945 to the early 1960s. Second, it puts that history into comparative perspective by interspersing detailed chapters on Japan with chapters on parallel developments in France, Italy, and Germany, to emphasize that the political trajectory of Japanese labor was largely determined by the same global forces that shaped the course of European labor in this period. "Divisions of labor" refers to ideological and organizational divisions within the labor movement and its allied political parties and also to "divisions" in the sense of labor organizations mobilized for "war," be it class war, the struggle for power in the labor movement, or taking sides in the Cold War.

The first two chapters, on European and Japanese labor from 1920 to 1945, respectively, serve as valuable background to the rest of the book. Carlile shows that, as in France, Italy, and Germany, the Japanese labor movement fragmented into rival social democratic, communist, and left-socialist camps in the 1920s, and that, again as in France and Italy, the Japanese left-socialists tried to build a popular front to resist fascism in the 1930s. But as he relates in later chapters, whereas the momentum of the wartime resistance in France and Italy led to "resistance coalition" governments intent upon modifying capitalism in a socialist direction soon after World War II, the Japanese popular front was crushed by the imperial state. Although the idea of a popular front continued to animate the resurgent postwar Japanese labor movement and indeed facilitated the rise of the socialist Katayama Tetsu cabinet in June 1947, the increasingly conservative policies of the American Occupation and the rapid revival of prewar labor splits precluded any possibility of a viable "resistance coalition" in Japan; the Katayama cabinet, which lasted only eight months, was a very brief exception to the pattern of conservative party rule throughout, and well beyond, the period covered by this book. In this respect, labor's postwar political context closely resembled the German case.

As was true in Europe, the intensifying Cold War and the process of economic stabilization (orchestrated in Japan by Joseph Dodge, as he had done in Germany) kept the Japanese labor movement divided over how far to resist the restoration of capitalism and in this context, Carlile's discussion of Japan's biggest labor federation, Sōhyō (National Council of Labor Unions,

formed in July 1950) is particularly illuminating. With the socialist party movement now divided, Sōhyō, under the leadership of the left-socialist Takano Minoru (1950–1954), campaigned relentlessly on behalf of peace and Japanese neutrality in the Cold War. The excesses of this campaign, however, soon sparked a reaction both within Sōhyō and elsewhere in the labor movement, in favor of a more pragmatic approach to advancing labor's interests at a time of quickening economic growth. Takano's successors, Ōta Kaoru and Iwai Akira, thus moved Sōhyō toward accommodation with the restoration of capitalism, primarily through Ōta's invention of the annual industry-wide Shuntō ("spring offensives"), to reach collective bargaining agreements beneficial to labor. Carlile comments that the continuation of Shuntō to this day illustrates "just how spectacularly well adapted it was to the socioeconomic and political environment of Japan from 1955 onward" (p. 233).

A growing "division of labor" in the conventional sense of assigning different functions to different agents, also came into play with the invention of Shuntō. Sōhyō used Shuntō as the means of redistributing the surplus of the "economic pie" that other more conservative labor federations sought to expand through the same kind of productivity movement that arose in European labor movements. That "a Fordist 'politics of productivity'" took root and flourished in Japan was mainly due to the distinctive institutional strength of Japanese enterprise unionism, which fostered cooperation between labor and management in the factories (p. 232). But fearing that Sōhyō's economic pragmatism would make it easier for the government to "reel in" labor politically, Ōta ensured Sōhyō's active support for the Japanese Socialist Party (reunited in 1955 after an earlier split) and its progressive stance on Cold War issues, which he himself advocated, albeit less stridently than Takano. Nevertheless, by the 1960s, when Japan embarked upon "high-speed" economic growth, labor's basic readiness to work within the capitalist framework was pretty much irreversible.

Carlile's book addresses many other key topics too numerous to mention here, and from end to end it reflects the author's impressive research in Japanese and Western sources. It should be of considerable interest not only to specialists in Japanese labor history but also to specialists in European labor history.

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ANDREI LANKOV. *Crisis in North Korea: The Failure of De-Stalinization, 1956*. (Hawai'i Studies on Korea.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. Center for Korean Studies: University of Hawai'i. 2005. Pp. xv, 274. \$48.00.

Since its establishment as a separate state in 1948, North Korea has known only two top leaders, Kim Il Sung and his son, Kim Jong Il. Advocates of "regime change" in North Korea, who currently occupy influ-

ential positions in the Washington policy establishment, might do well to pay attention to the Kim regime's remarkable track record of surviving both internal and external threats to its existence. One of the most serious crises the regime faced, indeed the only public challenge to the Kim regime after the 1950–1953 Korean War, came in the summer of 1956. At that time, a short-lived attempt to replace Kim Il Sung with an alternative leadership, in the wake of the de-Stalinization campaign that was reverberating throughout the communist bloc, was swiftly crushed by Kim and his supporters. Andrei Lankov has written a detailed history of the events surrounding the "August Crisis," based largely on materials from the Soviet archives.

Despite its relatively new archival source material (much of Lankov's research was apparently done in the early 1990s, when the Soviet archives were more accessible than today), Lankov's book, like its subject, seems a relic of an earlier era. For the most part, the book is a top-down "Kremlinology" that attempts to explain the inner workings of the North Korean political elite in the 1950s. There is not even a gesture toward methodological self-consciousness, theoretical framing or situating this study in the broader historical literature, other than a few references to recent Cold War studies. For readers who find contemporary history writing excessively "theoretical," this may be refreshing. For others, the book will seem peculiarly isolated in the post-Cold War historiography of communist states. Since the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the historiography of this region has dug far beneath "high politics" to explore previously inaccessible areas of society, culture, and everyday life. But for Lankov, ordinary North Koreans almost never appear on the scene except in the most abstract way. This is entirely a study of political elites, for the most part a couple of dozen individuals, and to a lesser extent political institutions. Even at that, we do not much get into the minds and motivations of the individuals Lankov describes. In the end, we have only the vaguest notion of the character of Kim Il Sung himself.

To be fair, part of the problem is that Lankov is writing from one remove. He deals not with internal North Korean documents but Soviet documents that offer observations about North Korea and describe conversations with North Korean interlocutors. As Lankov admits, this inevitably gives the book a "Soviet angle" (p. xi), but until North Korean archives themselves are opened—an event that may not happen in the lifetime of any scholar living today—this is the best we can do. And what Lankov finds certainly adds a great deal to our knowledge of North Korean history, including some truly fascinating information.

Lankov fleshes out the well-known outlines of the anti-Kim conspiracy: during and after Kim's extended visit to the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Mongolia in June–July 1956, a number of North Korean leaders, most having backgrounds either in the Soviet Union or the Chinese communist movement, took the de-Stalinization campaign in the USSR as a signal that the in-

creasingly autocratic Kim should be replaced. They approached the Soviet embassy in Pyongyang (and, presumably, the Chinese embassy as well) to win backing for their plans. Events came to a head at the Korean Workers' Party plenum of August 1956, in which the conspirators openly attacked Kim's leadership. Kim's immediate response was to purge his critics, but under intense pressure from the Soviet Union and China, including the personal intervention of Anastas Mikoyan and Peng Dehuai, Kim reinstated some of his opponents. North Korea even embarked on a brief period of "de-Kimization," in which Kim's cult of personality was somewhat reduced and a degree of liberal reform seemed in the air. But this was not to last: by 1959–1960, Kim's critics and many others were again purged, some were executed, and many went into exile in the Soviet Union and China. North Korea swerved sharply off the reformist road, and the cult of Kim returned stronger than ever.

Not surprisingly, the book is particularly insightful about the Soviet role in the crisis. Lankov suggests that, contrary to Kim's later claim that the Soviets backed him throughout the crisis, Moscow was quite ambivalent about supporting Kim versus supporting Kim's opponents. In the end, the Soviets had it both ways, and as a result satisfied neither side: Moscow offered asylum to a number of the pro-Soviet conspirators, over Pyongyang's strong objections, but chose to support Kim's regime despite Soviet reservations, largely for strategic reasons (p. 104). Like the Americans in South Korea, the Soviets preferred the authoritarian Korean leader they knew to the potential instability of a more liberal regime. More provocatively, Lankov proposes that Beijing was interested in replacing Kim with a more pro-Chinese leader, and that the Chinese leadership may even have instigated the entire anti-Kim conspiracy (p. 111). Lankov offers no concrete evidence for the latter assertion, and evaluation of its veracity may have to await further opening of the Chinese archives.

There is much to be learned from this book about North Korean politics in the 1950s, and about the Soviet Union and other Leninist party-states of the time. But the book does not always make for easy reading. Only the most committed Kremlinologist or North Korea watcher will be able to slog through two pages of footnotes on the factional affiliations of Central Committee members (pp. 233–234), for example, without his or her eyes glazing over. It is undoubtedly true, however, that the 1956 crisis and its aftermath established Kim's Manchurian guerilla group at the unquestionable apex of power in the North Korean political system. It was from this point that North Korea definitively abandoned the path of "ordinary" state socialism to become the idiosyncratic family-state that it remains today. In that sense, one may question whether Lankov's subtitle is correct in calling this event a "failure." From Kim's perspective, crushing the only substantial postwar challenge to his rule was a triumph. One could even argue that de-Stalinization in the USSR and Eastern Europe

was a failure in the long run: it was intended to make communism more humane and thus more viable, but it opened the door to reformist trends that eventually led to communism's collapse. North Korea did not take the risk of experimenting with liberalism. The North Korean regime, despite its profound difficulties, remained in power until Kim's death in 1994 and still has an extraordinary hold over its people. If anything, the Kim regime has been all too successful.

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S-21: THE KHMER ROUGE KILLING MACHINE. Directed by Rithy Panh. Produced by Cati Couteau. 2002; color; 105 minutes. Distributed by Icarus Films.

In 1975–1979, close to two million Cambodians were murdered by the Khmer Rouge. One of the prominent centers of the mass murder was the Tuol Sleng prison. Rithy Panh's documentary *S-21* (the code name of the prison) follows a survivor, the painter Vann Nath, as he revisits the prison and talks to another survivor as well as to the former guards and executioners who now serve as guides in the genocide museum into which the prison (formerly a schoolhouse) has been converted. The film is thus devoted to two issues: the mechanics of the slaughter and the current psychological processing of the past.

Pol Pot's regime sought to eradicate all the social circles (prominently including intellectuals) that might resist its agenda of turning the country into an agrarian utopia. Although the basis for the mass murder was not ethnic—in *Le Siècle des Camps* (2000), Joël Kotek and Pierre Rigoulot refer to it not as genocide but as “democide” or “politicide”—it nevertheless shares one of the main features of genocide: according to the testimony of the guards, not only the suspects but also their families were rounded up for extermination. The Khmer Rouge dispensed with the subtlety of distinguishing among actual, potential, and unlikely individual opponents of their rule.

In Tuol Sleng the prisoners were interrogated and forced to write confessions. They were tortured if they refused, until their resistance broke down or until they died. Their confessions had to detail their “crimes” and denounce their “accomplices.” The purpose of the torture was to produce these formalized “documents,” which served the dual purpose of justifying the executions and producing lists of further victims. The latter procedure is a brutally simplified version of the tactics of the Soviet political police (the NKVD) of 1937–1939, dispensing with even a pretense of legal proceedings that used to be staged in the USSR.

When the “documents” were ready, nothing but the work schedule of the executioners stood between the prisoners and their death. Nath survived because the director of the prison liked his style of portraiture and employed him; the other survivor was saved by the regime's overthrow before the guards got round to putting him on a nocturnal transport to the ravine.

The manner of the executions, as explained by one of the perpetrators, shares some of the features of the Nazi and the NKVD methods. A hasty secrecy was kept, to prevent active resistance on the part of the condemned. On the transports to the execution site, children were separated from parents and husbands from wives. At the site, a generator jammed the telltale noises. The people were led out of a hut one by one and killed in what must have been a practiced procedure, without labor saving firearms. Eventually, a strong stench emanated from the mass graves. The guard explains the details meticulously, as if concern for the organization of job took his attention away from its nature.

Among the exhibits presented in the film are Nath's and another prisoners's stories; the narratives of the guards and the lists of instructions that they used to carry out regarding interrogations, torture, the treatment of women prisoners, and death transports (they read these instructions out loud to the camera); the footage of the killing site and the prison, outside and inside its former-classroom cells, its corridors, and its interrogation rooms; Nath's paintings (of blindfolded shackled people in single file on the way to prison, half-naked prisoners lying side by side locked together in the cells, women prisoners robbed of their children); and shots of interrogation rosters, confession records, and prisoner files. In the larger-size photographs, the eyes of the prisoners meet our eyes and are intensely charged with the message that their lips cannot utter. By contrast, there is a strangely dead look on the faces of the former guards.

Indeed, the film not merely presents an assortment of documents but is a document in itself, one that calls for interpretations of the status, attitude, and experience of the guards. When these men (there were no women guards in this prison) committed the atrocities, some were in their early teens, others in their early twenties. They were indoctrinated and terrorized (the mother of the executioner, visibly pained, insists that she had raised her son to be a good man), and in retrospect see themselves as victims of the regime, along with the “secondary victims”—the prisoners. They insist that they had to kill in order not to be killed. Memories of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commissions hover over the scenes in which Nath tries to get the guards to express contrition. These connotations peter out when, instead, the guards' self-justification is joined with their concern for bad karma. In one of the particularly perplexing scenes, a guard reconstructs his treatment of the prisoners in the cells: his threats of clubbing them, his grudging services (bringing them a can for urination or a little water to drink); the punishments meted out (denying them the water or, implicitly, making good on the threats). There is a troubling sense that the young man had enjoyed his power: the re-enactment of this sense of power may still be energizing his censored simulation.

The shots of a former executioner twenty years later, planting rice, sitting in his family circle, holding the

baby who has just been bathed, emphasize that the rank-and-file perpetrators of the Khmer Rouge crimes were not monsters but ordinary people who, under other circumstances, would, like most of us, have led decent quiet lives. In addition to constituting and deploying historical evidence, the film can also stimulate an ethical discussion, in the classroom and beyond.

LEONA TOKER

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CAROLYN BREWER, *Shamanism, Catholicism and Gender Relations in Colonial Philippines, 1521–1685*. (Women and Gender in the Early Modern World.) Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2004. Pp. xxviii, 240. \$79.95.

The topic of women in early modern Southeast Asian history has so far been a neglected area of study. Apart from a handful of studies on the Filipino *baylan/catalonan* (pre-Hispanic priestess), there are no books on Filipino/Indio women in the sixteenth century. In this sense, Carolyn Brewer's book fills a huge vacuum in the field. This is the first comprehensive study of the clash between the *baylan* and the Spanish *conquistadores*/clergy at the point of contact. Spaniards quickly identified the *baylan* as their rivals in their attempts to Christianize the colony. This meant that the power of the priestess/shaman had to be destroyed.

Brewer's book has three aims: "to expose the way indigenous women were represented by the Spaniards, to focus on the hegemonic processes of reconstructing gender relations, and to highlight women's resistance to the changes wrought in the name of enduring Truth of Hispanic Catholicism and colonisation" (p. xxiii). The sources she uses are Spanish (since there are no indigenous accounts of the sixteenth-century encounter), but Brewer uses discourse analysis to interpret texts from a feminist perspective. The book thus explores how Spanish contact has altered definitions of the feminine but it also stresses women's resistance to Spanish Catholicism. It is divided into three parts. Part one focuses on how the early Spanish explorers from Ferdinand Magellan to Miguel Lopez de Legaspi redefined women in terms of a virgin/whore binary using sermons, song, and drama as well as confession, flagellation, and discipline. Part two focuses on the role of female shaman and Spanish attempts to curb her power. Part three is a case study based on an inquisition-style manuscript (called the "Bolinao manuscript") that outlined the methods the Spaniards used to eliminate animist practice in the town of Bolinao in Zambales.

The book is a valuable contribution to women's history. Parts two and three are the strongest sections, where Brewer is at her element making insightful points about the gendered nature of the role of priestess/shaman and women's attempts to resist Spanish colonization/conversion to Christianity. In part two, Brewer convincingly argues that the role of shaman or priestess is a role ascribed to women since men who want to be priests were not barred from the role but must dress up

as women (*asog/bayok*). This transvestism was "temporary," since men only dressed as women if they performed the role of shaman. In this light, the *asog/bayok* do not represent a third gender; transvestism merely reflects the gendering of roles where women were the priestesses, the shamans who connected with the spirit world, and the power wielders in religious animism. It was women who had the status in the spiritual realm, and men had to dress up as women in order to gain such status (p. 136). One important technique used by the Spaniards to break the power and credibility of the *babaylans* was to associate them with all that was satanic, demonic, and pagan.

Part three is a case study based on one manuscript (called the "Bolinao Manuscript," written by Dominicans sent to curb the convert Bolinao). The document is analyzed in terms of what it reveals about *baylan/catalonan* resistance to Catholicism and Spanish attempts to break their religious power.

Brewer's chapters present another side to the history of conversion and resistance in sixteenth-century Philippines that emphasizes the animist practices that endured despite Spanish punitive attempts to destroy them. Previous studies on the sixteenth century have focused on the success of Catholicism and conversion, eliding the strength of indigenous resistance (with the exception of Vicente L. Rafael's *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* [1988]), which interprets translation as a form of resistance). Brewer's book is refreshing not only because it engenders the story of resistance in the sixteenth century but also because it stresses the violent nature of conversion in which women became the prime losers of status and power when they lost religious roles to male Catholic clergy. It does so without romanticizing resistance, making a significant contribution to Philippine studies as it discusses the process in which new official (colonial) discourses of the feminine were imposed despite indigenous resistance.

MINA ROCES

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ARUN AGRAWAL, *Environmentality: Technologies of Government and the Making of Subjects*. (New Ecologies for the Twenty-First Century.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005. Pp. xvi, 325. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

This interesting book is a work of political economy, conceptually informed by Michel Foucault, that examines the making of environmental subjects among the Kumaon villagers in the foothills of the Himalayas in North India. It is part of a series put out by Duke University Press called "New Ecologies for the Twenty-First Century," edited by Arturo Escobar and Diane Rocheleau. The series' editors hope to engender dialogue between experts in different fields about "environment, place, and alternative socionatural orders." Arun Agrawal follows the transformation of environ-

mental identities among the Kumaons over a 150-year period as they relate to politics, technologies, and new forms of knowledge. To better understand the relationship among these factors, the author merges the terms "environmental" and "governmentality" to form the new term "environmentality" that characterizes the changing beliefs of constructed subjects negotiating the space between a hierarchical power structure and an imagined and idealized forest. Resistance to the centralized colonial forest regime before Indian independence and the resulting decentralized community forest councils that emerged provide new ways of imagining and constructing narratives about forests.

Agrawal indicates that the idealized form of the forest under colonial forestry—relying on numbers to comprehend, or construct, the forest—at first excluded people from the definition of a forest. The use of statistics, or numbers, played a key role in helping colonial figures envision and then manage the woodlands of India. It was not the case "that some underlying material reality of a physical entity that we call forests made it inevitable that its representation would assume the final form they did" (p. 62). But the construction of a forest without people led to unrest. In the early 1920s, Kumaons set hundreds of fires as acts of resistance to their exclusion from the forests. Realizing the failure of their heavy-handed, top-down management approach, the government of India created the new Forest Council Rules of 1931. The author traces the decentralization of power from the sole domain of forest officials to a reliance on what he terms "localities" for regulation of forests. He traces the changing understanding in local communities of the environmental subject from resistance to cooperation. The headman, the council of elected representatives, the guards, the residents themselves all formed part of this new web of understanding. This partnership, Agrawal concludes, "led to the birth of the environment" in the Kumaon hills (p. 201). By thus dissolving the old binary divide between state and culture, new environmental identities formed among the Kumaons that turned resistance into participation and partnership. This formed part of a larger movement toward inclusion and community forestry that is spreading around the world and provides, the author argues, an arresting paradigm for new conceptions of nature that foster better governance and more fruitful narratives of environmentality.

The strength of the book lies in its exploration of agency among the local populations and the serious treatment of the culture that environmental regulation affects. To his credit, Agrawal studies with a keen eye the nuances of Kumaon village life to explain how decentralized environmental regulation ramifies over time. Paradoxically, the book inspires many questions that challenge the author's fascinating thesis. Since British imperialism sponsored the first instances of community forestry in India, and since empire foresters set up the local councils, does that mean that community forestry is an imperial construct? Is the author really exploring a "new" phenomenon or rather a legacy

of imperial forestry that has proven to be indispensable? Finally, in light of the illegal logging and corruption that have plagued the Chipko-inspired efforts at local controls (and the continuing rapid deforestation in the Kumaon hills under the very nose of the Kumaon Forest Councils, widely reported in the Indian press) how does the author's argument for the advantages of local, intimate government hold up?

Some problems, unfortunately, detract from the book. What exactly are the "technologies of government" that form such a central part of Agrawal's argument? If he refers not to tools but to techniques, what are those techniques? Outside of his study of the statistics used by colonial administrators, there is little to indicate what the use of these vaguely defined technologies might be. Presumably the technique of decentralization and partnership with locals constitute the "technologies of government." But the reader is left to assume this. Much of the most pertinent material is buried in the endnotes and is not found in the main text. We learn in the endnotes who it is that coined the word "environmentality" (Timothy Luke), its theoretical utility, and how it is used differently by Agrawal. In another endnote we learn why he has joined "governmentality" and "environment," a discussion that should be front and center in the book. Very few references date past 1999, and only a handful reach up to 2002. Much that has been published since then, particularly work on community forestry, would have contributed more balance and less romanticism to the study. But in his attempt to delineate the new identities and narratives produced by decentralization, Agrawal builds on the interdisciplinary approach to "the commons" and "peasant studies" that is so central not only to subaltern studies but to environmental history. This book offers an insightful critique of the assumption that both the state and peasant resistance are monolithic, with unbreachable boundaries, and provides a useful starting point to understand the phenomena of community forestry that governments are implementing around the world.

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PURNIMA BOSE. *Organizing Empire: Individualism, Collective Agency, and India*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 278. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

Purnima Bose's monograph seeks to illuminate the degree to which the vast and well-articulated corporate enterprise of British colonialism was ideologically invested in the figure of the individual and in the ideology of individualism. Conventional imperial histories, especially of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, have been predicated to a significant degree on the Carlylean notion of the great man as the embodiment of his age and as the maker of history. It is worth noting that nationalist narratives have not been exempt from this heroic, isolationist, and emphatically gendered model of historical teleology, as the iconicity of Mohandas K.

Gandhi and Muhammed Ali Jinnah in the Indian and Pakistani contexts demonstrates. Moreover, Bose suggests, even certain forms of feminist nationalism, putatively committed (like anticolonial nationalism) to forms of collective struggle, have been characterized by a similar biographical and charismatic framework. Bose gives us four case studies of individuals (or groups of individuals) as a way of engaging what the ideology of individualism simultaneously enables and obfuscates. As her analysis clarifies, the fetishization of the individual serves all too often to obscure her ideological, institutional, and material links to the larger collectivities—in the form of the colonial state or a broad-based feminist movement—that sustain her.

Bose suggests that individualism is not one but can assume different modes serviceable in different contexts. The “four major types” she identifies include rogue-colonial individualism, embodied in General Reginald E. Dyer, notorious for ordering the massacre of a political assembly of unarmed Indians at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar in 1919; feminist-nationalist individualism, as represented by the Irish suffragette and ally of Indian nationalist feminism Margaret Cousins; heroic-nationalist individualism in the figure of Kalpana Dutt, associated with the revolutionary movement in Bengal in the 1920s; and heroic-colonial individualism, as epitomized by latter-day purveyors of Raj nostalgia. The choice of these individuals is somewhat idiosyncratic; it would have been useful to have been supplied with the logic that governs the inclusion of these figures and excludes other, perhaps more obvious ones. Nonetheless, these choices do have the salutary effect of directing our attention to some figures and movements comparatively neglected by scholars of colonial discourse and by historians of South Asia.

Of the four substantive chapters in the book, the one on Dyer is easily the strongest. Here Bose demonstrates the ways in which the colonial state endeavored to repudiate the Jallianwala Bagh massacre as an anomaly in the British rule of law in the colonies and to stigmatize Dyer as an outlaw figure acting in contravention of acceptable rules of engagement with civilians. Figures like Winston Churchill used forms of rhetoric that sought to establish Dyer as an alien and distinctly un-British figure. Such disavowals masked the close links between policing civilian populations and military action in the colonies and, indeed, the colonial state's fundamental and long-standing reliance on forms of violent control. Such a point is not entirely novel—Patrick Brantlinger has made a similar point in *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830–1914* (1988) about T. B. Macaulay's portrayal of Robert Clive—but it is illustrated with an admirable wealth of detail about parliamentary rhetoric, the constitution of the constabulary in Ireland and in other parts of the empire, and the ambiguous status of civilian and military law in the colonies.

One of the most noteworthy achievements of this chapter, as of the book as a whole, is the attention that it devotes to the traffic between the different colonies

of the British empire, especially Ireland and India. Bose is acute about the significance of Dyer's participation in counterinsurgency in Ireland in the early part of his career to his actions at Amritsar. But if Ireland was a training ground for counterinsurgent action, it was also, as Bose demonstrates, a source of inspiration for many Bengali nationalists of the Jugantar revolutionary/“terrorist” movement who eagerly followed the doings of Irish nationalists, including those involved in the Easter Rising of 1916. The chapter on Dutt underlines the gendered and ideological limits of this movement, which also drew on emphatically colonial notions of martial prowess and heroic masculinity and on Hindu patriarchal notions of gendered sacrifice and familial hierarchy in its resistance to colonial rule. Bose notes Dutt's failure to analyze the limits of such “heroic-individual nationalism,” despite the intellectual resources of the Marxism to which she turned during her imprisonment.

Bose's analysis of the logic of individualism in these chapters is assured and persuasive. But her deployment of individualism as an interpretive grid in the other two chapters rests on more uncertain ground. While full of absorbing details about Cousins's early life, the chapter devoted to her lacks focus, and it is not clear how individualism serves to illuminate the Irish and Indian feminist movements of which Cousins was a part or the forms of “feminist solidarity across colonial sites” (p. 75) that her Irish and Indian histories embody. Bose suggests that notwithstanding her admirable willingness to be a “witness” on the Indian feminist scene rather than a more familiar female paternalist figure, Cousins was nonetheless unable to shake off a self-aggrandizing individualism in the Irish context, bypassing the contributions of her collaborator Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington in her account of the suffrage movement. This seems more than a trifle forced, especially since an endnote tells us that Sheehy-Skeffington was similarly mute about her association with Cousins. This seems evidence of a mutual quarrel rather than of an investment in individualism on Cousins's part.

The last chapter (on heroic-colonial individualism) strains to bring together a motley set of materials—a story by Rudyard Kipling, a novel by Ruth Praver Jhabvala, a volume of reminiscences of British life in India edited by Charles Allen, and the publications of the British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia—though not always convincingly. Bose indicts these texts and figures for glossing over the violence of colonial rule and for promoting a nostalgia for the Raj as a benevolent and enlightened institution. This may well be the case, but the objects of Bose's critique are too slight to excite the ire that she directs against them. The somewhat ad hoc character of this chapter mars what is otherwise a sober and useful contribution to studies of empire.

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OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

ANNE SALMOND. *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog: The Remarkable Story of Captain Cook's Encounters in the South Seas*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. xxii, 506. \$30.00.

This well-written, remarkably detailed, and richly illustrated account of James Cook's three voyages of exploration in the Pacific revolves around the metaphor in its title. Ten crewmen from the consort ship *Adventure* were killed and consumed by Maori at Whareunga Bay or Grass Cove in New Zealand on December 17, 1773, during Cook's second expedition. The warrior Kahura led the attack. As the *Adventure* had become separated from Cook's flag ship, *Resolution*, six weeks earlier, the British explorer did not learn of the incident until he was back in England. Cook's return to the area in 1777 led to expectations of reprisal on all sides. British seamen wanted revenge; the Maori, with their understanding of honor, insult, and authority, expected it. When Cook as enlightened gentleman ordered the painting of Kahura's portrait rather than his execution, members of his crew expressed their dissatisfaction through a mock trial that resulted in the convicting, killing, and eating of a sailor's dog for cannibalistic tendencies. There was some measure of satisfaction for those of the lower deck in this metaphorical play. According to Anne Salmond, however, Cook's inaction marked a fatal turning point in relationships with his men and with Polynesians.

Cook has been the subject of innumerable biographies. Studies of his Pacific voyages have tended to focus on the heroic, scientific, and imperial features of those travels and with little attention to the complexities of island contexts. A distinctive feature of the Salmond book is the fronting of Island peoples. We learn of the reverence accorded the Ra'iatean priest Tupaia in New Zealand and of his celebrity in many other areas of Polynesia where he accompanied Cook. There are Hitihi of Borabora and Mai of Ra'iatea and Huahine who served as cultural translators for Cook on his second voyage. The political rivalry between chiefly lines in Tahiti and the dominance of Borabora over the Leeward areas of the Society group heavily informed Cook's interactions with the people of these islands. Given the scope of this work, the author's attention to cultural contextualization is impressive. Salmond explains the thievery that plagued all three voyages in eastern Polynesia through reference to Hiro, the deity whose cunning appropriations of worldly wealth inspired popular emulation. At the same time, Salmond moves beyond the sensationalism and hyperbole to examine different notions of property, propriety, and reciprocity that often caused tension and violence. She also reminds readers that public love making and cannibalism were not exclusive to the Pacific but had precedent in the social practices of European port cities and the survival strategies of shipwrecked British seamen, respectively.

A broad survey of this sort can come at the expense

of a more probing cultural analysis or a more explicit positioning amidst extant historiographic debates. An alternative but unacknowledged analysis of the violence at Whareunga Bay has stressed seasonal limitations on resources and competition among rival Maori groups as contributing factors. As Alfred Gell argues, the Tahitian woman who bared herself to Joseph Banks in 1769 might be better understood as not honoring him but rather exhibiting a full-body tattoo that served as a marker of her maturity, identity, and immunity from ritual violations of exchange involving women and unrelated men. The author does not equivocate, however, on the causes of Cook's death. Salmond charts a middle course in the debate between anthropologists Marshall Sahlins and Gananath Obeyesekere over the death of Cook. While conceding the importance of rituals, genealogies, local politics, and relational associations, Salmond sees in Cook's voyages an escalating pattern of violence toward Island peoples that included chiefly hostage taking. This later strategy, which had led to plots against Cook's life in Ra'iatea and Tonga, finally failed him at Kealakekua Bay on the island of Hawai'i.

Salmond reminds readers that understanding Cook's death also requires a careful cross-cultural analysis of ship as well as shore. The resentment of the marines with the heavy discipline imposed on them during the course of the third voyage, the public hostility between Cook and their commanding officer Lieutenant John Williamson, and Williamson's retreat from the Hawaiian attack on Cook all register prominently in the explanation of the British commander's demise. Indeed, Cook appears in the pages of this book as not so much heroic as beleaguered by the stress of his three voyages and the near-constant and varied challenges to his authority by officers, crew, and accompanying scientists as well as Melanesian and Polynesian chiefs.

The author's ultimate identification of Cook as "our ancestor" is at once persuasive and provocative. Contact with the Euro-American world continues to serve as the limiting, often distorting filter through which the histories of these islands are rendered. The richness, complexity, depth, and distinctiveness of Pacific pasts that exist apart from this contact still await a much wider recognition. Salmond's fine study helps make that acknowledgment more possible.

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GLYNDWR WILLIAMS, editor. *Captain Cook: Explorations and Reassessments*. (Regions and Regionalism in History.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 266. \$75.00.

To this anthropologist reviewer, the prospect of learning more about Captain Cook—whose death recently became a cause célèbre when Marshall Sahlins and Gananath Obeyesekere debated how the perception of Cook affected his being killed—was a welcome opportunity. Given that interest in Cook and his voyages is

not going away (a claim that is made in this collection more than once), a volume such as this one is a timely and valuable contribution to the understanding of an era, of some of the events of that era, and of some of the consequences—direct and indirect—of those events. It seems that there is a little something here for everyone: those interested in the matter of Cook's death, Cook biographers, and historians of eighteenth and nineteenth-century European thought. That is the good news. The bad news is that many of these essays seem only remotely related to each other, and the connections to Cook at times seem almost spurious.

The collection begins biographically, with attention to Cook's earlier years, before culminating with interpretations of his final voyage. Rosalin Barker and Richard C. Allen provide some remarkable background on Cook's youth, although Allen's essay falls short of providing any clear understanding of the degree of influence of Quakerism on Cook. Andrew S. Cook makes the ironic observation that the Royal Society claimed Cook more than Cook claimed them. It is interesting that, even while he was alive, people wanted to be associated with Cook; of course, this was also true after his death, a point made in several essays.

A montage of themes qualifies as coverage of Cook's voyages. Stuart Murray's overstated reminder that the texts generated by these voyages cannot be taken at face value does not fare well in comparison to Daniel Clayton's nicely crafted essay on how the Enlightenment operated both as cause and effect in the construction of documents such as logs, journals, and published accounts. In making her argument that there was a degree to which Cook "went native" by his third voyage, Anne Salmond provides what might easily have been an epigraph for the volume: "Tales of the European discovery of the world are still shaped by imperial attitudes and accounts of the great voyages of exploration are often written as epics in which only the Europeans are real" (p. 77). Besides providing insightful background for understanding Cook's mind(set) on his third voyage (especially for those of us interested in *Sahlins v. Obeyesekere*), Salmond's essay sets up nicely the piece by Pauline Nawahineokala'i King, which is a call to let Native Hawaiian voices be heard in the discussion of what Cook has meant to Hawaiians. Sadly, the second half of the book includes very little of what Hawaiians have to say about Cook—or even very much about Cook himself, for that matter.

John Robson compares the charts of Captains Bougainville and Cook, concluding that Cook was the superior cartographer, but the majority of this not-easy-to-read chapter is about Bougainville rather than Cook. Even so, Cook is not essentially irrelevant, as he is in Robin Inglis's description of post-Cook voyages undertaken by France and Spain. Inglis's essay is certainly well written and compelling, but one wonders how it fits into this volume other than the fact that it describes "post-Cook" voyages. Likewise, Simon Werrett's contribution describes the Russian response (or, better said, the lack of response) to Cook's voyages in and

around territory that was at least nominally Russian. By the end of the essay, however, the reader knows much more about eighteenth and nineteenth-century Russia than about Captain Cook. Need this be a problem? Not necessarily, but it does mean that readers who want to know primarily about Cook will have to be somewhat selective in their reading and avail themselves of the book's more-than-adequate index.

Werrett's essay does highlight the fact that Cook was a hero in many parts of the world, not just Hawai'i and not just Britain. Recalling Salmond's observation above and King's prompt to hear the Hawaiian voice, one wonders whether a pan-European adulation of Cook has somehow been projected onto Hawaiians. The question is tantalizingly implied in many places throughout this collection but never directly asked, let alone answered. Indeed, to begin the final section of the book, "The Legacy of Captain Cook," Sujit Sivasundaram reverts to the form Salmond warns against and attends to how Europeans used Cook to further their own ends, in this case by showing how the death of Cook was used to lend profundity and meaning to the death of the Reverend John Williams, sixty years and thousands of miles removed from Cook's own death on Hawai'i.

The two concluding essays invoke anthropology—implicitly and explicitly—as the would-be friend and ally of the historian. Andre Lambert recounts his involvement in retracing part of one of Cook's voyages on a near-authentic eighteenth-century ship, noting "I learned more in four weeks about the working and crewing of a wooden sailing ship than I could have picked up in a lifetime of shore-bound study" (p. 254). This endorsement of participant observation as a research technique comes after editor Glyndwr Williams wistfully recognizes the shortcomings of anthropology as he provides some perspective on the still-vibrant interest in studies of Captain James Cook: "At one level it is a disturbing sight for historians who sometimes take it for granted that anthropology and its practitioners will come to their aid in situations not susceptible to the conventional process of historical investigation" (p. 241). What Williams is referring to, of course, is the *Sahlins v. Obeyesekere* debate. In what turns out to be a kind of reflexive irony, Williams notes that the anthropologists are not as helpful as they might be. Of course, one of the reasons is that anthropologists cannot agree on how historical texts ought properly to be read. In the end, anthropologists are of little use to historians because historians have been of little use to anthropologists.

Certainly this collection of essays does not provide a definitive answer in the debate over the death of Captain Cook, although there is an identifiable pro-Obeyesekere (well, at least anti-Sahlins) perspective, including King's reminder that Cook's favor among Hawaiians has to be seen as being informed by the fact that Kamehameha's eventual dominance had its roots in his relationship with Cook (pp. 106–107). Then again, a definitive answer is almost certainly an unreasonable ex-

pectation. This volume does provide important information for those following the debate, as well as those interested in Cook's life. Ultimately it will be a welcome addition to a history that is still being constructed, deconstructed, and reconstructed.

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NOENOE K. SILVA. *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*. (American Encounters/Global Interactions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. A John Hope Franklin Center Book. 2004. Pp. x, 260. \$21.95.

Noenoe K. Silva's purpose in this provocative new book is to take apart what she calls "[o]ne of the most persistent and pernicious myths of Hawaiian history": that the "Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) passively accepted the erosion of their culture and the loss of their nation" (p. 1). The myth's origins, she tells us, can be traced back to Captain James Cook's arrival in 1778 and the first Western accounts of contact with the islands. Throughout the nineteenth century, white colonizers produced more, and elaborate, narratives of Hawaiian depravity and their own superiority, justifying their seizure of land, wealth, and power while subjugating the native peoples. In the last century, "mainstream historians" fortified the myth, basing their works almost exclusively on English-language testimonies of the *haole* (white colonizers) while, according to Silva, they studiously avoided the wealth of materials written in the Hawaiian language (p. 2).

On one level this book functions as a corrective: it is a bold and unapologetic revisionist history. Silva wants to demonstrate that every act of political, economic, religious, cultural, and even linguistic oppression was met with Kanaka Maoli resistance. Thus, Cook's killing in 1779 was "resistance to the attempted subjugation of the Mō'i (ruler) of Hawai'i Island" (p. 2). The "Bayonet Constitution" of 1887, in which the white oligarchy stripped the native monarch of his executive powers, begat the violent Wilcox Rebellion. In 1895, after a native coup attempt failed to dislodge the provisional government, and the deposed Queen Lili'uokalani was arrested and imprisoned, she communicated with her people by composing songs that were smuggled out of her palace prison and published in a Hawaiian-language newspaper. In 1897, when President William McKinley submitted a treaty for Hawaii's annexation to the U.S. Senate, the Kanaka Maoli responded with a petition signed by approximately ninety-five percent of the native population.

As influenced as the narrative is by the works of Edward Said, Michel Foucault, Dipesh Chakrabarty, and Partha Chatterjee, among others, it settles finally on the rather old-fashioned principle that the truth is in the archives. The evidentiary foundation for much of the book is drawn from more than seventy-five newspapers published in the Kanaka language between 1834 and 1948. These sources are presented and analyzed along

with poems, songs, chants, tales, and hula performance: an impressive constellation of discursive strategies employed over a generations-long struggle. That said, it must be made clear that Silva has given us (as the reader should expect) a history that does more than simply fill gaps by bringing into the mainstream the voices of the Kanaka Maoli or provide a simplistic tit-for-tat account of white oppression and native response. Borrowing from the work of Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman, Silva argues that the study of these newspapers, songs, poetic forms, and performances (*mele*) is especially important "in situations of colonization, where histories from generations past [have been] produced largely or even solely from records of the colonizers" (p. 182). *Mele* became a "genre of resistance to cultural imperialism" (p. 184). Since the time print media first appeared in the islands, *mele* carried vital messages of opposition and kept native Hawaiian solidarity and identity alive in the face of rising American hegemony. Its practitioners were skilled and highly regarded by their communities; many of them were women. *Mele* expressed a vision of women in traditional Hawaiian society as wielders of power, as individuals who lived adventurous rather than passive domestic lives. Indeed, by the late nineteenth century, they were the primary means through which women were able to express significant political views. According to Silva, *mele* were indispensable to native resistance in at least one other way: however expressed or performed, they contained multiple levels of meaning that were unknown to and unknowable by white foreigners (p. 184).

This is an important book, but it contains several troubling elements. Silva's attention to native Hawaiian women spins off into hagiography when it comes to Lili'uokalani. Important questions go unanswered. What should we know of the native Hawaiians, significant in both number and influence, who did not resist American colonialism? Native Hawaiians were not a monolithic class, so an important discourse within this community is neglected. Similarly, white Hawaiians were not uniformly enemies of Hawaiian independence. Many stood in opposition to English, French, and German as well as American colonialism, a fact virtually unacknowledged here. The author's moral indignation is apparent throughout the book. Where such feelings are legitimate (as when she reveals that it is possible to receive a doctorate in history specializing in Hawaii without learning the Hawaiian-language or using Hawaiian language sources), the effect is salutary. But where Silva characterizes Hawaii not as a state but as the site of U.S. "military occupation" (pp. 2, 9, 202–203), the effect is more polemical than historical.

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

FRED ANDERSON and ANDREW CAYTON. *The Dominion of War: Empire and Liberty in North America, 1500–2000*. New York: Viking. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 520. \$27.95.

Fred Anderson and Andrew Cayton seek to challenge a long-standing master narrative that casts the United States and its colonial predecessors as peace-loving states that resorted to wars only in defense and to preserve freedom. Inverting this familiar story, they press the case that the “dominion of war” has been an active tool of expansion and empire. They seek to make readers rethink wars of conquest waged in the name of liberty and republicanism by examining how wars so often breed unintended consequences.

Nearly fifty years ago, the historian William Appleman Williams also argued that empire was an “American way of life,” and his interpretation influenced a generation of foreign policy historians. Like Williams, whose work they acknowledge, Anderson and Cayton plumb the contradictions inherent in the supposedly benevolent extension of imperial power. Whereas Williams was concerned with economic forces and the ideology of the “open door,” however, Anderson and Cayton focus on the centrality of wars of conquest over land and resources. And where Williams grounded his interpretation in the somewhat impersonal forces of production and commerce, Anderson and Cayton emphasize the role of individuals, focusing each chapter around the biography of a particular soldier-politician: Samuel de Champlain, George Washington, Andrew Jackson, Antonio López de Santa Anna, Ulysses S. Grant, Arthur and Douglas MacArthur, and Colin Powell. (There is also a chapter on the anti-soldier William Penn.)

This emphasis on the special historical role of less than a dozen commanders casts the book as a rather traditional, top-down political-military approach to history. Indeed, the authors are so focused on the leaders-warriors who built the U.S. empire that people who resisted that empire are barely visible. The complicated on-the-ground dynamic between conquest and resistance in provoking imperial contradictions remains at the level of generality. Only a chapter on Mexico’s General Santa Anna views the U.S. empire from the West or the South, although still articulated through the biography of a military leader, and provides an extended, concrete study of how the terms and language that build historical perspectives depend on geographic and social positionality. This same chapter explores most thoroughly the conundrum of an empire of “liberty,” which was dedicated to the preservation of slavery and the aggressive acquisition of neighboring lands and peoples.

If somewhat traditional in its U.S.-centered, top-down focus, however, the book is anything but celebratory in message. Although the authors avoid an overly didactic tone, ominous parallels to present dilemmas continually present themselves. Anderson and Cayton, for example, argue that the triumphalism of British

power after the French defeat in North America in 1763 cautions how a seemingly unrivaled power can generate its own undoing. They present the American Revolution, as manifested in the western territories, as a war motivated by land hunger and “ethnic cleansing.” Territories won in the Mexican War, they argue, augmented the pressures that led to civil conflict and the rather rapid break-up of the victorious order. Indeed, in chapter after chapter, the authors present a rather consistent pattern by which wars of conquest justified as spreading “freedom”—whether in the backcountry of colonial Pennsylvania, the French and Indian War, the revolution, the war with Mexico, the various interventions of the twentieth century, or the current war in Iraq—undermined the stability of the very order they had presumably been waged to secure.

Anderson and Cayton’s history, then, is one about the broad goals of commanders and the consequences of their wars. The authors seek to show the fleeting nature of victory; wars themselves disrupt, rather than solidify, established patterns. They see the persistent claim to spread republicanism and freedom as being a constant corollary of, not an opposition to, military conquest and imperialism. Yet, at the same time, this is no muckraking account of U.S. soldier-statesmen, who are generally presented doing deeds they believe to be virtuous but within larger forces (demographic, economic, strategic, technological) that unfold beyond their understanding or control.

This book seems strongest when discussing the pre-twentieth-century era when wars clearly sought imperial control of land. Twentieth-century wars and military interventions, the authors point out, are often cast as “anti-imperial.” Sections that deal with the War of 1898, the Caribbean interventions, World War I and World War II, Korea, Vietnam, and Iraq provide a broad survey rather than a clear interpretive stance. The chapter on Colin Powell, though well fitting the book’s larger themes, appears almost as an afterthought.

Still, a single volume that spans five centuries cannot do everything, and Anderson and Cayton’s biographical approach provides an artful framework for combining sweeping scope with engaging detail. The authors offer a provocative and well-written challenge to American exceptionalism that will be both useful to scholars and accessible to a broad public, including those interested in military history.

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ELIZABETH MANCKE. *The Fault Lines of Empire: Political Differentiation in Massachusetts and Nova Scotia, Ca. 1760–1830*. (New World in the Atlantic World.) New York: Routledge. 2005. Pp. xi, 214. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$27.95.

In this excellent book, Elizabeth Mancke reminds us of the differences between British Atlantic colonies founded in the seventeenth century and those acquired

by war and treaty in the eighteenth, such as Nova Scotia and Canada. The governments of these later colonies "were established after the Glorious Revolution (1688–1689) and development of the Crown-in-Parliament, and thus colonists could not claim a constitutional autonomy from Parliament and an allegiance to the Crown alone in the way the people in the older colonies did" (p. 5). Mancke shows how this fundamental distinction shaped the two communities of Machias, at the far northern edge of Massachusetts, and Liverpool, on the south shore of Nova Scotia, in the last four decades of the eighteenth century. The case is interesting because these two British Atlantic communities were very similar in terms of founding populations and geographic location. The author examines in illuminating detail patterns of land distribution, structures of local government, systems of church organization, and responses to the American Revolution. In so doing, she explains why Machias ended up joining the challenge of the thirteen colonies to the novel (for them) claims of British parliamentary power whereas Liverpool accepted a continuing existence within the crown-in-parliament empire. What appears to be a local study of two communities, which had a combined population of only 1,832 people in 1790, turns out to be a monograph that deals with some of the most significant features of the British Atlantic world.

Mancke's case study is even more ambitious than that because she proposes that the political divergence between Machias and Liverpool was an early sign of the parting of the ways in the British Atlantic world that led to the development of two derivative, but contrasting, political cultures in the United States and Canada. Thus at all stages in her study she discusses big historiographical and conceptual issues in Atlantic, Canadian, and American history. With consummate skill she shows how the original differences between older and newer British colonies worked out on the ground in this corner of North America. She deserves unstinting praise for the massive amount of local research and for her rigorous analysis of the material she has unearthed. It is a considerable achievement to have placed these two small communities so effectively in the larger Atlantic context.

To honor the spirit in which this fine book is written, it is worth opening up three issues raised by the author's commentary. First, Mancke argues that the Nova Scotian townships were politically impotent and isolated from each other because the imperial authorities in Halifax and London had curbed efforts to reproduce New England-style local autonomy. Yet she notes in passing that there was "a colony wide religious revival" (p. 124) at the same time as the Revolutionary War. The public discourse in Liverpool and the other Nova Scotian townships was more animated by religion than politics in these years. Why was a colony-wide religious movement a cultural possibility in Nova Scotia by the late 1770s and 1780s when a colony-wide political movement was not? Mancke's argument that weak town government in Liverpool was unable to protect the

Congregational establishment as well as it could be protected in Machias is insightful and relevant but too limited to capture the full significance of the religious turmoil. Second, the British colonies in the Caribbean fall into the earlier group of Atlantic colonies, yet they did not opt for independence in 1776. Perhaps geographical and strategic location in the Atlantic system, and the economic predicaments of various colonies in the great arc of British possessions from Newfoundland to the Caribbean, played larger roles than Mancke allows with her sharp focus on political differentiation. The possibility that situational and economic factors had some impact on Nova Scotia's response to the revolution, as they did in the Caribbean colonies, is certainly suggested by Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy's *An Empire Divided: The American Revolution and the British Caribbean* (2000). Third, if the divergence between American and Canadian political culture is to be traced to this period, then the French Atlantic world needs to be brought into the picture. Crown government through appointed officials in the French colony of Canada for a hundred years after the 1660s, followed by thirty years of British military governors after 1760, and then privileged gubernatorial and executive power into the 1820s, had a more direct impact on the shaping of Canada's statist orientation than did developments in the thinly populated townships of Nova Scotia.

That such big issues about the Atlantic world, and the origins of Canadian and American politics, can emerge from a reading of Mancke's book is a tribute to its scholarly richness.

GORDON T. STEWART
Michigan State University

C. L. HIGHAM and ROBERT THACKER, editors. *One West, Two Myths: A Comparative Reader*. Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press. 2004. Pp. xxi, 183. \$44.95.

This book looks at the vast topic of the interrelationship between geography and the nation state as it applies to western North America. As editors C. L. Higham and Robert Thacker note in their introduction, the North American West had, on the one side, the forces of geography and climate, while, on the other side, the powerful forces of the "consolidating modern state" brought history, policy, and law to bear on the land and the people who lived there. In the process the region was divided: by an east-west border, by historical memory, and by national mythology.

This book derives from a conference, and such volumes always face a dilemma. The desire to be inclusive and eclectic at a conference leads to an interesting variety of speakers and attracts an audience. The same eclecticism in the published work can, too often, yield a disconnected series of articles, papered over by desperate editors in an equally desperate-sounding introduction. In this instance, however, the work displays a pleasant and intellectually satisfying level of continuity. Of course, no single work could possibly cover the broad questions raised by a theme involving the inter-

play of region, nation, and geography. The reality is that the vast majority of essays in this work focus on one important component of the imposition of the two national states upon the land. The result, whether by luck or by design, is a well-connected set of articles. Thus, much of the book can be read as a single, coherent analysis, a rarity in postconference publications.

The period from the late 1860s through the end of the nineteenth century was the time of transition from the geographic landscape of the buffalo hunt and the loose boundaries of tribal influence to the modern West of two nation states and, at least in early form, of agricultural settlement. In these years, two railways—the Union Pacific and Canadian Pacific—cut across the region. The North West Mounted Police and U.S. Army arrived along with a range of surveyors, Indian agents, and others. All of these events started to make real the national boundary or “medicine line.” This crucial period is the real focus of the volume.

The theme of the border and its meaning is introduced by two general pieces early in the work. Elliot West discusses the general relationship among a common landscape, regional identity, and national mythology. In an excellent essay Donald Worster looks at “development myths” in both Canada and the United States. He ranges over the grand historical themes on both sides of the border, noting the way in which the state began to redefine the region as two distinct portions of transcontinental nations, each with its own values, history, and sense of superiority. He also notes the irony that “both myths ended up in exactly the same place—in a powerful industrial-capitalist society ransacking the land for raw materials,” although they got there “with different memories of where they had been” (p. 29). These twin themes of the imposition of modern capitalism and the separate historical myths underlying the transition set the stage for the more specialized essays that follow.

In a set of closely related articles, Beth LaDow, Michael Hogue, Sheila McManus, Molly Rozum, and Peter Morris display remarkable continuity as they analyze the ways in which the hardening of the border affected local communities. The overall pattern is fascinating. The border was an imposition, dividing bands and separating bands from hunting grounds. It was also a useful tool. When things got awkward on one side of the line, it was convenient to use this emergent division to thwart enemies and gain breathing room. Thus Sitting Bull fled to Canada after his defeat of George Armstrong Custer. Métis leader Louis Riel fled south to avoid a warrant for his arrest after the troubles in Red River. The Cree and other tribes ignored the border when possible, used it when useful, and attempted to adapt to rapidly changing situations in terms of food supply and government pressure. Likewise, as Morris demonstrates, the new settlers to the region also formed innumerable cross-border links. When it was helpful they raised the flag of nationalism, and when it was expedient they happily ignored the flag and the border.

Two recurrent themes appear in these essays. First, the people—whether indigenous or European—were far from passive in the face of the border and the pressures of the modern state. They attempted to maximize their interests and increase maneuvering room whenever possible. Second, despite these efforts, the relentless process of state sovereignty and modern capitalism ground away older traditions. Perhaps one of the most telling quotes in the volume comes from an Assiniboin chief in Montana in 1880. “All of you from Canada—Crees, Blackfoot, Sarcees—I count you as one . . . I blame you for the loss of our cattle and I want you to give us ten of your best horses as payment” (pp. 90–91). The “Canadian” Indian was becoming perceived as an outsider.

South of the border, the relentless clashes between army and Natives broke the spirit and power of the local tribes. In Canada, the failure of the 1885 rebellion and the execution of Riel, Big Bear, and others signaled the real assertion of state control. On both sides of the border, the diminished buffalo herds and the arrival of the railway changed the nature of the region. By the end of the century “the west” had been divided and incorporated into its respective modern nation states.

Overall, the strong continuity and the individual quality of the essays means that this volume adds meaningfully to our understanding of this important period in history. I have only two quibbles and both, to some extent, flow from the origins of the work as conference essays. First, the title does not really reflect the emphasis of the volume. This work is largely a history of the border in its formative years. Second, there are a couple of essays that are effectively orphans, with little or no real connection to the subject of the work.

DOUG OWRAM

University of Alberta

GERALD F. REID. *Kahnawà:ke: Factionalism, Traditionalism, and Nationalism in a Mohawk Community*. (The Iroquoians and Their World.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. xxiv, 235. \$49.95.

The European invasion of the Americas that began more than five centuries ago has always forced indigenous societies to choose between confronting or cooperating with the newcomers. Native peoples' options narrowed once Euro-Americans became numerically dominant and began to fashion systems of attempted control of indigenous communities. Nowhere have these choices been more complex than in the Iroquois settlements of what is now Quebec. There the intrusive policies of European and colonial governments were reinforced by campaigns by Christian missionaries to convert the people of the longhouse, who established reserve communities where the Christian, usually Roman Catholic, presence was powerful. One of these settlements, Kahnawà:ke (earlier known usually to non-Natives as Caughnawaga), on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River across from Montreal, has played an especially prominent role in Native-Canadian govern-

ment relations since the middle of the twentieth century. During a series of confrontations, the most dramatic of which was Kahnawà:ke's support of its sister community Kanehsatà:ke in what was known as the Oka crisis of 1990, Kahnawà:ke was noteworthy both for the militancy of its response and the internal divisions that bedeviled the community.

Gerald F. Reid has used a combination of archival resources, oral history, and his own observations while working for the community to unravel the nineteenth and early twentieth-century origins of both the militancy and factionalism of Kahnawà:ke. He finds that divisions began to emerge in the mid-nineteenth century as pressure from non-Natives on community resources, especially land and forests, provoked different answers as to how to react to the governments that acted principally in the interests of the newcomers. By the 1870s an obvious division existed between those who favored assertiveness toward government and non-Natives, especially males who married into the community and lived on the reserve, and those who preferred a less confrontational approach to the problems that newcomer pressure created.

Parallel splits developed subsequently over whether to cooperate with or resist the Canadian government's insistence on the use of elective governmental institutions under Canada's Indian Act rather than traditional, clan-based chiefs for life. Such divisions reflected factors such as differences in age and material wealth, and occasionally Canadian political partisan loyalties as well. In the early twentieth century disagreements emerged over Canada's insistence that education on the reserve be delivered by an order of Catholic female religious, followed by the arrival of the so-called Thunderwater Movement and its associated Council of the Tribes, both of which enjoyed substantial, though certainly not unanimous, support at Kahnawà:ke. Finally, in the 1920s the Iroquois Longhouse movement, which emphasized traditional spirituality and governance, began to make inroads. By the middle of the twentieth century, Kahnawà:ke was divided between those who inclined to a confrontational stance toward the Canadian government and those who were more cooperative. The less amenable group, whose members were probably the more numerous of the two divisions, was itself split between those who still supported Christianity and those who preferred the Longhouse.

Reid's careful study both contributes substantially to our understanding of this complex society and simultaneously disappoints. Its major strength is that it persuasively revises the view put forward a decade ago by Gerald Alfred in *Heeding the Voices of Our Ancestors: Kahnawake Mohawk Politics and the Rise of Native Nationalism* (1995), an interpretation that stressed the twentieth-century emergence of a traditionalist, nationalistic movement that swept the community. Given the recurrent inability of Kahnawà:ke to speak with one strong voice during its standoffs with government since the 1970s, Reid's conclusion that Alfred paints his picture "with strokes too broad to reveal the fine grain of

the community's internal political and cultural dynamics" seems plausible (p. 186). However, if Reid provides a fuller, more complex portrait, he also leaves the reader unsatisfied in a variety of ways. For one thing, he neglects to use the doctoral dissertation of University of Ottawa historian Jan Grabowski, which would have thrown considerable light on the eighteenth-century background of Kahnawà:ke. He also does not make much use of oral history evidence until his sixth chapter, which deals with the emergence of the Longhouse movement in the 1920s. It seems unlikely that there would not be community accounts of some of the late nineteenth-century differences over land and governance under the Indian Act that would have amplified the archival sources. There are also numerous petty errors concerning Canadian politics and Indian legislation. Finally, Reid tends to treat traditional or nationalistic points of view as nonproblematic—or at least not problematized—in contrast to "progressive" or "reform" points of view that invariably spark a systematic effort to account for them in demographic or economic terms. These are not so much criticisms as mild laments that a fine account could have been even better.

J. R. MILLER

University of Saskatchewan

JENNIFER HENDERSON, *Settler Feminism and Race Making in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2003. Pp. x, 288. \$60.00.

The continued blurring of academic disciplines has enriched historical analysis in numerous ways. Contributions from geography and psychology have added social scientific perspectives to the understanding of the past, and engagement with research in linguistics, philosophy, and literature has contributed theoretical, conceptual, and methodological insights. While the increase in theory-based historical investigations has weakened the historical profession's contact with nonacademic audiences, these approaches have tied the discipline more closely with other fields. Historians are, as a consequence, exploring a broader range of analytical literature and offering more complex and comprehensive portraits of the past.

Interdisciplinary renderings of the past, of course, work in both directions. While historians are drawing on the work of scholars in other disciplines, so are researchers outside of history moving steadily into what used to be historians' terrain. This is particularly true in the case of disciplines such as geography, ethnography, and literature and has long been a characteristic of the study of western Canadian history. Literature specialists Laurence Ricou, William New, I. S. MacLaren, and Sherrill Grace have made significant contributions to the understanding of Canadian history. Jennifer Henderson's book continues in this tradition.

Henderson focuses on three works: Anna Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (1839), Theresa Gowanlock and Theresa Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear* (1885), and Emily Murphy's

"Janey Canuck" books. Drawing extensively on theoretical insights from feminist studies and postmodernist critiques, Henderson examines her texts to demonstrate the role that white women played in shaping settler societies in Canada, particularly with reference to race relations, British imperialism, and the role of women in society. She stands aside from the current literature on female writers that emphasizes the longstanding identification of "the metaphorically colonized position of the nineteenth-century woman with the position of Canada as a British colony." She asserts, instead, that "the settler woman occupied the site of the *norm*, not a position outside of culture and external to the machinations of power" (p. 4). Henderson draws on Ian McKay's argument that the study of the past—and of literary expressions from the past—should focus on the evolution of Canada as a political experiment and the imposition of a national consciousness through the process of subjectification. The book has a very simple structure. A theoretically rich and complex introduction provides an overview of Henderson's conceptual approach, drawing widely on postcolonial and contemporary feminist thought. Each of the three main works is then treated in a separate chapter. Jameson, a nineteenth-century British reformer, published an account of her travels around Upper Canada, thus providing an outsider's perspective on the social and economic experiment underway there. *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear* is a captivity narrative, published shortly after the 1885 western rebellion. The book is used to illustrate the social and racial turmoil of the west at that critical juncture. Murphy, feminist and public figure, was also a well-known author, and her Janey Canuck books provide insights into the transformations associated with the settlement of the west. While acknowledging that the three works follow, chronologically and conceptually, the standard narrative of English Canadian evolution, Henderson argues that "these writers serve as markers of the construction and reconstruction of the settler woman, a subject position bound up in the production of racial distinctions and the elaboration of norms of conduct" (p. 10). The book ends with a brief epilogue that extends the analysis of later women writers in understanding both the Canadian "project" and the perpetuation of racial differentiation in the country.

Henderson's study has several shortcomings. The selection of the works is asserted rather than explained; there were other books that might have been considered and no substantial justification is provided for the inclusion of these authors. The writing is complex and highly conceptual; it is difficult to follow in passages, and, on more than a few occasions, the theoretical analysis moves well beyond the discussion of historical circumstances and literary impressions. Henderson does not draw as productively as she might have on the rich historical literature on Canadian settler societies and the evolution of Canadian literary culture. The list of works cited is notably slim on the historical side; Sarah Carter's excellent *Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West* (1997) is

referred to only in passing, even though it addresses several of the same themes as Henderson's book. The epilogue does not tie the work together as well as it might; one wishes for a more substantial conclusion.

These observations aside, this is a useful addition to the scholarship on Canadian literary traditions. Literature specialists will find the analysis provocative and insightful, and they will be impressed with Henderson's comfortable use of a wide variety of theoretical and conceptual perspectives. Nonspecialists, in contrast, will use the book as an entrée to recent postcolonial and feminist scholarship and will gain valuable perspectives on the important debates underway among scholars of Canadian literature. Historians will find it helpful as well to confront very different and highly original uses of historical texts and to have a new feminist perspective on the evolution of western Canadian society.

KEN COATES

University of Saskatchewan

KRISTINA MARIE GUIGUET. *The Ideal World of Mrs. Widder's Soirée Musicale: Social Identity and Musical Life in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. (Mercury Series, Cultural Studies Paper, number 77.) Gatineau, QC: Canadian Museum of Civilization. 2004. Pp. xvi, 154. \$24.95.

This book is a fascinating little gem of a monograph, but it requires some additional polishing to bring out its full brilliance. Kristina Marie Guiget's engaging microhistory examines a single historical document: a printed program for an 1844 musical evening held in the spacious drawing room of "Lyndhurst," the high society home of Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Widder of Toronto, Ontario. Guiget, drawing on her twenty-five-year international career as a singer, mines this document to great effect. Using it as her departure point, she proceeds to a fascinating examination of the interconnections of politics, social values, gender, and class expressed through music in the nineteenth century.

Toronto of 1844 was still very much a colonial society. Musical evenings such as Mrs. Widder's followed the English pattern of middle-class emulation of the home entertainments of the aristocracy, while infusing them with meaning particular to their own society and class. The Widders themselves were distantly related to the royal families of England and Europe, but Frederick was a bit of an upstart among the conservative "Family Compact" elite that was then losing its grip on power in the province. As a land speculator and director of the Canada Company, Widder unsuccessfully angled to gain control of the reserves of land that had been previously set aside for the use of the Anglican Church under the old oligarchic rule. For an appropriate fee, he proposed to ensure their successful transformation into prosperous settlements and appease all sides in the political and religious controversy. To fulfill these goals, it was clearly important that he cultivate an appropriate public image, and one means of doing so was hosting such sophisticated and genteel social events in his home. As the hostess of the refined *soirée musicale*,

Mrs. Widder could do much to further the career aspirations of her ambitious husband.

Guiget meticulously examines the concert program of this musical party to reveal the social and political values supported in its carefully constructed order. She has collected and analyzed all twenty pieces in the two-part program, as well as biographical information on many of the individuals who performed them. Many historians (myself included) might foolishly dismiss the evening's entertainment as a hodgepodge of early Victorian sentimentality. Guiget convincingly shows its well-planned structure and the themes that the music consciously communicated to its audience: order, hierarchy, and benevolent monarchical rule.

Guiget reveals how social class and gender intertwined in who performed what type of music and at what points in the program. She calls the genteel ladies who both sponsored and performed in such events "Lady Amateurs." As a case study, Guiget examines the remarkable career of Miss Hagerman, later Mrs. John Beverly Robinson (Jr.), who performed three of the most difficult selections. A brilliant and charismatic singer with a solid upper-crust pedigree, she struggled with her desire to be a performer and the loss of social respectability that would result from such overt public display. As a "Lady Amateur," she was somewhat able to fulfill her vocation. In contrast, men could sing in public as professional musicians, but in doing so they confined themselves to a lesser rung on the social ladder than the likes of Mr. Widder. He did not sing at his wife's soirée, although she performed in five of the selections. Guiget tells us that increasingly men such as Widder who felt the urge to sing confined themselves to private groups such as male-only glee clubs.

This slim volume has much to commend, but it also has a few flaws. We are forewarned about possible printing and grammatical errors by the publisher who states that, "in the interest of making information available quickly, normal publication procedures have been abbreviated" (p. v). As a Canadian, I find this disheartening coming from a flagship national institution like the Museum of Civilization. Indeed, there are a number of errors and formatting glitches throughout. As a writer, Guiget has a penchant for metaphor that at times weighs down her prose and should be curtailed. Frequently there are repetitions of fact that a vigilant editor would have caught. Finally, although this is without doubt a scholarly text, examination of more recent works on important themes such as Victorian womanhood and masculinity would have enhanced Guiget's work.

This book really deserves to be more: if expanded on and reworked somewhat this wonderful microhistory would have made an even greater contribution to the field. Guiget is an exceptionally talented new historian, and I look forward to reading what she produces next.

KATHERINE M. J. MCKENNA
University of Western Ontario

PHILLIP BUCKNER, editor. *Canada and the End of Empire*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 2005. Pp. vi, 328. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$29.95.

This timely collection consists of a comprehensive introduction and eighteen impressive chapters that rally around the theme of identifying, examining, and explaining Canada's devolution from the British Empire. The second half of the twentieth century, particularly the 1950s and 1960s, is the time period in focus. With the exception of editor Phillip Buckner's essay on Queen Elizabeth II's 1959 royal tour of Canada, all of the contributions to this volume originated as papers for a symposium held in 2001 at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies at the University of London.

The major revisionary motivation behind this collection is to recognize that Canada has developed its own historiographical tradition out of a sense of cultural nationalism that, ironically, downplays previously dominant British imperial influences. Buckner is a long-time crusader for bringing back British influence on both Canada's history and historiography as a central concern. To this end, the first essay in this book, by John Darwin, provides a comprehensive background to Canadian debates over the end of the British Empire. The underlying theme throughout the chapters is the process of Canada's ongoing realignment away from Britain. Buckner identifies 1956–1967 as the crucial decade when English-speaking Canadians were forced to address the "lingering death of empire" (p. 9).

A strength of this collection is that it self-consciously reveals the politics of writing history, potentially reopening old wounds and inflicting fresh ones. Part of the unpopularity of "imperial history" in an age of growing attention to recovering a diverse and dispersed Canadian past is that to reveal a British past is assumed as reasserting it in the present, in the process denying French Canadian, Aboriginal, and multicultural voices. Furthermore, as history often draws its inspiration from the present, it is awkward to argue for the importance of a British past that is today offensive to some and irrelevant to others. Buckner is at pains to point out that "One does not have to believe that the empire was a 'good thing' to believe in its importance to generations of Canadians" (p. 3).

Buckner has marshalled a relevant and knowledgeable group of contributors, and the book offers dense and thorough coverage. Most contributors provide a detailed snapshot of Canada's changing relationship to the British Empire. Economic relationships feature in John Hilliker and Greg Donaghy's essay on Canada's economic relations with the United Kingdom from 1956–1973, during which period the United Kingdom (after the United States) remained Canada's second-largest economic partner and the principal source of its immigrants. By 1972, Canada was seeking new economic partners throughout Europe and in Japan. Additional postwar economic-centered essays consider trade diversion proposals, customs valuations, and British motor vehicle exports to Canada.

Another cluster of essays centers around single events, such as Buckner's essay on the 1959 royal tour (he wryly concludes that "The major lesson drawn from the 1959 tour was not to have another one" [p. 89]). The 1956 Suez Crisis features in a number of chapters and is the focus of Jose E. Igartua's essay, which characterizes Canada as either the "colonial chore boy" or the "chore boy of the United States" (p. 47). Andrea Benvenuti and Stuart Ward identify separate Canadian citizenship in 1946, the 1951 appointment of a Canadian governor general, the Suez Crisis, India becoming a republic while remaining in the Commonwealth, and the 1957 "trade diversion" episode as their key indicators of Canada's shift from being a British colony to being a distinct nation. Gordon T. Stewart's essay directly concerns the United States and the end of empire in Canada. He takes the 1927 commencement of direct and formal diplomatic ties between Washington and Ottawa as an important marker of Canada's turn toward the United States.

As well as being economic, political, and strategic in focus, the collection contains essays concerned with education, culture, and society. These chapters analyze Canada's quest for distinctiveness in the face of both the growing importance of the United States, and the decline of British influences. Paul Rutherford looks at the culture of American entertainment, the persistence of British influences, and the Massey Commission. Turning to Canadian "high culture," Allan Smith argues that the Americanization of Canadian art and culture was a postwar reality.

The last third of the book emphasizes what was lost and what ended as Canada's relationship with Britain dwindled. Examples are the end of the Privy Council and the 1964 replacement of the Red Ensign with the newly designed Maple Leaf flag. Gregory A. Johnson views the old flag, with its inclusion of the Union Jack, as symbolic of the "last gasp of empire in Canada" (p. 247). Areas that Buckner singles out for further attention are ethnicity and immigration and the history of pro-imperial organizations such as the Orange Order.

In a collection concerned to capture how historical change occurred, the comprehensive coverage of individual actors is particularly welcome. Prime ministers of the time appear frequently throughout the essays. Women's part is made visible by Lorraine Coops's interesting study of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) and the flag debate. Marc Milner and Douglas Francis contribute essays on the Royal Canadian Navy and intellectuals Harold A. Innis and George P. Grant. Most appropriately, the final essay is Jim Miller's study of Aboriginal people's relationship to empire. It suggests the benefits of seeking out other places around the British world where the "Great White Mother's" (Queen Victoria) presence was felt. Rather than an ending, it represents a starting point for further research in empire studies and imperial history.

KATIE PICKLES
University of Canterbury

STEVEN MINTZ. *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 445. \$29.95.

No subject makes adults today more anxious than the notion that American children are in crisis, a notion fed by widespread popular belief that children's lives are less stable now than in the past. Steven Mintz's impeccably researched, convincingly argued, and wonderfully original synthesis of the monographic literature on childhood in American history debunks this notion. Contrary to myth, he finds that childhood in the past was anything but stable for a majority of Americans. Today, thanks to an idealistic twentieth century reinvention of childhood, our children have more freedom for self-discovery than ever before. Yet we are not ready to celebrate, for (he suggests) children today face new problems born of this very reinvention.

The core of Mintz's narrative is a mostly familiar chronology of changes over time in how middle-class, reform-minded adults imagined the ideal childhood, and what kinds of institutions they created in order to produce it. New England Puritans sought to provide their children with stable, orderly childhoods within the framework of patriarchal families, in which fathers could prepare them for a godly life (or a sanctified death). After the American Revolution eroded the institutional foundations of patriarchal authority, childhood became shorter and more uncertain, as children left home at relatively young ages to seek paid work. By around 1830, anxious middle-class adults sought to contain their children's precocity and restore stability to their lives by inventing the modern ideal of childhood as a sheltered period, free from labor, devoted to schooling, and guided by the moral tutelage of mothers.

After the Civil War, reformers sought to make the middle-class ideal of an orderly, protected childhood available to all children. An even more idealistic set of reformers, the Progressives, imagined the ideal childhood as a extended period of freedom and self-discovery within a world apart—like Huck Finn's raft trip down the Mississippi. Their most far-reaching goal was to create child-centered institutions where young people could spend time away from adults for a prolonged period, free to develop in age-appropriate ways (without family obligations) during what psychologists now called adolescence. Thus was born the idea of universal high schooling.

A second set of stories, chronicling the experiences of real children, subverts this core narrative. To the extent Mintz can find sources to support them, we hear these children's stories in their own voices. They remind us that the social reality of childhood for most American children through the nineteenth century was unstable, harsh, and difficult. Large numbers endured poverty, high rates of childhood mortality, and exploitative working conditions: as indentured servants in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as wage workers in factories, coal mines, or rich people's kitchens during the nineteenth. Enslaved children were as likely to die

in childhood as they were to reach their teens. Among those who survived, more than half were separated from one or both parents by the age of sixteen. Rarely could any of these children count on the protection of a parent or other adult relative. Additional hardships arose in wartime.

Having navigated through these multiple stories, we arrive at the book's central point in chapter eleven. The advent of universal high schooling around 1930 transformed the experience of youth. When young people were segregated from adult society, schools and peer groups (along with commercial entertainments and mass media) became the major forces shaping their tastes, behavior, and values. Youths created an oppositional culture that at various times in the twentieth century challenged adult culture, as in the rock and roll craze of the 1950s and the youth movements of the 1960s. Anxious adults have tried since then to reassert control over children's lives through schools and the legal system, but they have failed to address the real problems youths face.

Popular wisdom tells us that since the 1970s children have been in crisis because their mothers are working for wages. Mintz argues that popular wisdom exaggerates the impact of family structure and ignores the impact of other institutional and cultural influences on children's well being. Kids spend most of their formative years in institutions that seem "more and more outdated in [their] strictures, athletic culture, regimentation, and lack of opportunity for teens to demonstrate their growing competency and maturity" (p. 253). Mass media overload children with information about the realities of adult life, yet kids, isolated within age-segregated environments, have few role models to teach them how to deal with the information. The book's closing story—about the Columbine High School shootings—reminds us what occasionally happens when teenagers, ostracized by peers within alienating, impersonal schools and steeped in the revenge fantasies that are standard fare in popular culture, crack under pressure.

Mintz has written one of those rare histories that both engages with academic historical scholarship in a serious way and speaks to real concerns of the American reading public. Full of fascinating information about the history of children in America, it also offers a major critique of the way our society constructs childhood. This book reminds us that history can teach important lessons about how we got to be the way we are—and, sometimes, even suggest what to do about it.

ANNE LOMBARD
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MICHAEL J. MCCLYMOND, editor. *Embodying the Spirit: New Perspectives on North American Revivalism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 346. \$49.95.

In the past twenty-five years, much has been written about American revivals from the First Great Awakening in the colonial period to present-day manifestations. Yet, scholars continue to wrestle with the most basic questions regarding the phenomenon: Do revivals exist, and, if so, what exactly are they? Are they spontaneous displays of spiritual renewal that burst into evangelical flames in one location and spread like wildfire to others? Or, are they carefully orchestrated events staged periodically by organizers well versed in the arts of publicity and programming? Some reject the claim that certain revivals occurred at all, and others predict that they have run their course and will never recur.

While this volume of essays does not provide definitive answers to those big questions, it does illuminate revivalism in its many dimensions and from multiple perspectives. From editor Michael J. McClymond's fine introduction reviewing major issues and explanations to Martin Marty's trenchant reflections, the book offers much for the scholar of American religious history as well as the general reader. In the end, however, the sum of the parts is less than the individual contributions, an appraisal that speaks to the difficulty of discussing a subject that continues to raise the question, as Marty phrased it, "what, then, is revivalism?" (p. 273).

McClymond frames the discussion by listing the challenges confronting scholars of American revivalism, beginning with the question of sources and interpretation. If one takes a phenomenological approach based on accounts of participants, he or she is rewarded with rich narratives of the individual decisions regarding the message of revivalism. However, one is left with the task of investigating the revivalists' claims, especially those concerning the results of revivals. Wary of "revivalist-centered" sources, McClymond prefers a functionalist perspective that probes the social functions served by the revivalist message and the responses that the message elicits. At the same time, he argues for an inquiry that is open to both natural and supernatural causes of revivals, the latter a stumbling block for most secular historians. Like Jonathan Edwards who characterized the first Great Awakening as a "surprising work" (p. 46), McClymond contends that any study that ignores either the natural or the supernatural will fail in understanding and explaining revivalism.

The contributors take up the subject from a broad spectrum of disciplines and perspectives. They come from such varied academic backgrounds as American studies, religion, religious studies, church history, theological studies, anthropology, and sociology. Some approach the subject of revivalism as apologists who readily accept revivalists' claims concerning the nature and extent of religious awakenings. Others take a more detached view, probing revivalists' claims and providing critical assessments. It is not surprising that such a diverse group of contributors would raise a wide range of issues, including epistemology, gender, church architecture, deconversion and decline, and media. And they examine diverse religious and ethnic groups, such as

borderland Pentecostals, Chicago suburbanites, African Americans, Catholics, and Canadians.

The book is as much about the writing of revivals as it is about revivals themselves. In his essay on the 1730s awakening at Jonathan Edwards's Northampton meetinghouse, Finbarr Curtis raises the question of how scholars who insist on testable evidence can fathom a work of the Holy Spirit. He asks, "can a social theory of religion afford to ignore aesthetics and sensuality because they lay outside the scope of empirical verification?" Curtis sounds a skeptical note even as he contends that secular historians must strive to understand the special language of revivalism in order to fathom its meaning. Such skepticism is well founded, given that Edwards, the spiritual inspiration of American revivalism, failed to define a universally accepted way of identifying a genuine work of God. His own congregation disagreed with his analysis and dismissed him from the pulpit.

Several contributors emphasize the means of promoting revivals over the message. Philip Goff's fine essay on Charles E. Fuller's pioneering use of radio notes that while Fuller's message was a nostalgic evocation of a placid, rural past, the evangelist's techniques for reaching a mass audience were modern and forward looking. In her imaginative piece on church architecture, Jeanne Halgren Kilde explores how revivals appropriated and transformed sanctuaries into auditoriums and, in the process, blurred the lines between the sacred and secular by bringing such explosive political and social issues as slavery and race into what had heretofore been holy places set apart from such ugliness. Fred W. Beuttler discusses how the "systematic desacralization of the local church" (p. 194), expressed in the use of such contemporary devices as rock music and games, explains in part the "Son City" revival at the South Park Church in Park Ridge Illinois in the 1970s. The removal of many of the rituals and symbols of Protestant Christianity and the substitution of secular ones proved to be the means of connecting with the throngs of young people that filled the church.

Not all of the essays present evangelical awakenings in a favorable light; one in particular gives voice to the sizable number of opponents that criticize revivals. Candy Gunther Brown examines how Elizabeth Prentiss transformed Horace Bushnell's critique of mid-nineteenth-century revivalism into a call for a greater, and empowering, role for women in religion. Bushnell rejected the revivalists' emphasis on corrupting original sin and the need for conversion in revival meetings characterized by emotion and crisis. Rather, he favored spiritual growth and Christian nurture within the context of a loving family where mothers assumed the major role. The author of thirty-one books of great popular appeal, Prentiss took up the theme of salvation as a gradual process in her fictional *Stepping Heavenward*, published in 1869. She urged women to take an active role in the ongoing nurture of their children rather than to wait passively for them to be converted at a revival.

Despite repeated predictions that revivals are things

of the past, they persist, and this volume helps the reader understand why and how. Although failing to answer the question of what is revivalism, the essays convey its protean nature.

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BETH BARTON SCHWEIGER and DONALD G. MATHEWS, editors. *Religion in the American South: Protestants and Others in History and Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. vi, 340. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

The role of region in influencing currents in American religious culture represents an area of inquiry that has mushroomed in recent decades, moving well beyond studies of New England and the South, particularly the evangelical cast in the latter associated with the image of the Bible Belt. One indicator of the coming of age of regional studies is this revisionist collection of ten essays, edited by Beth Barton Schweiger and Donald G. Mathews, that revisits the sweep of southern Protestantism but nudges analysis in fresh directions.

Jon F. Sensbach opens the volume with a stunning historiographical piece. He identifies four areas where recent scholarship has broadened the way religion in the South, particularly evangelicalism, is conceived. The first is a reminder that there was a dynamic pluralism that prevailed among Native Americans and immigrants long before the Bible Belt emerged. He proceeds to highlight the transatlantic character of southern religious life in the colonial period, enhanced by a steady undercurrent of Catholic presence as well as by the slave trade, which linked coreligionists across the ocean. This larger perspective paves the way for Sensbach's third point: the way religion stimulated cross-cultural connections before evangelicalism became dominant. Finally, he probes the extent to which gender was a defining factor in colonial religious life, from Native American societies to the Christian patriarchy of immigrants.

No one doubts the import of revivals in spurring the growth of evangelical Protestantism in the South. Schweiger, however, argues that revivalism transcended region in the antebellum period because it served as the incubator of Protestant denominationalism and made the denomination, with all its bureaucratic baggage, the basic structural form for American religion. Precisely how strong that evangelical presence became and the covert ways in which it penetrated non-Christian religious cultures comes to light in Emily Bingham's account of the religious experience of Rachel Mordecai Lazarus. From a prominent and committed Jewish family in the South, Rachel was intrigued by the ethos of southern evangelicalism and often attended Christian services while maintaining a traditional Jewish home. Before her death she underwent a gradual but real conversion to the Christianity that dominated the world around her. Her story reveals much about the challenges minority religions confront

in any culture where a single religious style has hegemonic power.

Two essays draw on theories of violence advanced by Rene Girard to rethink dimensions of southern religious life during the Civil War and the decades after. Kurt Berends acknowledges that the traditional interpretation emphasizes the ways in which evangelicalism sustained a white southern identity even as it may have challenged its racism, and how evangelicalism became a useful device in creating a "civil religion" that glorified the Lost Cause. But his signal contribution comes in arguing, following Girard, that the most enduring impact of southern Protestantism came in its valorization of violent sacrifice, which in turn ritualized the violence of racism in postbellum culture. Mathews takes Girard's theories a step further when he demonstrates that lynching was not simply a manifestation of racial bias but an essentially religious act grounded in that same violence. Hence he appropriately calls lynching "part of the religion" of white southern Christians.

At the dawn of the twenty-first century, some commentators believe that Pentecostalism is poised to become the principal expression of evangelicalism in the United States, not just the South, assuming the role that strands of fundamentalism have played for the last quarter century. Two essays explore features of the early Pentecostal heritage; like the others, they pose new questions and thus encourage the rethinking of conventional understandings. In his account of the early years of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, Daniel Woods suggests that enthusiastic prayer was as vital to emergent Pentecostalism in the South as the more familiar speaking in tongues, and that such prayer allowed Pentecostal expression to reauthenticate enthusiasm as central ingredient of a distinctive southern Protestantism. Pentecostal stirrings appeared early in the twentieth century as the "great migration" of African Americans from the South to northern urban centers such as Detroit and Chicago was underway. Anthea Butler deftly scrutinizes one religious dimension of that cultural relocation in her essay on the role of the "church mother" in founding and sustaining congregations of the Church of God in Christ, once a southern African American Pentecostal body, outside the region of the denomination's birth. Denied ordination and the opportunity to pastor, church mothers nevertheless provided the leadership and stamina that allowed this Memphis-based denomination to establish flourishing congregations among black migrants.

Women figure prominently in two other essays. Jerma Jackson revisits the development of gospel music as a distinctive southern genre in her examination of the career of Sister Rosetta Tharpe. Without formal musical training, Tharpe developed a unique style of guitar playing that she took from street evangelism to concert halls as one of the first successful "cross-over" musicians who blended a sacred base with secular appeal. Lynn Lyerly discusses how different all of southern religious history would look if attention were paid to the role of women, debates over the role of women as wives

and mothers, women's resistance to institutional sexism, the fresh appreciation of vital religion that comes from women's journals and religious writing, and the critical role of gender in noninstitutional forms of religious expression such as the public rituals linked to the shrine of Our Lady of Charity erected in Miami by Cuban immigrants.

Paul Harvey's final essay represents a remarkable summary of the arguments he develops more fully in his recent book, *Freedom's Coming: Religious Culture and the Shaping of the South from the Civil War to the Civil Rights Era* (2005), which explores racism and efforts at interracial cooperation. Harvey notes that laywomen, both black and white, were generally at the forefront of challenging all forms of racism and laid the ground work for whatever authentic interracialism occurred.

Well crafted and well argued, all ten essays contain copious documentation and helpful bibliographies. They are models for future study.

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FAREN R. SIMINOFF. *Crossing the Sound: The Rise of Atlantic American Communities in Seventeenth-Century Eastern Long Island*. New York: New York University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 213. \$40.00.

Historians of New England, New Netherland, and early New York all have had something to say about eastern Long Island, but almost always just in passing. The task of chronicling developments in this area off the coast of southern New England in the seventeenth century has, for the most part, fallen to local historians, who have examined fragments rather than framing a larger picture. In this slim volume, Faren R. Siminoff moves eastern Long Island to center stage and offers a unified account of its history during the first three quarters of the seventeenth century. Her purpose is not so much to fill a geographical gap in existing scholarship, although clearly she does so, as to make a bold claim for the significance of the "East End" in the creation and reproduction of Atlantic American communities.

The premise of Siminoff's work is the obsolescence of the standard narrative of English appropriation of Native lands and erasure of Native influences in tandem with the creation of a society in southern New England that largely replicated old England. Jettisoning a nationalistic model with an assumption of domination and submission in favor of a more neutral Atlantic American framework in which outcomes are contingent, she proposes a version of the region's history that does not privilege any of the groups at the heart of the standard narrative—English, Dutch, and Natives—but instead casts them, or rather subgroups called "communities of interest," as players in an ongoing and fertile series of negotiations over the structure and values of the new Atlantic American communities that emerged on Long Island in the aftermath of the Pequot War of 1637.

Siminoff's determination to move beyond monolithic

categories like English, Dutch, or Native and focus on discrete groups of English (colonists from Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, New Haven, Rhode Island, and grandees from England) and Ninnimissinuok, an anthropologist's term for the indigenous people of southern New England (Pequots, Mohicans, Narragansetts, Niantics, Montauketts, Shinnecocks) as they interact is admirable, given their often conflicting agendas. By differentiating the goals and strategies of distinctive groups, and in the process identifying the salient features of their prior histories, she is better able to make sense of the patterns that emerged as New Englanders put down roots in towns like Southampton, East Hampton, and Southold. Unfortunately, the strategy of disassembling the major groups is never applied to the Dutch, who act all of a piece in this analysis. As contestants for Long Island who vied with and allied with various groups of English, the Dutch were, at least at times, central to the unfolding story.

In reconstructing what transpired in the decades from the 1640s to the 1670s, Siminoff is at pains to stress the agency of the Natives, embodied in their efforts to incorporate English settlers in their world and to preserve as much of that world as possible in the new circumstances. To substantiate her argument, she documents Native attempts to structure a client-patron relationship with the settlers and their allies on the mainland, as well as the insistence of Native leaders on inserting clauses in land deeds and treaties that would safeguard their rights to exploit the maritime resources of the coastal area. Siminoff also highlights the adaptability of the English. Relocated to an environment in which the sea played a prominent role, these colonists quickly embraced the whaling culture of the Natives. More significantly, English settlers changed their attitudes toward land. Land was the key to identity in these Atlantic American communities as it became linked to community membership. Transplanted English became freeholders and voluntarily chose to associate with like-minded individuals in self-selected communities, a transformation that heralded a radical departure from practices in England as well as marking a previously unrecognized confluence of New English and Native ways.

Cross-fertilization was integral to the creation of Atlantic American communities, and Siminoff identifies certain individuals, whom she calls "boundary crossers," who played a pivotal role in bridging the gap between groups. Men such as Wyandanch, a Montaukett sachem, and Lion Gardiner, whose conflicts with Massachusetts Bay leaders impelled him to accept Wyandanch's grant of an island just off Long Island's shore, emerge as heroic figures in the fluid social world of seventeenth-century eastern Long Island.

Siminoff's characterization of the Atlantic American communities that evolved on eastern Long Island as hybrid entities in which elements of a variety of customary practices with roots in England, New England, and among the Ninnimissinuok were intertwined forces us to reconsider the verities that have guided our understanding of early New England's history. If she over-

states her case in minimizing the imprint of old English ways on the social and cultural forms of the Atlantic American communities of eastern Long Island—something that further research in areas such as religious practice should clarify—she still deserves credit for demonstrating beyond a doubt the simplistic nature of interpretations that demand winners and losers.

JOYCE D. GOODFRIEND
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JOHN D. KRUGLER, *English and Catholic: The Lords Baltimore in the Seventeenth Century*. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 122nd Series [2004], number 1.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 319. \$46.00.

This valuable book is a study of the first three Lords Baltimore and their role as proprietors of Maryland, the only successful overseas colony developed by English Catholics during the seventeenth century. John D. Krugler argues convincingly that most English Catholics in this period wished to separate their religious and secular lives, and hence to combine spiritual allegiance to the pope with political allegiance to the king. Krugler shows that this same desire underpinned the vision that the three Lords Baltimore pursued in Maryland, a colony in which they sought to promote liberty of conscience and to allow people to worship freely regardless of their religious preferences. In essence, this book analyses that vision and the problems that the three Lords Baltimore experienced in their attempts to realize it.

In addition to the practical difficulties that were inherent in establishing any colony in this period, the problems distinctive to Maryland stemmed principally from the visceral anti-Catholicism felt by the majority of the inhabitants not only of England but also of the other American colonies. Especially during the 1640s and 1650s, the second Lord Baltimore encountered as much hostility from the committed Protestants of Virginia as from those back in England. This led to a prolonged dispute over the validity of the Maryland charter that was only finally resolved in 1658, when Maryland's independence from Virginia was definitely established. Krugler's discussion of this dispute is among the most accomplished sections of the book, and he sheds much light on the personality of Oliver Cromwell and the nature of the Cromwellian regime as well as on the divisions among the American colonies. In particular, Cromwell emerges as sympathetic toward Baltimore's ideal of liberty of conscience even though he disliked his Catholicism.

Unfortunately, the years after 1660 saw a steady decline in the colony. Growing numbers of Episcopalian Protestants in Maryland chafed at the lack of a state church, and Krugler speculates that they seemed unable to flourish in so free a setting as Maryland, in which they felt "unchurched" (p. 240). Their unrest culminated in a rebellion, the appointment of a Protestant royal governor, and an act of 1692 that established a

state church, precisely the kind of institution that the Lords Baltimore had always sought to avoid. Krugler concludes that the Baltimore vision was ahead of its time, and that it ultimately succumbed to the pervasive anti-Catholicism that prevailed in this period. However, he argues that in its separation between political and religious loyalties, the ideal that the Lords Baltimore strove to attain anticipated the decoupling of issues of government and of faith that was later enshrined in the Constitution of the United States.

All of this makes for a highly readable and engrossing story, and Krugler has vividly reconstructed and narrated it. The book is clearly and accessibly written and rests on very extensive research in a wide range of primary sources, especially letters, parliamentary records, and the archives of early Maryland. There are a few very minor blemishes. For example, the repeated references (for instance, on p. 50) to "Commons" rather than "the Commons" or "the House of Commons" read rather oddly; and it seems strange to speak of Richard Cromwell's "dismissal from office" in May 1659 (p. 218) when he was forced to resign as Lord Protector. But overall the book is an impressive achievement that sheds much light on the history of both colonial America and seventeenth-century England.

Krugler's book also makes an important contribution to the rapidly expanding field of Atlantic history, which has spawned a growing number of books and articles in recent years. Atlantic history has now reached the stage in its development where what we most need is detailed research on how relationships across the Atlantic really worked in practice. That in turns calls for specific studies of particular companies, colonies, individuals, and ideologies that will demonstrate the changing nature of transatlantic links and dynamics. Krugler's book is particularly timely, for it illustrates the very rich fruits that this kind of research can yield. We can look forward to many more such studies.

DAVID L. SMITH
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GORDON S. WOOD. *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin*. Paperback edition. New York: Penguin. 2004. Pp. xvi, 299. \$16.00.

The three hundredth anniversary of Benjamin Franklin's birthday, on January 17, 2006, will evoke much celebration, including books, articles, and exhibitions devoted to his life. Gordon S. Wood's book should be a part of such celebration, for it is a worthy effort, and it invites further study of Franklin and his time.

In the preface, Wood suggests that he is offering a Franklin "who is different in important ways from the Franklin of our inherited common understanding" (p. ix). The historic Franklin, he says, "elude(s) us," in favor of a simpler understanding apparently developed in the early nineteenth century of a man whose main concerns revolved around "the getting of money" (p. 9). Franklin, Wood argues, echoing an interpretation Carl Becker offered in 1931, was "never very revealing of

himself. He always seems to be holding something back—he is reticent, detached, not wholly committed" (p. 13).

The book Wood has written is intended to wipe away the obscurity in our understanding, to correct the distorted images we have carried around about Franklin. He acknowledges other scholars' efforts and he clearly respects them; he appreciates especially the modern edition of Franklin's papers now approaching forty volumes; but his conviction remains that despite this outpouring "we still do not fully know the man" (p. 13).

To characterize Wood's method of presenting his Franklin as the setting up of a straw man would probably be unfair. But given all that has been written about him by distinguished scholars and given the modern edition of his papers with its thorough annotation, it is difficult to see just what it is that "elude(s)" us. Of course, aspects of Franklin's life remain unclear, especially the reasons for his actions in several events, but we do know, thanks to a flood of research and publication, an enormous amount. And in any case, is Franklin so different from other historical actors? Parts of the lives of virtually all such figures surely remain obscure.

Wood's method of recovering the "historic" Franklin, as distinguished from the myth apparently created in the nineteenth century, is to look at him in five broad contexts. Franklin's becoming a gentleman is the first, followed by his becoming an imperialist, a patriot, a diplomat, and finally an American. Each of these aspects of his life receives a chapter, and each chapter is broken into a variety of subcategories, some not clearly related to others. The book almost inevitably takes on a fragmentary character and in many places resembles conventional biography.

The first chapter may be the best because Wood has a fresh conception of gentility. A poor boy, Franklin earned his way into gentility by hard work and eventually by giving up work for money altogether. Colonial society's chief division, Wood says, was between gentlemen and commoners. Gentlemen did not have to earn their incomes; they had money, and Franklin did not enter their ranks until he retired, well-fixed, at age forty-two. As a young man he was of the middling sort, a printer and small businessman, a status that saw him amass more wealth than most of the gentry, though he was not yet of their number because he followed a trade. Wood's argument about gentility is interesting but not completely convincing, although it yields fascinating perspectives in this chapter and the next on Franklin's imperialism.

Much of Franklin's life in retirement, Wood says, is the action of a gentleman. He illustrates this point in his discussions of Franklin's electrical experiments, his public service, and his politics, subjects that receive extended treatment. Although there is nothing new in this account, which covers the period up to the beginning of the revolutionary crisis, it is well told. "By the early 1760s Franklin had become a thoroughgoing imperialist and royalist," Wood concludes (p. 91). Franklin's commitment to the empire, it seems, was emotional; he

admired the king enormously and he reveled in the greatness of the British Empire, indeed of all things British.

It was in this period—in particular the late 1750s to 1768—that he began the struggle for royal government in Pennsylvania, a proprietary colony. Wood argues that Franklin began to identify himself as an Englishman, a major theme in the book. The explanation of this identification and of Franklin's prolonged attempt to force the change in the colony's government arises from "the fact that Franklin in these years was a fervent royalist who very much wanted to participate in the grandeur of the British Empire" (p. 262, n. 81). Another and different explanation of his behavior is possible, I believe, one that concedes his imperialistic bent but focuses on his anger at the proprietor. This anger, which turned into hatred, led to extraordinary behavior: an irrational effort to displace Thomas Penn. Franklin's attempt to turn Pennsylvania into a royal colony persisted for more than ten years, despite the fact that the people of Pennsylvania had voted him out of office in an election clearly fought on the issue of the colony's government and the fact, pretty clear to everyone else, that there was no chance that the British government would take over the colony.

The American Revolution came hard on the heels of the failed effort to make Pennsylvania into a royal colony. Franklin's role in the years of crisis developed slowly, in part because of his loyalty to the crown and the empire. What finally pushed him over to the American side was his rough handling in the cockpit by Alexander Wedderburn and the open hostility that came in the months afterward. He performed brilliantly as a diplomat in France, nearly deciding to stay there after peace was made. Wood says that he accepted appointment to the American commission in Paris principally because he "wanted to return to the Old World, where he felt more at home" (p. 170).

The Franklin who emerges from these pages—the Franklin in the book's title who had undergone Americanization, a process that presumably purged the Englishness from his system—is a curious figure. For much of his adult life, he was, if Wood is right, more of an Englishman than an American. Indeed, Wood's point is that Franklin had to become an American. That it was likely that Franklin might admire and even love England while remaining an American is not seriously considered in this book. His loyalty, an uncritical loyalty, was that of many colonials: a feeling of attachment that fell away when the realities of the imperial connection became clear. Divided loyalties are not uncommon in empires. Not uncommonly, colonials discover what such feelings are worth. Many colonials shared Franklin's experience, and the discovery of what the empire really was came hard to many of them—and to him, even though he was always an American.

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JACQUELINE BARBARA CARR. *After the Siege: A Social History of Boston 1775–1800*. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 318. \$40.00.

Jacqueline Barbara Carr aims "to provide a social portrait of Boston between 1775 and 1800 focusing on the lives of lower- and middle-income groups and emphasizing how the community functioned in the wake of Revolution" (p. 8). Lamenting that the kind of comparative urban history Carl Bridenbaugh and Gary B. Nash fashioned for the colonial period has not yet been done for the postrevolution era, Carr indicates that, although it does not offer close comparisons of Boston with other postrevolution cities, she hopes her book will be "a building block" for such studies (p. 9). While Carr utilizes a range of primary sources to formulate that building block, she draws heavily on a database she constructed from Boston's Taking Books, which are tax assessor records that typically provide extensive personal information as well as property assessments.

This five-chapter work is stylistically eclectic. "The Siege of Boston" offers a rather traditional and well-told narrative history of how the British occupation produced "a mass exodus," thoroughly disrupted Boston's socioeconomic structure, and consequently forced Bostonians to endure two decades "of readjustment and rebuilding of their lives and community" (pp. 22, 42). In "The Character of the Town," Carr focuses on living arrangements and physical transformations in Boston's major neighborhoods. She finds that residential patterns did not yet reflect the "sharply demarcated economic and racial divisions" of nineteenth-century Boston (p. 72). Here, as in other chapters, Carr makes a special effort to investigate the status of Boston's African Americans. The lengthy discussion of "A Well-Ordered Town," which reviews colonial laws and regulations far more than readers might expect, resembles the kind of coverage of individual cities found in Bridenbaugh's *Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625–1742* (1938) and *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743–1776* (1955). Highlighting the regulatory difficulties that selectmen confronted, Carr describes a plethora of urban problems, including the maintenance and regulation of roads and the market, poor relief, public education, public safety, public health, fire prevention, and defending the town meeting system against efforts to incorporate Boston. The chapter's strength is breadth of coverage; the major weakness is that the author provides introductions to issues and problems rather than crafting in-depth analysis.

Carr again shifts styles in "Bostonians at Work." This chapter bristles with statistical analysis, much of it rooted in the Taking Book database that Carr constructed. She also presents vignettes of individuals from various occupational groups and of women and African Americans. Carr stresses that Boston faced hard economic times from the mid-1770s well into the 1780s, experienced "a constant ebb and flow" of people (p. 152), and grew dramatically, in part because of signif-

icant in-migration. In the postrevolution era, African Americans continued to face restricted economic opportunities, and women's economic opportunities narrowed. In fact, many Bostonians had to blend and shift occupations merely to survive, and poverty remained a nagging problem. In spite of all this, Carr presents a rather upbeat image of a substantial and growing middle class in a city where people often displayed "ingenuity, entrepreneurialism, and flexibility" (p. 168). One encounters yet another style of history in "The Politics of Leisure." Parades receive some attention, but the chapter quickly becomes a case study of the fight over banning plays that stretched from the late 1780s into the 1790s. Relying heavily on newspaper accounts, Carr effectively demonstrates that the conflict reflected differing philosophical views of virtue, shifting propaganda tactics, and class antagonisms. The author, who sees Boston becoming more "cosmopolitan" in this "watershed" period, draws major points together in a brief epilogue (p. 230).

Considering Carr's goals, her book, which gives significant attention to Boston's elites, does convey a feel for many important aspects of life in Boston from 1775 to 1800. It will prove useful for those who have a special interest in doing comparative urban history. In addition, the analysis of the theater conflict is an illuminating case study. However, when compared with the work of scholars such as Billy G. Smith, Ruth W. Herndon, and Simon P. Newman, Carr gives a skimpier depiction of the social aspects of how lower-income Bostonians lived than she seems to promise. And, while Carr cannot be faulted for not producing the comparative urban history she praises, she could have significantly increased the value of her work if she had more often set the Boston case within a broader framework. For example, she could have profitably linked and compared her findings to those of the many studies on urban poverty that she cites. Perhaps Carr will adopt that approach in future publications as she continues to draw upon her database and other sources to further enlighten us about urban America in the postrevolution era.

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SEAN PATRICK ADAMS. *Old Dominion, Industrial Commonwealth: Coal, Politics, and Economy in Antebellum America*. (Studies in Early American Economy and Society from the Library Company of Philadelphia.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 305. \$45.00.

Sean Patrick Adams's new book will find a place on my bookshelf alongside such classic studies of American political economy as Oscar and Mary Handlin's *Commonwealth: A Study of the Role of Government in the American Economy; Massachusetts, 1774-1861* (1947) and Louis Hartz's *Economic Policy and Democratic Thought: Pennsylvania, 1776-1860* (1948), as well as more recent work on the early decades of American

industrialization such as L. Ray Gunn's *The Decline of Authority: Public Economic Policy and Political Development in New York, 1800-1860* (1988). Like the Handlins, Hartz, and Gunn, Adams too examines the role of the "state" in economic life, both as an institutional structure where policy is made and carried out and as an arena of incessant political conflict between rival interests and constituencies. Since policy and politics are at once mutually related and often at odds, this is a complicated story, made more so by a rising market system that created an "economy" outside the formal purview of government altogether.

Adams compares the ongoing efforts undertaken in both Virginia and Pennsylvania to develop a coal industry, a one-hundred-year-long narrative beginning with the birth of the republic that was crowned by success only in the latter state. Such a comparison, of course, brings a particular American aspect of industrial revolution to the fore: namely, the role of bonded slave labor in economic development. At first we seem to be confronted with yet another example of a slave society's (Virginia's) failure to industrialize, a failure highlighted by its free neighbor's ability to do the same even though Pennsylvania coal manufacturers enjoyed a less favorable geology. John Majewski has recently presented such a version of events in his *A House Dividing: Economic Development in Pennsylvania and Virginia before the Civil War* (2000). But Adams is far less definitive in dividing his economic history between slave and free. Virginia's lag, rather, is explained as the result of a political system dominated by entrenched eastern elites loyal to distinct ethnic, religious, racial, and class traditions. Their control of state government by means of rotten boroughs and other electoral manipulations (not unconnected to their ownership of slaves) allowed planters to make public policy that consistently favored agriculture and undermined attempts to build a transportation infrastructure (for coal rather than crops), underwrite extraction technologies, invest in the state's western coal regions (by raising taxes and canal tolls), and oversee labor conditions. Slavery, thus, cannot be counted as a direct cause of Virginia's industrial retardation. Western Virginia, Adams reminds us, was not a slave society, and its developmental failures continued long after slavery was abolished.

In fact, Adams describes Virginia and Pennsylvania as sharing the same national ethos of civic prerogative, property rights, material progress, and popular rule. But in Pennsylvania, in contrast to republican, agrarian Virginia, whose political leadership zealously guarded against centralized threats to its position, this generated an active state government capable of practicing "managerial and technological coordination" (p. 5). Systematic programs of internal improvements, geological surveys, and corporate charters were the result as "the great potential of state-level institutions to underwrite private industry" (p. 77) was realized by government officials inspired by the wealth to be accrued from iron smelted with anthracite.

This did not mean that Pennsylvania's state govern-

ment was uniquely free of fierce partisan struggles between eastern and western districts, city and country, and farmers and manufacturers. Indeed, constant internal squabbles were the source of inefficiency, corruption, "logrolling," and bureaucratic delay. But they were also the key to industrial progress, for they opened the political playing field to coalitions that brought new social and economic forces into power. These then used their access to the state's governing apparatus to pass legislation, finance geological surveys, underwrite technologies, and otherwise advance their interests, in this case, their interest in coal. In Pennsylvania, unlike Virginia, static notions of a proper republican life were jettisoned in favor of a new paradigm of social order based on dynamic competition. Adams's study consequently points to a structural relationship between democratic politics and capitalist revolution. This does not, however, mean that democracy rested on an unfettered market. Quite the opposite, in fact. Successful economic development policy, Adams shows, was born of political motives. Branch canals, for instance, were often built to outlying regions because of partisan deal-making and legislative compromise. Only afterward did they make an economic contribution. Only after the groundwork was laid by the state and the less attractive investments made, in other words, did the economy privatize and the market emerge as the central force for development.

It was the Civil War that brought an end to the state's dominant economic role in Pennsylvania. Leadership then passed to the private corporation. The same war also brought political independence from planter control to western Virginia, provoking great expectations of a regional coal boom. This was not to be, however. The mobilization of public authority in fostering local industry whose tax revenues and commercial activities would then benefit the local population was no longer viable in the postbellum world. The growing dominance over the coal industry by railroad corporations meant that West Virginia was now dependent on investment capital from out of state (often from industrialized Pennsylvania), to where profits then returned. "The chief staple of West Virginia's postwar economy," Adams concludes his political history of coal, "was a resource of limited value to the state in which it was mined" (p. 230).

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EMILY WEST. *Chains of Love: Slave Couples in Antebellum South Carolina*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2004. Pp. x, 184. \$30.00.

Since the 1970s, students of slavery have uncovered much about slave life that had been previously hidden from general view. We have learned about the slaves' multigenerational families, about their deep faith and well-organized religious systems, and about their work and entrepreneurial activities. While the responses of Africans and African Americans to enslavement reveal

a level of cultural resilience previously unknown, discussions about the damaging effects of slavery on black family continue. Concern is focused primarily on the present and future health of a black families characterized by relatively low rates of marriage and growing numbers of children born into single-parent, female-headed households. Whether we like it or not, as students of slavery, to some extent we are all engaged in a debate with those who link the problems faced by sections of the black community today with the lingering effects of American slavery.

Emily West revisits the already heavily mined sources for glimpses into the least documented area of slave life, and her book thus marks the vast distance slave studies have traveled in the last decade or so. Drawing heavily from the Works Progress Administration (WPA) narratives, West explores the relationships between slave men and women and love and affection between slave spouses. She is determined to provide some sense of the "typicality of slave intimate experience" and so wrestles with those scholars (past more than present?) who set little store by the 2,000-plus interviews of former slaves conducted in the 1930s, and then collected together and published in the 1970s. Although her WPA samples for South Carolina contain only 334 former slaves interviewees (190 male and 144 female, some fourteen percent of the published interviews), she is convinced that, in combination, white and black sources reveal "the antithetical worldview of slaves and owners," and that there was a "vast social space dividing these two worlds" (p. 20). West's preference for the WPA sources shapes and fuels her research.

West has retrieved more than the occasional expression of romantic love among enslaved people in South Carolina. Armed with the recollections of former slaves, important elements of whose lives had been lived largely outside the purview of white slave holders, she challenges many scholarly observations about slave family life. For example, West refutes the existence of a distinct women's world under slavery with its same-sex bond that transcended all others, and blames those historians who, in emphasizing "female networks of support" at the expense of "spousal relationships," miss the fact that relationships between married men and women were generally more important to slaves than were same-gender networks (p. 13, n. 10). Even slaves' religious faith, so often located at the very core of black emotional and psychological survival, is put to one side and replaced by the marital bond, which is now offered as the slaves' primary means of surviving and ultimately resisting the brutal institution of slavery.

It is in her chapter on "Family Life," with a discussion of cross-plantation (broad) marriage, that West makes her stand. Her first chapter, on "Courtship and Marriage," leads nicely into the second, but the remaining chapters on "Work, Gender, and Status," "Interracial Sexual Contact," and "Enforced Separations" add little to her main argument about the "chains of love that bound enslaved couples" (p. 13). West is critical of scholars who have not sufficiently emphasized the great

risks enslaved men “encountered in visiting their families” (p. 58). Their marriages, ripe with difficulties as they were, made these men primary actors in both family formation and maintenance. They could “choose” their partners; and those who chose to marry women off the plantation were neither cowardly and irresponsible nor absent husbands and fathers. On the contrary, West is keen to demonstrate, these men acted as “protectors and risk-takers.” If anyone played a passive role, it was their wives who, given their domestic responsibilities, “were the visited” (p. 59). Here and elsewhere in the book, while not quite describing patriarchal structure in the slaves’ world, West comes very close. Furthermore, it is the scholars whose research has done most to identify a strong female presence at the heart of important slave institutions who appear to be West’s main target.

This book is a timely summary of the more recent scholarship on “the world the slaves made.” It will not be the definitive word on love and affection among the enslaved, but it will long serve as a fine example of the rewards of a critical examination of the available evidence of the words, thoughts, and perspectives of former slaves.

LARRY E. HUDSON, JR.
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ANNE SARAH RUBIN. *A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, 1861–1868*. (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. x, 319. \$34.95.

In this book, Anne Sarah Rubin reproduces the words and arguments of Confederates to explore the nature of Confederate nationalism. Based on a reading of the print culture of the Confederacy and some private letters and diaries, Rubin looks at Confederate nationalism through the eyes of its proponents rather than opponents. As such, she presents us with a comprehensive discussion of the ideas and feelings of supporters of the Confederacy during the Civil War and Reconstruction. Unfortunately, Rubin’s decision to leave unionists, dissenters, and African Americans out of her narrative, and the conflation of the term southerner with Confederate, yields a rather uncritical picture of Confederate nationalism. Even her discussion of women and gender relations in the Confederacy goes against recent, more complex portrayals of southern women during the Civil War and harks back to older stereotypes of all southern white women as die-hard Confederates and rebels.

Although this book relies heavily on Confederate propaganda and the viewpoint of prominent Confederates, Rubin’s interpretations are often in conflict with her evidence. For instance, she claims that from the start Confederate nationalism was constructed around the example of the American Revolution rather than slavery. But she goes on to quote prominent proslavery ideologues like George Fitzhugh and Stephen Elliot, who recognized the centrality of slavery in the creation of a separate southern nation and Confederate identity.

Moderates rather than southern fire-eaters and secessionists, as many historians of the Confederacy have argued, dominated its creation. But this does not mean that they were any less committed to racial slavery. At times, Rubin’s arguments are contradictory. Thus, Confederates denigrated the Puritan heritage of the North in contrast to their Cavalier culture, but at the same time they were supposedly attempting to found their own “city on a hill.” The Confederate version of Yankee Doodle Dandy, which she reproduces in its entirety, nicely reveals the historical and ideological distance between the American Revolution and the Confederate nation. Confederates may have invoked the example of the revolution to legitimize their secession, but it is highly doubtful, as Rubin claims, that the American Revolution rather than the defense of racial slavery was the lodestar of Confederate national identity. Surprisingly, she does not use the Confederate constitution, which was modeled after the United States constitution but had specific protections for slavery and introduced the word “slavery,” to bolster her argument.

Rubin also faithfully recounts the views of Confederate authorities on the course of the Civil War, desertion rates, and the conscription issue. Unlike historians who have argued that the Confederacy died of internal class conflict due to nonslaveholding opposition to unfair conscription laws and high desertion rates, she downplays the desertion rates and describes them merely as a matter of individual soldiers putting their self-interest above that of the Confederacy’s common good. Indeed, it is somewhat ironic that Rubin sees conscription as a problem only because the slavery-based nation was allegedly “dedicated to preserving individual liberty at all costs” (p. 69). The Confederate law that exempted owners of twenty slaves from military service and aroused widespread hostility among the yeomanry is not even mentioned. Military losses, even the crucial defeat at Gettysburg, which turned the tides of war in favor of the Union, apparently scarcely dented Confederate nationalism. According to Rubin, attachment to the Confederacy remained widespread and enthusiastic even after the surrender of its armies. She describes the last-ditch efforts to arm some slaves as a way in which the Confederacy “transcended” (p. 105) its character as a slaveholding nation rather than as a desperate move that signaled the complete and utter defeat of its cause, the defense and perpetuity of racial slavery. Despite this attempt, the Confederacy did not arm slaves, a move that went against the very logic of its founding.

In a somewhat ambitious manner, Rubin carries the story of Confederate nationalism beyond the end of the war and the Confederacy’s demise. Even when Confederates took oaths of loyalty to the Union, she contends that they did so for practical reasons and retained their allegiance to the vanished Confederacy. But as historians of Reconstruction have pointed out, the easy terms of presidential Reconstruction revealed that most Confederates were quite happy to rejoin the American Union as long as they could continue to sub-

jugate African Americans to a state as close to slavery as possible. While Rubin, like her subjects, holds Radicals responsible for unleashing southern bitterness because their Reconstruction plans gave freed people citizenship rights, she at least takes note of the virulent campaign of racial violence directed against former slaves by ex-Confederates. Surprisingly, she attributes this to the southern white failure to recognize black people's "agency" (p. 142) rather than a recognition of and an attempt to undermine that very "agency."

One could question Rubin's conclusion that Confederate nationalism outlasted the survival of the Confederacy. Certainly, southern attempts to carve a separate regional identity based on black subordination succeeded after the fall of Reconstruction. This can hardly be equated with Confederate nationalism. In the end, however, it is Rubin's rather one-dimensional description of Confederate nationalism that mars this book.

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G. WARD HUBBS. *Guarding Greensboro: A Confederate Company in the Making of a Southern Community*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 325. \$34.95.

G. Ward Hubbs's well-written study of Greensboro, Alabama, contributes to a growing body of scholarship that is striving to better integrate the military, political, and social history of the Civil War South. The book tightly focuses on this Black Belt town and its militia, the Greensboro Guards. It is more than a unit history, however (though anyone interested in such topics will find rich material here). Instead, the book uses the Guards' history to explain the nature of Greensboro's community, particularly the ways that war transformed the society fighting it. He concludes that Greensboro's white citizens moved from being highly individualistic and self-interested during the heady days of the antebellum cotton and slavery boom to embracing a postwar community defined by a loyalty forged among white people by the war's shared sacrifice and suffering.

The book is divided into multiple parts: the first two treat the founding period of the 1820s through the late antebellum period; part three is devoted to secession and war; part four addresses Reconstruction and its aftermath. Analysis of Greensboro's settlement reveals the tensions inherent in the development of a slave society and how land speculators, cotton pioneers, and slave traders fostered a "new grasping world" that, though profitable, created marked anxiety among citizens (p. 40). Such insecurity drove Greensborians to voluntary associations, through which "churches, commercial interests, temperance advocates, educational reformers, and town boosters" attempted to foster a community on the basis of virtue and self-improvement. Hubbs deems their efforts largely failures; the associations remained "tools for realizing selfish purposes than products of selfless concern" (p. 48). Only the

Guards themselves, formed not only as a voluntary organization but in order to defend the white population against Indian attacks and slave insurrection, stood as an exception to this pattern on the eve of the Civil War.

Part two closely follows the actions of the Guards "from Manassas to Appomattox" (p. xi). Hubbs notes that few Civil War soldiers understood what was happening in the greater war, for the true course of events was obscured to them by the great chaos (or dullness) of their immediate circumstances. Rather than compensating for the Guards' limited vision by substituting a voice of "historical omniscience," Hubbs allows the soldiers' experiences to drive the narrative of the battles in which they fought (p. xiii). In so doing, Hubbs heightens the sense of uncertainty and confusion so central to soldiers' experience of war and offers fresh and often lively accounts of familiar military events. This section also includes intriguing material, as well, about Alabamians' changing priorities regarding slavery. From going to war in 1861 to defend it, to publicly proposing in 1863 (before Patrick Cleburne did) that the Confederacy begin arming its slaves, Greensborians traveled considerable ground. Hubbs sees this shift as part and parcel of the larger metamorphosis of this community; the cause of slavery's defense was diminished only when juxtaposed against the prospect of Confederate defeat. The new feelings of loyalty to the men who had died—and to the idea that they had not died in vain—seemingly prompted a realignment of loyalties to slavery itself.

Finally, Hubbs argues that the failure of Reconstruction was rooted, at least in part, in Greensborians' new ideas of loyalty. From this perspective, "the postwar years can be understood as a battle, not merely between the Republican Party and former Confederates but also over the meaning of community . . ." (p. 229). During the war, Greensborians abandoned their antebellum understanding of duties and obligations as limited to the household and embraced instead a community founded on shared loyalties between citizens. The ties that bound the community were rooted in shared devotion to the Confederate cause but extended beyond this ideological stance to embrace the host of ways in which white Greensborians had sacrificed for that cause. Every sacrifice represented new proof of loyalty to the shared community, which in turn became the object of devotion as much as any particular interest. In such a world, Hubbs argues, political Reconstruction on the basis of liberal ideas of equality between blacks and whites was impossible, but not just because of whites' abiding racism and desire to control black labor. Instead, he argues, reverence for equality simply did not form the basis of community at all: community arose from a new "standard of commitment" among defeated Confederates (p. 229).

This book's strength lies in its deep connection to its actors. One of the pitfalls of examining individuals so closely, however, is that generalizations usually break over the back of human idiosyncrasies. In general, Hubbs overcomes this problem, although this reader

did occasionally wish for greater analytical muscle in the text. Nonetheless, this is a deeply researched and thoughtful study of the war's impact on a Deep South community.

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ELIZABETH LEE THOMPSON. *The Reconstruction of Southern Debtors: Bankruptcy after the Civil War*. (Studies in the Legal History of the South.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 198. \$39.95.

The story of the federal government's efforts to reconstruct the society and economy of the devastated South is well known to most historians. Elizabeth Lee Thompson's book adds an interesting and new dimension to this familiar story. Her discussion of the 1867 Bankruptcy Act and its consequences sheds light on the persistence of southern landholders after the war, attitudes toward federal power, and gender relations in the post-war South.

Most southern legislators originally perceived the law as a possible extension of federal power, but they tempered their opposition for a number of reasons. They understood that the law would benefit individual southerners and, more importantly, viewed the law as separate from Reconstruction and therefore not punitive. In short, southerners finessed their typical protection of state authority and supported the bill. Southern citizens were quick to take advantage of the law's provisions. Approximately thirty-six percent of the cases were filed in the South, at a time when southerners comprised about one quarter of the population. Most of those filing came soon after the war and many of them were intended to remove debts incurred to northern merchants.

The vast majority of those filing were white and male. They tended to be merchants, professionals, and planters, not laborers. More often than not, someone who took advantage of the Bankruptcy Act was from an urban area or a county with access to a railroad. These southerners were natives, typically, rather than transplants from the North or from Europe. The men who dominated the bankruptcy dockets also tended to be those who held political and social influence prior to the war. Thompson includes enough individual examples to make her description more powerful. For instance, Wade Hampton filed for bankruptcy in 1868 and was able to reorder his finances. His participation in bankruptcy did not harm his later political career, as he was elected South Carolina's governor in 1876 on a platform that stressed a rejection of federal intervention in state affairs. It seems that Hampton viewed the Bankruptcy Act in practical, rather than ideological terms, a viewpoint shared by many of his fellow southerners.

A relatively small proportion of women were involved in bankruptcy proceedings; about two percent of voluntary filers and about seven percent of the involuntary bankruptcies concerned women. Thompson does an admirable job ferreting out their life stories.

For example, she describes how Mrs. C. A. Cogniasse, a milliner from Vicksburg, petitioned for payment from clients across Mississippi and Louisiana. The case of Cogniasse and those like her show that women could actively partake in the commercial sphere as merchants or skilled workers. Thompson wisely, however, does not push her evidence too far. The low number of women who filed also attests to their limited ability to involve themselves in occupations, professions, and activities that typically were reserved for males.

Corporations also filed for bankruptcy, but few southern companies used the law's provisions. Southerners preferred resuscitation of businesses rather than a division of assets. Most business filings—and they were numerous—were partnerships. Thompson argues, with some difficulty, that the predominance of partnerships shows that southerners believed that the federal courts served local interests. A voluntary bankruptcy in a federal court, her argument runs, is better than involuntary bankruptcy in a state court, which is presumably hostile to business interests.

Thompson's research is well grounded. She examined approximately 3,800 bankruptcy filings from three federal courts: eastern Tennessee, South Carolina, and Mississippi. Her reading of the cases is enhanced and strengthened by cross-checking census records, periodicals, and a few manuscript collections. Her description of the three regions contains some surprising statements, particularly regarding South Carolina and Mississippi. She depicts the two states as being in "sharp contrast" (p. 8) regarding their loyalty to the Union, but then describes both as strongholds of Confederate sentiment. More puzzling is the statement that "[u]nlike South Carolina, Mississippi experienced much physical destruction as a result of the Civil War" (p. 9). Historians of the Civil War normally assert that General William T. Sherman's soldiers reserved special vitriol for South Carolina. It seems that Thompson tries to establish significant differences between South Carolina and Mississippi in order to strengthen the reach of her study.

The book's conclusions are in keeping with current historical interpretation of Reconstruction: "the Bankruptcy Act of 1867 helped to stabilize and entrench southern society's class and race structure after the Civil War" (p. 140). Since the Bankruptcy Act tended to favor local interests, it blunted the implementation of Reconstruction. The men who had most influence prior to the Civil War used the Bankruptcy Act as a tool to make the most of their diminished status. They shook off past obligations even as they reasserted their authority and, in the process, made certain that Reconstruction would be an unfinished revolution.

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FRANNY NUDELMAN. *John Brown's Body: Slavery, Violence, and the Culture of War*. (Cultural Studies of the United States.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. x, 226. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

It has long been a staple of Civil War historiography that the blood sacrifice of the soldiers—over 600,000, North and South—provided an organic element that the United States had heretofore lacked: a cement to the unity of the nation. In this book, Franny Nudelman sets out to historicize the notion that “violence regenerates”: that bloodshed is “the necessary unrivaled means of re-energizing our commitment to national life” (p. 2). Such legends, she argues, obscure both the horrors of war and the role of state-sponsored violence in “disciplining a national public” (p. 11). The power to regenerate lies not in death but in cultural constructions of death.

Nudelman finds a variety of meanings in Civil War constructions of death. John Brown’s death was a seminal event in the creation of a wartime nationalism that relied on individual self-sacrifice. The song “John Brown’s Body,” which celebrates both the decay of Brown’s physical being and the immortality of his soul, encouraged citizens and soldiers to believe that the losses they suffered would revitalize the national community. Brown’s African American co-conspirators met a different fate: buried at the site of the gallows, John Copeland’s body was disinterred by medical students and dissected. In one of her most compelling chapters, Nudelman contends that postmortem dissection, the fate of many African American bodies in the nineteenth century, deprived blacks, even in death, of self-ownership, undercut the rituals that gave death its redemptive power, and was used by a pseudo-scientific community of ethnographers to reinforce notions of racial inferiority.

Examining images of death in Civil War poetry, Nudelman shows how Walt Whitman depicted the dead as a source of redemption: decaying bodies becoming one with the land provided a central motif for the production of nationalism out of individual suffering. Abraham Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address reinforced this notion, as did the national graveyard it commemorated. Other Civil War poets, Herman Melville among them, challenged this organic vision. Refusing to find meaning in the incomprehensible suffering of the war, they forced their readers to consider the possibility that death offered neither immortality nor redemption. This theme can also be found in Civil War photographs. A sentimental tradition of postmortem photos suggests that antebellum Americans cared for their loved ones’ bodies with tenderness and viewed death as a transitional state between life and eventual reunion. Civil War photos shattered this illusion: bodies left to rot in the field could not be cared for and reminded Americans of their distance from loved ones. Such bodies were not regenerating anything but instead appeared abandoned.

One of Nudelman’s chief arguments is that images of wartime death as regenerative worked to cloak the ambitions of a national state that sought principally to empower itself. In Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address, for example, “the power of the dead to inspire the living effectively obscures the power of the state to inflict vi-

olence on its citizens” (p. 38). Images of execution suggest that soldiering could present as a form of enslavement to the state. This was particularly true for black soldiers, who faced discrimination in the service on many levels, among them a disproportionate rate of execution. Nudelman challenges the notion that black soldiering restored manhood to the slaves and merit to the war. In a study of Thomas Waterman Wood’s “A Bit of War History,” a triptych depicting the life of a black soldier, she points to the final image of the disabled veteran saluting and argues that the salute is a “servile gesture . . . Far from entitling the black soldier to autonomy, physical suffering leaves him dependent on the federal government” (p. 156).

Nudelman’s book is original and provocative, and parts of it are compelling. Viewing Civil War death through the lens of race and sentimental culture, she brings new insight to the ways in which bodies were used to forge a national consciousness and mobilize a national community. Her analyses of dissection and Civil War photos are particularly enlightening. But historians may well find parts of Nudelman’s book frustrating. It is laced with jargon from literary criticism: sentences such as “Viewed as the object of our gaze, Babo’s skull reproduces the fantasy of recalcitrant interiority that motivates diagnostic violence” (p. 54) may make the book difficult to traverse. More problematic are Nudelman’s failure to consider political context and her consequent reification of the national state. Nudelman’s state is engaged in a zero-sum contest with individual freedom; it is a Foucauldian state that disciplines and punishes. But the Civil War national state was for a time mobilized on behalf of individual freedom and resisted by states-rights, white-supremacist Democrats. When Wendell Phillips, the most prominent wartime white abolitionist, called on Americans to “Build the State at once!” he believed that state would construct a meaningful freedom for blacks. Nudelman’s interpretation of the Wood print suggests that blacks’ military service was for naught, but it was the valor of black soldiers that helped persuade many northerners—Lincoln among them—to include African Americans in a new definition of American identity. Although the failure of Reconstruction spelled the end of Phillips’s hopes for the state and stripped black freedom of its meaning, the principles of political and civil equality embodied in the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments laid the groundwork for the revival of the African American struggle for freedom.

This is in many ways a perceptive book. But Nudelman’s perspective leads her to treat the national state as always and everywhere implicated in the exploitation of death. One wishes she had historicized constructions of death by placing them not only in the context of nineteenth-century culture but in the context of Civil War politics as well.

MELINDA LAWSON
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JOSEPH MOREAU. *Schoolbook Nation: Conflicts over American History Textbooks from the Civil War to the Present*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2004. Pp. 403. \$35.00.

When it comes to American history, Joseph Moreau's book shows that writing it has never been left solely to the historians. Moreau analyzes more than one hundred school textbooks in American history published between 1824 and the end of the twentieth century. These works were chosen for examination because they best represented the controversies of their times and were not necessarily the most popular or widely adopted texts. But they illustrate the social and political debates over the character of what children and young adults should read about history. Moreau uses these schoolbooks to discuss the conflicts and the dominant controversies of each era and "how these battles have shaped the texts themselves" (p. 16).

In the introduction, Moreau refers to Frances Fitzgerald's thesis in *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (1979) that the study and teaching of American history changed as a result of the activism of the 1960s (p. 2). Moreau sets out to show that pressure groups with their own political and educational agendas have existed in the United States from the country's beginnings; there never has been one unified, cohesive vision of American history. The theme traced throughout the chronological organization of the study is that various political and pressure groups have sought to impose their version of American history through school textbooks. Moreau shows how visions of the United States changed and evolved through chapters concentrating on particular eras and their dominant controversies. For example, the idea of the nation-state is traced through the nineteenth century and is summarized in the observation of the change in reference from the United States "are," at the founding, to the singular "is," in the years after the Civil War up through the early 1900s.

Moreau shows the effects of such controversies on publishers as they sought to please, or not offend, the various factions. The textbook industry helped to appease the South in the latter nineteenth century and altered the depiction of Civil War history. Moreau also shows how politicians sought to fan the controversies for their own ends and how the groups and the controversies did influence the course of events. This book deftly illustrates the shaping of American history through the controversies that influenced its depiction in school textbooks. The subject is controversial, but Moreau offers a dispassionate, thorough examination.

Moreau's work and Jonathan Zimmerman's *Whose America? Culture Wars in the Public Schools* (2002) were published within two years of one another. While both books cover the same ground, Zimmerman's is broader in focus, showing the range of activities of the factions, interest groups, and political parties that fought to control public school education as well as other agendas. Moreau concentrates specifically on the controversies

as reflected in the contents of the textbooks espoused and manipulated by these same groups.

In addition to an obvious audience of American history majors and cultural historians, this work should be required reading for courses in the sociology of education and educational administration, public administration, and government. It is probably too much to hope for, but those who sit on textbook selection committees and school boards could profit from knowing the historical context of their positions. Librarians, journalists, parents, and other stakeholders allied to education would also find much of interest. The analysis is well documented, and while the writing style could not be termed "lively," the author does have a talent for the apt metaphor or analogy, humorous at times. The "List of References" should be labeled "List of Schoolbooks Examined," as the references for each chapter are contained in a "notes" section at the end of the text. A bibliography of the citations from the notes section would have been helpful.

ANNA H. PERRAULT
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JOHN R. NEFF. *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2005. Pp. xiv, 328. \$34.95.

Despite the enormity of the problem of Civil War fatalities—an estimated 620,000 dead—scholars have paid scant attention to how Americans confronted the various dimensions of wartime mortality. John R. Neff tackles the problem, partly with the aim of documenting the losses and the means by which northerners and southerners coped with death, but more importantly with the aim of reconsidering recent scholarship that documents the rapidity with which white Americans "clasped hands across the bloody chasm" and sealed the deal of reconciliation. Specifically, Neff challenges the reunion narrative and finds that dealing with the dead—in terms of grieving, commemorating, burying, remembering, and honoring—threw up noteworthy obstacles to the conciliatory process and served to perpetuate sectional hostility.

Toward this end, Neff offers a considerable amount of persuasive evidence. He writes movingly of the personal grief and devastation that northerners and southerners experienced in grappling with dead soldiers; he shows how Unionists not only bitterly mourned the assassination of Abraham Lincoln but interpreted the killing in ways that renewed their commitment to sectionalism; and he demonstrates how, for white southerners, the death of Jefferson Davis managed to instill a new outpouring of support for the memory of the Confederacy and the principles of the Lost Cause. Along the way, Neff brings home the intensity of suffering and underscores how "the soldier dead never lost their symbolic value" (p. 37) in promoting particular northern and southern interpretations of the war.

Those conflicting interpretations, for Neff, are de-

fined in terms of the southern idea of the "Lost Cause" and what Neff calls the northern myth of the "Cause Victorious." His elaboration of the "Lost Cause" flows from what scholars have documented over the last two decades regarding southern whites' efforts to imbue their quest for independence and their ultimate defeat with a sense of honor and nobility. His elaboration of the "Cause Victorious" treads on much less familiar ground, suggesting the way northerners created a myth that asserted loyalty and reunification well before these features had come to characterize national life. Yet, his discussion of this northern myth prompts questions about just how much that occurs in the process of nation-building can be rightly characterized as "myth." Certainly, the assertion of national unity at the end of the Civil War did rest, to a considerable degree, on the powers of imagination. Yet, not all federal actions fall so clearly under the rubric of "myth," especially with respect to the treatment of dead soldiers. Unionists drew on the traditions and institutions of a nation that predated the Civil War and helped elaborate an even stronger sense of nationalism, institutionally as well as ideologically, after the war had ended. And while ideas could run ahead of practice, the Union position could always ground itself in a kind of reality that was unavailable to former Confederates. In fact, as Neff himself demonstrates, Unionists brought a very powerful tool to the process of postwar burials that the former Confederates lacked, specifically in the form of bureaucracy. Thus, at times, what Neff sees as the perpetuation of sectional sentiments among northerners may have had less to do with sentiment and more to do with the creation of a federal bureaucracy that, by necessity, defined the scope of its work by separating those who had been loyal to the United States from those who had been traitors.

Race, of course, figures as well into Neff's questions and analysis, and he recognizes, in noteworthy ways, how much race was a factor in both actual Civil War deaths and in the postwar rhetoric of commemoration. Thus he observes a persistent Union pattern of treating black lives cavalierly, thereby driving up the death rate for black soldiers during and after the war. He discusses, too, the tension between the Unionist myth of inclusive national identity and a decidedly racist view that assigned black Americans a second-class status, most obviously, for the purposes of this study, in segregated sections of national cemeteries. Still, Neff misses the opportunity to explore fully how black Americans understood Civil War deaths in their own terms. One wishes that the detailed analysis Neff brings to white memorial activities had been extended to African American commemorations. Such a discussion would have strengthened what is already an important contribution to Civil War scholarship.

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WILLIAM A. BLAIR. *Cities of the Dead: Contesting the Memory of the Civil War in the South, 1865–1914*. (Civil

War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 250. \$34.95.

Even before the recent outpouring of scholarship on the construction of memory, historians of the American South have since the 1930s sought to understand how this region commemorated the Civil War. Until recently, most historians had studied how white southerners remembered the "Lost Cause." One of the strengths of William A. Blair's book is his effort to document how both white and black southerners sought to remember this conflict. Although interested in questions of memory, Blair's approach is not cultural; rather he seeks to understand the "political role of commemorations" (p. 4). In his case study focusing on Virginia, with additional evidence drawn from Louisiana and South Carolina, Blair shows how white and black political leaders sought to use rituals of mourning and commemoration to advance their respective political agendas. Blair focuses on two holidays—Memorial Day and Emancipation Day—to ground his study.

In contrast to earlier interpretations of the origins of Confederate Memorial Day, Blair stresses how white southerners initially used the Confederate war dead as symbols of resistance to federal domination under Reconstruction. Cemeteries served as convenient places of protest in a period when federal authorities often banned former Confederates from marching on the street in their grey uniforms or holding other commemorative activities. Blair sees a subversive quality in the efforts of the southern Ladies Memorial Associations to repatriate the Confederate war dead from northern gravesites and rebury them in cemeteries such as Hollywood in Richmond.

Reconstruction offered African Americans considerable space to commemorate the Civil War as a struggle for freedom and to display their allegiance to the national government. In sharp contrast to the white southerners, African Americans embraced not only federal Memorial Day but also the Fourth of July. Under Reconstruction, black militia units and civic organizations could openly parade on these holidays. African Americans remembered emancipation, but on varying days. For many African Americans, January 1, the anniversary of when the Emancipation Proclamation took effect, was the date of commemoration. In Richmond, the black community remembered emancipation on Evacuation Day, April 3, which marked the day that the Union Army entered the city.

The end of Reconstruction did not halt African American efforts to shape a memory of the Civil War, but their white allies were disappearing. In many southern communities, only African Americans turned out for federal Memorial Day ceremonies. Emancipation Day continued to be commemorated on varying dates that mirrored the political divisions within the community. Most African American leaders were loyal to the national Republican Party but were frustrated at the GOP's growing embrace of a policy of national reconciliation between the North and South. In Blair's view,

the growing emphasis on self-reliance in Emancipation Day orations reflected an effort by African American leaders to forge a united front in an era when white political allies were unreliable at protecting the black community.

Since black voters were not disenfranchised until the late 1890s, they remained a potent political force. In the case of Virginia, the black vote allowed the emergence of a biracial coalition that came to power in Virginia in the election of 1879 and lasted until 1883. Blair sees the emphasis by conservatives in honoring the average Confederate soldier, especially the crippled veteran, as part of an effort to reach out to poor whites in such a way as to split this emerging biracial coalition. By the same token, conservatives in Blair's account remained equally adept at trying to divide the black community and offering a veneer of moderation. For instance, black organizations and individuals were often invited to participate in ceremonies commemorating the Confederate past.

Blair is not the first historian to see the decision of the federal government to allow the creation of a separate Confederate section in Arlington National Cemetery as a crucial turning point in how both southerners and northerners remembered the Civil War. Reconciliation, at least between white Americans, would be symbolized by the unveiling of a Confederate monument at Arlington in 1914. But is this Confederate memorial the definitive symbol of national reconciliation? The case can be made that the placing of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington after World War I was far more important in recasting this cemetery from a symbol of sectional division to one that embodies national unity.

As with any case study, the inevitable question is how representative is the pattern Blair found in Virginia? Blair says little about organized veterans organizations, such as the Grand Army of the Republic and the United Confederate Veterans, and how they shaped the politics of remembrance. These caveats aside, this is a book worth reading, especially for those interested in questions of memory and commemoration.

G. KURT PIEHLER
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LISA A. LONG. *Rehabilitating Bodies: Health, History, and the American Civil War*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. 332. \$49.95.

Lisa A. Long is fascinated by Americans' fascination with the Civil War. The war, Long concludes, is the ground beneath our feet; but it is unstable, shifting and undulating like the mounds of dying soldiers left unburied on the battlefield. Standing on this moving surface can be jarring to the senses and wears on the joints, so each generation attempts to stabilize the terrain by writing its own history. Seeking rehabilitation on the Civil War battlefield, however, is no easy feat, for it is littered with bodies and half-answered questions about antebellum relations of race, gender, and class, ques-

tions that prove to be as unsettling for Americans today as they were for our forebears.

Long's Civil War is "an imaginative space where Americans attempt to form rehabilitative strategies specific to contemporary needs" (p. 20). To explore this space, Long assembles a familiar group of late nineteenth-century authors of fiction and nonfiction and recasts their work as an effort to heal battlefield wounds, both visible and invisible. The healing framework works better in some cases than in others. Doctor S. Weir Mitchell, for example, the scourge of so many upper-middle-class female hysterics, appears here as he attempts to cure his own post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) by authoring battlefield fiction featuring nerve-damaged veterans and multiple amputees. Novelist Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, in *Gates Ajar* (1868), presents to a mourning nation a heaven where dead soldiers live on and where traumatized survivors can feel whole again. Stephen Crane's *Red Badge of Courage* (1895) is framed as a eugenic warning of white men's potential for savagery and self-destruction. And nurses Mary Livermore, Susie King Taylor, and Mary Ann (aka Mother) Bickerdyke come together as progenitors of a healing "mother power," poised to nurse the postwar nation back to health. In some cases, the subjects—female nurses, for instance—seem more intent on healing the bodies in front of them than the body of the nation, and in others an early onset of modernist angst seems to have precluded healing of any kind.

This is not a history of Civil War-era literature, and as a historian I am ill equipped to comment on the book's merits as literary criticism. The author offers readers interested in the history of the Civil War little help understanding the period or why so many Americans still turn back to it to know something of themselves. The book is tricky to read. Long alternates between Chicago and MLA citation style, making her text difficult to follow in places. She often fails to mention a title or author for several pages, leaving the reader flipping back and forth in order to follow the argument. Like a battlefield, the book is littered with its own hazards, including academic jargon, mangled metaphors, and distracting editorial oversights. There are too many bodies: unfeeling bodies, amputated bodies, diseased bodies, dead bodies, reenacting bodies, and disembodied bodies. Perhaps I prefer the strenuous Teddy Roosevelt, who found remembering the war to be just what the doctor ordered, rather than those, like Mitchell, for whom the war was "a gnawing wound, a persistent ghost, an incurable disease" (p. 57).

That said, nimble readers will appreciate Long's innovative perspective on writing the war as a process of healing. Those interested in an accessible history of popular literature would do well to read Alice Fahs's *The Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature of the North and South, 1861–1865* (2001).

JUDITH ANN GIESBERG
Villanova University

SARAH E. GARDNER. *Blood and Irony: Southern White Women's Narratives of the Civil War, 1861–1937*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. x, 341. \$39.95.

Literacy is a powerful weapon in war: when combatants utilize words to construct and disseminate meaning, they advocate a political vision, sway public opinion, and shape the historical record. The battle over interpretation—especially rendered through the written text—is as significant as the battle over human life, land, and resources. Sarah E. Gardner's study of southern white women's writing about the Civil War amply demonstrates the validity of these claims. More than anything else, Gardner's book shows how white southern women used private and public writing to fight for a white supremacist, patriarchal political order that they fervently believed should be the national model. "I am a totally unreconstructed Confederate," Caroline Gordon, one of the novelists Gardner discusses, told an audience in 1974. "I came to believe . . . that the fact that we lost the Civil War was not only a disaster for the South but for the whole nation" (p. 262). Gordon's remarks indicate the pernicious resonance of the ideas Gardner uncovers.

This is a prodigious work of scholarship. Redressing a gender bias in Civil War history, Gardner studies "the mass of writings by southern women" (p. 3) as a way of understanding how they made meaning of the war over a seventy-five-year period and, in the process, "fashioned a new cultural identity for the postbellum South" (p. 4). Gardner identifies a tradition of southern white women's Civil War writing from its origins in the 1860s to its demise in the 1930s that provides an illuminating new context for better-known white southern writers such as William Faulkner and Margaret Mitchell. Examining an extensive variety of primary texts, including letters, diaries, novels, biographies, histories, and reminiscences, Gardner argues that southern white women participated equally with their male peers in creating a discourse about the South and the Civil War that had as its hallmarks the transformation of racism into philanthropy and of defeat into victory. Whether they glorified the Confederacy, aggrandized their soldier husbands, or mourned the tragic losses incurred by war, these writing women created a unified, coherent literary legacy that fiercely contested northern interpretations of the war. According to these women, the South was forced into battle because the North refused to abide by "constitutionally guaranteed liberties" (p. 27), and national reconciliation was neither desirable nor possible because the South was politically, morally, and culturally superior.

Gardner traces the evolution of white southern women's "distinctly southern story of the war" (p. 5) by employing a historical organizational structure. In addition to an introduction and an epilogue, each chapter is devoted to close readings of literature written during six distinct periods, including the war years, Reconstruction, New South boosterism, and modernism. This

framework enables an examination of the ways in which writers' visions were shaped by larger historical occurrences, such as increasing industrialization and World War I, as well as how various writers revised certain elements of the standard story in different historical moments. The tradition ended when the discourse lost its distinctive southern details, becoming instead a "regional variant of the national story." Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind* (1936) epitomizes this shift.

The crucial role the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) played in the "paper battle over the authoritative version of the war" (p. 5) is Gardner's most interesting finding. Founded by white, middle-class, urban women in the mid-1890s, the widely popular organization believed the creation and preservation of the "true" story of the Civil War was a divinely ordained mission. To this end, members organized chapters across the country, encouraged the writing of histories and reminiscences, formed history and textbook committees, instituted study plans, and appointed historian-generals to establish rules and procedures. The UDC not only sanctioned women's writing about themselves and history; it also created a market for the stories they produced. Issuing guidelines, reading lists, and historical texts, the organization became the official custodian of the South's collective memory, as well as its cultural gatekeeper. Moreover, because of its influence, the UDC wielded significant power in the publishing industry. Editors made decisions about manuscripts based on whether they received UDC endorsement.

In the early twentieth century, Gardner informs us, Ellen Glasgow contested the UDC's stronghold by invoking "blood and irony" as metaphors for the revitalization of "a rotting southern culture" (p. 142). By adopting this phrase as a title for her study, Gardner suggests that she shares Glasgow's sentiment. Recognizing how the South's white female "pen and ink warriors" fought vigilantly and valiantly to establish, and publicly circulate, their version of history "revitalizes" southern and women's history scholarship. But Gardner's analysis says precious little about the ways this "battle" upheld a political system premised on white racial superiority and women's traditional familial roles.

LINDA M. GRASSO

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CAROLYN ROSS JOHNSTON. *Cherokee Women in Crisis: Trail of Tears, Civil War, and Allotment, 1838–1907*. (Contemporary American Indian Studies.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 227. Cloth \$48.00, paper \$29.95.

This book will be of interest for scholars and students as well as the general reader. It focuses on the dramatic changes in the lives of Cherokee women between 1838 and 1907. Carolyn Ross Johnston describes her search for Caldonia (p. xii), an ancestor who died in 1843.

However, this book is not just about one woman but about Cherokee women of her era and their place in history. It is disappointing that the records do not allow Caldonia to appear as a fully realized individual, but in the search Johnston uncovers a more complex story.

One strength of this narrative is Johnston's theme of class as vital to understanding gender in the historical record. The only place this theme falters is in the first chapter, which explores the traditional culture of the Cherokee women. Unfortunately the descriptions are not well integrated and, unlike the rest of the book, the discrete differences between classes and categories of people are not apparent. Further, the nature of matriliney and the clan system, which is vital to understanding the later changes, are not fully explored. Given the long tradition of ethnohistory that calls upon the strengths of both anthropology and history, a more expansive discussion of the literature would have been especially welcome. An ongoing conversation between anthropologists and historians on this topic is sorely needed.

The heart of the book lies in the history of the Cherokee from 1838–1907, which Johnston divides into three periods: the years leading to the Trail of Tears, the Civil War and Reconstruction, and the allotment era. Before the Civil War, bureaucrats and missionaries focused on transforming Cherokee concepts of gender equities and sexual openness to the Christian ideals of the day that subordinated women to their male relatives. Johnston argues that the degree of acceptance of this colonial message correlated with class. Wealthier women largely accepted a middle-class European gender status, while the majority of Cherokee women did not. By the end of this period, however, economic changes eroded the positions of even the most traditional women. In 1827, the new Cherokee constitution disenfranchised women, denying not just their right to vote but also their ability to hold formal offices. During the removal, women's experiences differed from men's. Rape and difficult pregnancies on the trail debilitated women, while the inability of men to protect and provide for their families injured them. Family, the heart and soul of Cherokee life, fell victim to this massive calamity. The experiences of the rich, who were often married to whites, and those of the poorer Cherokees contrasted dramatically.

During the Civil War and Reconstruction, both the importance of class distinction in experiencing the horrors of the time and the depreciation of women's roles continued. By 1863, a third of Cherokee women were widowed and primary family caretakers. However, their families were now fundamentally disrupted, as were the formerly strong women's alliances. Elite women, who had relied on slaves and husbands, found themselves toiling in unfamiliar ways. The Cherokee nation ended the war once again having to rebuild and redefine itself.

After the war, pressures to assimilate continued to increase, and the federal government, which viewed the Cherokee as southern supporters, showed little flexibility. A highlight was the Cherokee Female Seminary that educated women in a Western style. It produced

many professional women who served their people in important ways. However, less than ten percent of the students were full-blooded Cherokee. Marriage with non-Cherokee spouses continued at an increased rate. In divorces, courts recognized that Cherokee women, unlike their Euro-American sisters, had a tradition of property ownership that in part was used to determine property distributions. But domestic violence appears in court records as well. The allotment era saw the division of Cherokee lands, and this fundamentally attacked traditional gender definitions. Men were officially designated as heads of households, and community lands that had anchored the matrilineal clans were officially divided into private plots. The act was opposed by traditionals but supported by some elite women. All ultimately suffered, however, since over half the land in question soon was lost to the Cherokee.

The conclusion of this book ties many of the threads of this history together in an elegant and helpful overview. Some questions remain, such as the context of intermarriages for both Cherokee and non-Cherokee cultures during the important periods. These problems are not major, however, and the book is a valuable addition to a growing literature on Native women. It takes its place with Theda Perdue's *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700–1835* (1998).

LAURA F. KLEIN
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CONEVERY BOLTON VALENČIUS. *The Health of the Country: How American Settlers Understood Themselves and Their Land*. New York: Basic Books. 2002. Pp. viii, 388. \$20.00.

Conevery Bolton Valenčius's prize-winning book represents a bold and fresh perspective on a time-honored, even hoary theme in U.S. historiography: the settlement of the nineteenth-century frontier. She melds insights from the history of medicine (which is the field of her graduate training), environmental history, and postmodern critical analyses of the body in order to recapture ordinary Americans' attitudes toward the western landscape, and, by extension, raise issues that are much more broad ranging and profound. Indeed, as Valenčius argues, early settlers in Missouri and Arkansas drew few of the distinctions between what she terms the "exterior world" and the individual body that we assume so implicitly and completely today. In their minds, the well-being of nature, the body, and the nation were interconnected and subject to the same principles and processes.

At the heart of Valenčius's analysis is the notion that the land itself can be healthful or injurious, and that early nineteenth-century settlers, physicians, and commentators were keenly aware of what made it so and evaluated it on those terms. Borrowing from the title of Hippocrates's ancient treatise, the book has separate chapters on "Airs," "Waters," and "Places" that recapture popular attitudes toward these features of the landscape. Just as decay and blockages were sources of

concern for the body, malodorous miasmas and stagnant, unmoving bodies of water were warning signs about the deleterious qualities of specific sites on the frontier. These connections between land and body shaped much of medical science during the period, and were manifested in the proliferation of detailed local studies under the rubric of medical geography. Likewise, they also influenced farming practices—what made sense for nurturing the body also made sense for cultivating the land and vice versa. And, like any fundamental cultural truth, these attitudes reflected and reinforced prevailing racial hierarchies and ideologies, and Valenčius offers fascinating discussions of African Americans' attitudes as well as the ways in which slave-owning white society racialized land-body connections. All of these examples, as well as the many more that fill the book, are based on meticulous and thorough research in contemporary letters, diaries, and publications, and they are presented in prose that is a delight to read.

At a higher level of abstraction, Valenčius suggests that nineteenth-century settlers saw few distinctions among the salubrity of the body, the land, and the nation as a whole. In this vein, Frederick Jackson Turner's old notion of the frontier as a safety valve takes on new meaning and becomes almost literally the sociological equivalent of a laxative on the body politic. In contrast to her closely researched discussions of popular and medical attitudes toward the land and the body, however, these connections to the nation rest on a much slimmer evidentiary base and are much more speculative.

This is a rich study, and it is nothing if not suggestive. It is, however, something of a challenge to know what to do with its many suggestions and insights. Valenčius makes too few attempts to speak directly to other scholars who have worked on the history of the frontier and to contextualize her own work and her findings in that historiography—a strategy that, perhaps, reflects her publisher's attempts to reach a broader audience and eschew maps, traditional forms of citation, and other scholarly apparatus. Still, this is a fresh, novel, and potentially important piece of scholarship. Perhaps, like a strong breeze on the Missouri frontier, it will clear the air and have a stimulative effect on a field of study that has tended toward stagnancy.

HAL S. BARRON

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TERRY L. ANDERSON and PETER J. HILL. *The Not So Wild, Wild West: Property Rights on the Frontier*. (Stanford Economics and Finance.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 263. \$24.95.

This book by Terry L. Anderson and Peter J. Hill offers an engaging and succinct look at how property rights developed in the American West during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The authors take on the myth that the American West was a place

marked by lawlessness and violence and replace it with images of cooperating individuals who worked with one another to create agreements, contracts, and institutions that protected property rights, which led to the increased value of property in the West.

Anderson and Hill take a sweeping look at some of the most iconic moments in the history of the American West. For example, they examine the systematic dispossession of Native peoples from their homelands, the creation of mining legal regimes in California, the emergence of rules for governing the open range, and the development of prior appropriation for allocating water rights. These scholars ask if the settling of the West was really as violent and fraught as historians and *Deadwood* have led us to believe. Their answer is a decisive "no," and through some in-depth research in both primary and secondary sources, the authors make a compelling case for historians to use economic analysis in reexamining these important moments.

The first two chapters outline the free-market, libertarian theories that undergird Anderson and Hill's economic and historical analysis. The authors insert themselves within the ever-widening divide within western history by telling a story of "institutional entrepreneurs" who were neither the heroic nor the villainous individuals portrayed by neo-Turnerians or the New Western Historians respectively. Rather, Anderson and Hill assert that collectives of individuals cooperated to create new institutions and property regimes on the frontier. These economic pioneers helped to make sense of an ever-changing social and economic landscape and brought legal and economic order, which benefited new immigrants. Anderson and Hill conclude that it was not in the best interest of individuals in the West to resort to violence; rather the vast majority of these pioneers chose negotiations and rent-seeking behavior to solve disputes over property.

The most compelling chapters deal with the property rights of Native Americans and how the new immigrants and their attendant governmental institutions systematically dispossessed them of their rights and land. They tell a persuasive story of how Native peoples "owned" land and allocated property rights prior to the arrival of Europeans. While they do not attempt to understand specific indigenous ways of knowing and possessing land, they do make a clear case that Indians had a sense of what belonged to them, and that new immigrants were usurpers into these property regimes. The authors point out that prior to the arrival of the institutions associated with empires and federal governments, individuals on the frontier were much more willing to negotiate and make accommodations with one another in order to settle property disputes. In an argument that echoes Richard White's *Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (1991), they point out that absent the power of one side to dominate the other, "trading rather than raiding" was the preferred method for individuals to cooperate and mutually benefit one another.

This "middle ground," however, passed once a standing U.S. Army was created by the demands of the U.S.-Mexican War and the Civil War. As a result of the militarization of the frontier, the U.S. federal government systematically used violence to enforce its vision of property rights, which conclusively excluded Native peoples' claims to land and property. Anderson and Hill argue that because the distant federal government did not have to shoulder the personal costs (in terms of loss of property and life) of enforcing its legal regimes, as locals had during the "middle ground" period, it was willing to use force rather than negotiation to acquire property rights. The authors further point out that the legal and legislative "violence" that ensued against Native peoples after the end of the Indian Wars, from the Dawes to the Indian Reorganization Acts, were extensions of the federal government's ability to force its view of property rights onto Native peoples.

The authors are not shy about their libertarian viewpoint, and some readers may be put off by the free-market, procapitalist spin on their historical narrative. Indeed, issues of difference, race, ethnicity, class, and gender fall completely out of the story they tell. Anderson and Hill seem to imply that all people will make economically rational decisions that are in their best individual interest, regardless of cultural background or value systems based on communitarian ideas of property and society. Nevertheless, despite what can sometimes seem like a one-sided analysis, this is an important book and adds new insight and value to the stories that are told about how the West was won—or not.

MARIA E. MONTOYA
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GARY LAWSON and GUY SEIDMAN. *The Constitution of Empire: Territorial Expansion and American Legal History*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 272. \$40.00.

This provocative book by Gary Lawson and Guy Seidman examines an underexplored chapter of American constitutional development: the tensions created by the accommodation of American territorial expansion within the constitutional system. The authors' goals are to restore territorial law to its central role in American constitutional studies, and to explore what it would mean to take the Constitution seriously in this area by testing the legality of America's solutions to territorial acquisition and governance over the past 200 years. Although other works have explored aspects of the constitutional implications of American imperial expansion, the work differs from them in its comprehensive sweep in addressing the various permutations of territorial acquisition and governance, and in applying an exclusively originalist perspective to questions of constitutional legitimacy.

The book proceeds by setting forth the authors' sense of original understanding and its implications for the power to acquire territory, and then analyzes the legality of events in America's nineteenth-century terri-

torial expansion and governance. Lawson and Seidman are purported originalists, with a self-avowed fascination with form over function in constitutional analysis. In the first of several controversial moves, the authors define original understanding, not in the traditional sense of relying on the historical record of what the Constitution's drafters and ratifiers actually said and understood, but as what a "fully informed" eighteenth-century public would have understood the Constitution to mean. They thus rely on a peculiar "rational reconstruction" of what a necessarily mythic figure (some-what akin to Ronald Dworkin's Judge Hercules) would have believed in the eighteenth century.

Perhaps equally controversial is the authors' conclusion, after a lengthy parsing of constitutional text and structure, that the treaty power is a purely "implementational" power rather than an independent substantive grant of authority to the national government. In their view, acquisition of territory via the treaty power, without more, is therefore insufficient to bestow constitutional legitimacy. To be constitutional, territory acquired by treaty must serve some other enumerated power of the national government, such as the power to admit states or to establish naval bases.

Although in their conclusion, the authors acknowledge some uncertainty about their interpretation of the treaty power, their approach ultimately does not significantly affect their assessment of the validity of most landmark events in American territorial expansion. Indeed, the authors conclude that many events in American territorial expansion that others have considered constitutionally infirm—including the Louisiana Purchase and the annexation of Texas—were entirely lawful, as an implementation of the power to admit new states. Alaska and Hawaii, although more complex candidates for statehood, also appear to fall on the acceptable side of the constitutional calculus. The only territorial acquisitions that the authors find constitutionally problematic are those reaching territory held neither in anticipation of future statehood nor as an exercise of naval power—of which the acquisition of various Caribbean "guano islands" and the Philippines in the later part of the nineteenth century are the most prominent examples.

The second half of the book, which addresses the constitutionality of territorial governance, is more scathing in its critique of the legality of the American territorial project. "From an originalist perspective," the authors conclude, "serious constitutional problems have pervaded nearly every institution of territorial government since the nation's founding" (p. 124). Here the constitutional infirmity lies not with denying representative government to the inhabitants of federal territories but in granting too much representative government. The authors argue counterintuitively, but persuasively, that in delegating aspects of territorial governance to officials elected locally by territorial inhabitants, Congress has violated Article II's command that executive officers be appointed by the president, with high level officers also confirmed by the Sen-

ate. Other prominent examples of unconstitutional territorial governance include the establishment of territorial judges who do not satisfy the rigors of Article III, and the executive's peacetime military governance of California and Puerto Rico, until Congress established lawful territorial governments in there.

It is surprising that the acquisition of Puerto Rico, the largest U.S. possession that for over a century has been granted neither statehood nor independence, receives almost no attention in the book. The authors assume that Puerto Rico (in contrast to the Philippines) was a plausible candidate for eventual statehood when it was acquired, and thus it satisfies their formalistic constitutional inquiry. But Puerto Rico, with its large, impoverished, non-English-speaking, Catholic population was a much more dubious candidate for statehood in 1899 than even Hawaii, and was sufficiently alien for the Supreme Court to proclaim the island's peculiar status as "appurtenant and belonging to" but not "part of the United States." Also underaddressed in the book is the thorny relationship between citizenship and territorial inhabitants, which was a driving concern behind the Supreme Court's tortured resolution of the status of the so-called "Insular possessions" at the turn of the last century. That story, however, has been eloquently explored elsewhere, by Gerald Neuman and Alex Aleinikoff, among others.

The strength of the book lies in its lucid and succinct description of the history of the various stages of America's nineteenth-century territorial expansion, its vivid exploration of the constitutional problems posed by Congress's failure to create a government for California for more than a year after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and its insistence on reinvigorating examination of constitutional questions that, while largely neglected by twentieth-century scholars, were frontburner issues in the nineteenth century and continue to exert significant influence over large areas of constitutional doctrine. Paradoxically, the authors' emphasis on the divergence between U.S. constitutional doctrine and their view of original understanding also serves to underscore how little originalist approaches have actually contributed to American constitutional development.

SARAH H. CLEVELAND
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ERIC T. L. LOVE. *Race over Empire: Racism and U.S. Imperialism, 1865–1900*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 245. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

Eric T. L. Love has written a brief, clearly argued, thesis-driven study of U.S. imperialism in the late 1800s. Love upbraids mainstream historiography for asserting that "white supremacy . . . armed the imperialists of 1898 with a nearly impenetrable rationale" for seizing territory in the Caribbean and Pacific (p. xi). The truth, according to Love, is very nearly the contrary. The racist "structures and convictions" of the time powerfully buttressed anti-imperialist arguments, and imperialists

largely shared the racist assumptions of their opponents. Far from calling for uplift or trumpeting "the white man's burden," annexationists "reacted with silences, disingenuous evasions, and denials that race had anything to do with their . . . projects" (pp. xi–xii).

Although its subject is racism, this is not a theoretical work. Indeed, it focuses unabashedly on "the thoughts, words and actions of policymakers" (p. xiv). Love defines racism pragmatically as "exclusionary relations of power based on race" (p. 17). On occasion he notes the mutability of racial categories—the Portuguese in Hawaii were white to annexationists, "scum" to their opponents—but Love is not interested in the construction of race along the lines of historians like Matthew Frye Jacobson. Race here remains monolithic and inert rather than contested and mercurial. "The arguments that were set against imperialism at the start of the 1890s," Love notes of racist opposition to empire, "were not only familiar but . . . had also not evolved much since 1870" (p. 106).

The book first examines two cases of annexation denied or delayed: the Dominican Republic in 1869–1870 and Hawaii in 1893, after American planters overthrew Queen Liliuokalani. Later chapters analyze the about-face that led to Hawaii's absorption in 1898 and the more controversial acquisition of the Philippines after the defeat of Spain. For each case Love traces the machinations and debates of policymakers chronologically and in great detail.

According to Love, the success of annexationists after 1898 had little to do with changes in racial ideology. Instead, new facts on the ground favored annexation, above all the sea change in public opinion created by the war with Spain and, in the case of the Philippines, the fait accompli effected by U.S. naval victories in the Pacific. Although imperialists warned before 1898 that rapid Chinese and Japanese immigration threatened the "American character" of Hawaii, even fear of "Mongolian supremacy" was not enough to close the deal before fighting broke out with Spain (p. 136). Only then did "the groundswell of nationalism, patriotism, and support for the war effort" give Hawaii annexationists the chance they needed (p. 148).

In making the case that racism worked against empire rather than for it, Love quotes extensively from race-baiting policy makers including Hamilton Fish (who after seeing Cuba's splendid landscape concluded that in the Caribbean "only man is vile"), Charles Sumner, Carl Schurz, James A. Garfield, John Tyler Morgan, and even the dean of naval strategy, Alfred Thayer Mahan (p. 39). These men drummed home the idea that tropical peoples were unassimilable and incapable of self-government. Since American policy had always extended citizenship and voting rights to residents of new territories, annexation meant that "savages" recently weaned from cannibalism would help shape American laws and elect presidents. Love asserts that this prospect, rather than concern about undermining republican traditions or escalating naval expenditures, was the bottom line of anti-imperialism.

In public discourse before 1898 imperialists rarely invoked race. The best they could say was that tropical peoples were not very numerous and perhaps already on the road to extinction. By the time Hawaii was annexed, Sanford Dole and the white minority had excluded Japanese and Chinese residents from the franchise. When Congress voted to absorb the Philippines, it explicitly prohibited Filipino citizenship. Southern Democrats upbraided northern imperialists for having imposed the Fifteenth Amendment on the South while allowing disfranchisement in the new tropical territories.

By focusing on the formal empire that came into being in 1898, Love puts the issue of fitness for self-government, conceived in racial terms, front and center. Love admits that he is not the first historian to identify racism as an obstacle to imperialism; Frederick Merk did so in the early 1960s, and other scholars have followed suit (pp. 2–11). The fact is, however, that the trajectory of U.S. foreign policy was not toward empire but toward alternatives that promised the annexation of trade rather than territory. Secretary of State William Seward recognized as much in the 1860s when he complained that Americans valued “dollars more and dominion less” (p. 30). Only on the last page of this study does Love suggest a connection between racism and the Open Door. This competent work would have been more interesting had it explored how the peculiar American combination of racism and constitutionalism shaped a foreign policy that largely avoided formal empire.

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JOHN M. NIETO-PHILLIPS. *The Language of Blood: The Making of Spanish-American Identity in New Mexico, 1880s–1930s*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 312. \$32.50.

In the late nineteenth century there was a furor for all things Spanish. From California, through Texas, and all the way to Florida, Spanish-Romanesque architecture—with its archways and red-tile roofs best represented by the Stanford University campus—held sway. Literary works like Helen Hunt Jackson’s *Ramona* (1884) became populated by dark-eyed *señoritas* and good-natured priests. Most impressively, author Charles Fletcher Lummis, archaeologist Adolph Bandelier, and historian Hubert Howe Bancroft were actually able to make money by selling to the American public the multisecular Indian-Spanish past of the southern tier of the United States. Nowhere was this movement more heartily embraced than in New Mexico. Spanish-speaking New Mexicans proudly celebrated their Spanish heritage and displayed their ties to Spain and its involvement in North America. In New Mexico this feeling was so deep and pervasive that when a twist of fate precipitated a war between the United States and Spain in 1898, *nuevomexicanos* became suspect.

John M. Nieto-Phillips’s book constitutes the first monographic treatment of how and why New Mexicans came to embrace this hispanophilia with such a fervor and tenacity. This clear and well-written account argues that a series of struggles against political and social marginalization, coupled with a burgeoning tourism industry and a drawn-out fight in Congress over the admission of New Mexico to the Union, shaped a particular “discourse” or “language of blood” that purposefully sought to emphasize the connections between Spain—a white, European nation—and New Mexico. Such language emerged during a critical period of New Mexico’s history—roughly from the 1880s through the 1930s—and was advocated by key residents who were able to resurrect and transform archaic notions of “purity of blood” that harked back to the era of the Spanish conquest.

Two things are especially noteworthy in Nieto-Phillips’s treatment. First, he locates the emergence of this “language of blood” in a multiplicity of sites. The author begins by exploring the nexus of beliefs around “purity of blood” as it was fashioned by Christians, Muslims, and Jews in medieval and early modern Spain who sought to come to terms with each other and with the inhabitants of the New World. He then goes on to show how these notions were later recovered and shrewdly redeployed toward the end of the nineteenth century. Rightfully, the book treats “purity of blood” not as a timeless ideology but as a malleable rhetorical device that enabled New Mexicans to meet a series of specific challenges associated with the advancement of New Mexico’s political and economic agendas.

Second, the author is able to show that the adoption of a Spanish American identity was not only the result of a willful appropriation by Spanish-speaking New Mexicans but also the product of a broader coalition of forces that included plenty of Anglo Americans who supported this process for different reasons. Anglo-American developers, for instance, emphasized New Mexico’s Spanish roots as a way to entice midwesterners into seeking new horizons and spending time in New Mexico. New Mexico was thus transformed into the storied “land of enchantment.” Similarly, Anglo-American as well as *nuevomexicano* politicians highlighted New Mexico’s Spanish (i.e. white) past in order to sway their skeptical Washington, D.C. colleagues into inducting New Mexico into the exclusive society of statehood. Such a nuanced understanding of New Mexico’s Spanish past and its conspicuous resurrection at the turn of the last century will inevitably advance the discussion of these identities.

Like any book, this one has its flaws. For instance, the relentless focus on New Mexico misses an opportunity to show the scope and validity of its ideas in a larger setting and in a more comparative framework. After all, not only New Mexico experienced a measure of hispanophilia; it also flourished in other areas of the United States that were not necessarily developing as tourist destinations—nor were they struggling to attain statehood. At the same time, New Mexico was excep-

tional in ways that are not fully discussed in the book. During the 1880s to the 1920s, Mexican migrants in effect re-Mexicanized large portions of the American Southwest, vastly outnumbering the old "Hispanic" populations that had lived for generations in places like Texas and California. This did not happen in New Mexico. One is left wondering how its Spanish American identity would have been affected had New Mexico been able to attract significant numbers of Mexican immigrants, or whether it was precisely the dearth of Mexican immigrants that permitted New Mexico's peculiar brand of Hispanic nostalgia.

These are minor quibbles (or possible extensions) in what is otherwise a superb treatment of a very relevant and timely subject.

ANDRÉS RESÉNDEZ

University of California,

Davis [All reviewers of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

KRISTYN R. MOON. *Yellowface: Creating the Chinese in American Popular Music and Performance, 1850s-1920s*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 220. \$23.95.

Similar to recent works on U.S. orientalism, Krystyn R. Moon's book argues for the centrality of popular cultural discourses on Asians and Asian Americans in shaping American culture and national identity. Moon's monograph examines how white, Chinese American, and African American songwriters, musicians, and performers have constructed and contested racial differences and hierarchies through the practice of "yellowface," a set of racially coded modes of musical production and theatrical practices that conveyed notions of "Chineseness" as inherently foreign and inferior to American or European culture and society. While previous scholars have discussed yellowface as part of their inquiry into the formation of American orientalism, Moon is the first to provide a broad survey of yellowface performance and music in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

By placing the history of yellowface alongside more familiar forms of racial performance such as blackface minstrelsy, Moon points out that yellowface's emergence was part of the broader formation of a national racial vernacular on the American stage that delineated the boundaries of American identity, marking certain racial groups such as blacks as American and others such as the Chinese as perpetually foreign and incapable of national incorporation. Even as yellowface performances became more totalizing and codified with specific practices ranging from costume, makeup, orchestrated gestures, dialect, props, and musical sounds, Moon argues that yellowface constructions of racial difference and hierarchies remained unstable and ambivalent, with Chinese simultaneously taking on the polar extremes of "aversion and fascination." She proposes viewing the history of yellowface performance in dia-

lectical terms as a contestation between white musical composers and performers and Chinese and Chinese American performers. Even as white performers and songwriters highlighted the exoticism or cultural and physical inferiority of the Chinese in their racial performances, Chinese and Chinese American performers through their physical presence and performance on stage challenged white hegemony over the constructions of Chineseness.

Moon narrates the history of yellowface through three distinct periods. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries can be seen as a precursor to later American yellowface performances with the importation of European cultural hierarchies that defined Western music as art versus non-Western, or more specifically, Chinese music as noise. The mass arrival of thousands of Chinese migrants to the American West during the mid-century Gold Rush marked the beginning of a new historical period that involved the reimagining of Chinese people from quaint and exotic foreigners into a newly emerging race problem. In music and stage, this reconfiguring occurred through the popularization of musical tokens that signified Chinese foreignness and the figures of "John Chinaman" and Bret Harte's the "heathen Chinese," portrayed as cultural misfits with racialized, gendered, and sexualized ambiguities that would lend support and justification for the passage and maintenance of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Acts. The last period, the early twentieth century, involved the arrival of Chinese immigrant and second-generation Chinese American performers on the vaudeville circuit. This social history of Chinese vaudeville comprises Moon's most original research. Her use of newspaper clippings, immigration case files, oral history interviews, and personal correspondences recuperates forgotten performers such as Lee Tung Foo, "arguably the first Chinese American in vaudeville" (p. 1). Still, more discussion of the emergence of a distinct Chinese American performance aesthetic would have been appreciated. How did Chinese performances of Tin Pan Alley songs in Cantonese work to subvert racial caricatures? How did the insertion of "Chinese movements" into the cakewalk or foxtrot challenge white constructions of Chineseness?

An engaging read, the study is at times narrowly focused. Moon seldom leaves the world of the theater to consider the ways in which yellowface music and performances functioned among other popular amusements. How did the performance and consumption of Chineseness through the phonograph or piano roll in the privatized domestic space of the parlor differ from the collective public experience of attending a fully staged theatrical production with live performers in yellowface? Beyond demonstrating how yellowface worked to consolidate an American national identity, it would have been useful for Moon to consider how it also functioned in Asian American racial formation. That is, Moon mentions the deployment of yellowface motifs in other cultural productions with Asian, but non-Chinese, themes or subjects, pointing out the "in-

terchangeability of representations of China and Japan" (p. 105). But examples of Filipino actor Leon Alalah/Alarcon "passing" as a member of the Chinese comedy quartet or "Turkish captivity" operas inspiring notions of Chinese femininity suggest the need to consider further how theatrical practices worked to consolidate "oriental" as a racially defined social and cultural category where Chinese along with other Asian groups would come to be grouped in discriminatory legal and social practices.

By scrutinizing the music itself, Moon's study offers an important and significant contribution to the emerging scholarship on American orientalism. The reprints of musical scores accompanied by insightful textual and musical analysis suggest the range of racial meanings conveyed through musical notation and instrumentation. Along with the appendixes of songs and theatrical productions with Chinese subjects and themes, this book provides a good resource for future researchers and students interested in the history of race in American popular music and performance.

MARY TING YI LUI
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AMY L. FAIRCHILD. *Science at the Borders: Immigrant Medical Inspection and the Shaping of the Modern Industrial Labor Force*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 385. \$48.00.

In this book, Amy L. Fairchild explores the complex and multilayered role of the U.S. immigrant medical examination from the time period beginning in 1891, when immigration law required Public Health Service medical officers to inspect immigrants, until the mid-1920s, when restrictive immigration legislation along with other social and economic factors resulted in the declining use and significance of the medical examination at U.S. immigration stations. The book is an original contribution to the growing scholarship on the interwoven histories of U.S. immigration and public health. Whereas previous scholarship has importantly illuminated the exclusionary function of public health bureaucracy in immigration history, Fairchild's study provides us with a nuanced account of how the immigrant medical examination functioned in order primarily to discipline, but ultimately to include most immigrants. She argues that the structure of the medical examination conveyed social and industrial norms to immigrants by paying special attention to those diseases and conditions that might compromise an immigrant's capacity for labor and, by extension, industrial citizenship. By conceptualizing the medical exam as a technology that classified and managed the working body into those who were able to work and those who would be susceptible to dependency, Fairchild illuminates an important class dimension that creatively links the history of immigration inspection and processing with labor history.

The book is divided into two parts entitled "Numbers Big" and "Numbers Small," titles that underscore Fair-

child's use of quantitative data to support her major arguments. An appendix on data collection describes the three main databases utilized for this study. Fairchild created these impressive databases from Public Health Service and Immigrant Service annual reports. Through these databases, Fairchild charts the rates of certification of various diseases and the proportions of immigrants medically certified by the Public Health Service from the 1890s to the 1930s in several U.S. regions and along multiple coasts and borders. However, the book also effectively uses a range of archival documents—poetry, operettas, photographs, and, most powerfully, oral interviews—to foreground the indelible role that medical inspection played in the American immigrant experience. As a result, this is a model for studies that aim to integrate quantitative and qualitative research methods and findings.

The first part of the book focuses primarily on Ellis Island and it is there, among European immigrants, that Fairchild's main argument about the disciplining function of the immigrant medical examination is most applicable. She notes that immigration officials at Ellis Island discussed medical examination problems among European immigrants almost exclusively in terms of class but astutely points out that categories of class were sometimes racialized in this discourse as seemingly immutable "steerage types" and "trachoma types" (p. 129). However, the analytical category of race plays a defining role in the second part of the book. Although Ellis Island was the nation's largest port of entry between 1892 and 1930, with seventy percent of all immigrants attempting entrance there, Fairchild importantly notes that it was only one port. From 1891 to 1930 immigrants arrived at sixty-two ports throughout the nation.

The second part of the book is an ambitious attempt to compare how the immigrant medical examination functioned on the West and Gulf coasts and along the Canadian and Mexican borders. The medical examination of Asian immigrants on the West Coast's Angel Island markedly deviated from the medical examination of European immigrants on Ellis Island; Asian immigrants were stripped for examination and microscopic examination of their feces was conducted. Certifications due to parasitic and skin conditions were statistically high and these conditions racialized Asian migrants as unsuitable for national inclusion. Thus, Fairchild argues that the function of the medical examination at Angel Island Immigration Station in San Francisco Bay, in sharp contrast to Ellis Island, was exclusion. Neither discipline nor exclusion played a major role along the Gulf Coast and the Canadian border, but issues of class and race informed medical examination at the Mexican border. Well written and well researched, this book is important reading for immigration, medical, and labor historians and a model for cross-regional and multiple-border studies.

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TODD DEPASTINO. *Citizen Hobo: How a Century of Homelessness Shaped America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. xxv, 325. \$32.50.

When an army of unemployed men marched on Washington, D.C., in 1894, it launched more than a century of fascination with the "hobo." By no means was homelessness an invention of the 1893 depression, Todd DePastino notes in this book, but from the Gilded Age onward homeless Americans were more mobile, more vulnerable to unemployment, and more numerous.

DePastino's goal is not to write "a comprehensive history of American homelessness" (p. xix) but to explore "what Americans have meant by home—and, by extension, its absence—since modern homelessness first emerged" (p. xviii). He argues that "the specter of white male homelessness so haunted the American body politic between the end of the Civil War and the onset of the Cold War that it prompted the creation of an entirely new social order and political economy" (pp. xviii-xix). If his book falls short of proving this ambitious argument, it succeeds on many other counts. Whereas labor historians by definition tend to study people who worked, DePastino offers a fascinating look at a little-known sector of the laboring class that often did not work. In so doing he contributes to a welcome trend in which historians are redirecting attention from the workplace to the community in order to understand more fully the texture of working-class life.

Perhaps the greatest strength of this book is its vivid descriptions of life in the urban "main stems" (p. 72) where hobos made their "homes" when not on the road. A distinctive counterculture thrived in these lodging house neighborhoods, characterized by open sexuality (homosexual and heterosexual), fierce commitment to white male privilege, and rebellion against middle-class norms of propriety and acquisitiveness. Particularly threatening to a nation embracing Victorian domesticity was that "homeless men stripped housing of the familial attributes of home in their nightly exchange of wages for rent" (p. 139).

DePastino is sensitive to the gendered and racialized nature of this subculture. Hobohemia was the preserve of young, single white men of native birth or northern or western European stock, who jealously guarded their main stems and labor camps against outsiders. This exclusive focus undermined efforts by the Industrial Workers of the World to present hobos as the revolutionary vanguard that would lead the working class out of wage slavery.

One point driven home by this interesting book is that the man without permanent residence—known at various times as "vagrant," "tramp," "transient," "hobo," "bum," or the more neutral term "homeless"—has captured the American imagination since the Gilded Age. For many Americans, the "hobo" (to use the author's term of choice) represented an irresponsible rejection of regular work and domestic life. To others, homeless men symbolized the financial vulnerability that many Americans feared as economic rela-

tionships became more precarious, thus serving as "screens onto which middle-class Americans projected their insecurities" (p. 4). To others, the hobo was an enviable role model of rugged manly independence. Hobos, for their part, alternated between describing themselves as "honest workingmen" (p. 49) down on their luck and celebrating their counterculture through such devil-may-care pronouncements as "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum!" (p. 59). This ambivalence underscores DePastino's point that hobos were agents as well as victims: disadvantaged by their status as casual labor, yet choosing the "romance of the road" over the restrictions of domestic life.

Hobohemia enjoyed its heyday in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and began to decline after World War I. This was not the result of efforts to reduce homelessness by providing cheap temporary housing, which DePastino suggests only perpetuated and legitimated the transient life. More effective were "the civilizing forces of the machine, the home and the settled community," which by the 1920s had "tamed the wage-workers' frontier" of the West (p. 176). Federal policies implemented during and after the New Deal had the effect of "resettling the hobo army" (p. 169) by providing affordable suburban housing for the (white) masses. When homelessness reemerged as a major problem in the 1980s, it had become a largely female and nonwhite phenomenon. By taking this important story up to the present day, DePastino offers a historical perspective on a vexing contemporary problem and a book that will be of interest to labor historians as well as social workers and policy makers.

EVELYN SAVIDGE STERNE
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JAY HATHEWAY. *The Gilded Age Construction of Modern American Homophobia*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2004. Pp. 232. \$45.00.

Historians of sexuality have paid close attention to the scientific "discovery" in the late nineteenth century of homosexuality as a new paradigm for understanding same-sex attraction. Scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have meanwhile uncovered a gradual shift during the early modern period toward the assumption that sexual acts expressed a persistent and specific sexual character, presaging that later paradigmatic revolution. A growing number of historians are also exploring the ways in which negative responses to same-sex attraction during both periods reflected the dominant values and fears of the societies in which they appeared. Jay Hatheway's study of the broad cultural context that shaped the American medical community's reactions during the Gilded Age to new scientific theories about homosexuality is a helpful contribution to an emerging history of homophobia.

The crux of Hatheway's argument is that the medical community's "discovery" of homosexuality coincided with a period of profound anxiety in the United States about the emergence of a modern, urban, industrial so-

ciety. American responses to this medical “discovery” were conditioned by fears that modernity and its psychological impact posed a threat to the moral integrity and unique destiny of the United States. Same-sex attraction, seen as a symptom of nervous exhaustion brought on by the stresses of modern life, exemplified the perversion of sexual instincts that in their more “normal” and “healthy” manifestations promoted order and stability through the institution of marriage and reproduction. Whereas some medical writers in Europe advocated “a ‘positive’ identity” for homosexuals (p. 163), none of their American counterparts followed that lead. Discussion of how to cure, contain, or even eliminate the homosexual took place in the context of a debate over how to save America’s soul. “The disease of homosexuality thus became a bit player in the larger drama of national regeneration and renewal” (p. 7).

Hatheway captures effectively the complexity and variety of late nineteenth-century theories about homosexuality. He shows how the particular preoccupations of the medical community in the United States (including its quest for professional respectability and a sense of purpose linking it to national interests) shaped the ways in which debates over homosexuality were received and then evolved within the United States. Unfortunately, the reconstruction of medical debates sometimes diverts attention from the supposedly central theme of homophobia. A more determined focus on the latter would have made this a more effective book.

The author argues, along with most historians of sexuality, that during the nineteenth century “scientific theories” supplanted “older theological positions” on same-sex attraction (p. 2). Hatheway’s rather cursory discussion of earlier religious paradigms misses an opportunity to highlight by contrast what was distinct and significant about new models in terms of their impact on hostility toward same-sex attraction. Early American theologians explained illicit sexual drives in terms of a universal depravity that was not specifically sexual and that afflicted everyone. In sharp contrast, late nineteenth-century scientific theories saw homosexuals as a cadre of diseased individuals, “biological freaks of nature” quite distinct from the rest of the population (p. 194). This crucial change surely had (and continues to have) profound implications.

Hatheway acknowledges that “Christianity still set the tone for all public and private assumptions regarding morality,” yet he pays little attention to what religious spokesmen were saying (p. 2). By the late nineteenth century, American Christianity had undergone profound transformations, and it would be fascinating to see how these changes effected religious responses to the new category of homosexual. It is difficult to see how a discussion of modern homophobia could be complete without examining the ways in which scientific and religious discourses related to each other.

Historicizing homophobia is just as crucial as historicizing homosexuality itself. Hatheway’s book is a welcome step in that direction. His thoughtful and com-

PELLING study of the ways in which medical reactions to new theories of homosexuality were conditioned by broader cultural debates and anxieties should prompt historians to explore other aspects of the history of homophobia in the United States.

RICHARD GODBEER
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MARK WAHLGREN SUMMERS. *Party Games: Getting, Keeping, and Using Power in Gilded Age Politics*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 352. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

For those appalled by the workings of the American electoral process in recent years, Mark Wahlgren Summers offers a tough-love response: what did you expect? With acerbic wit and an incomparable grasp of period detail, Summers paints a picture of U.S. democracy, late-nineteenth-century style, that would hardly pass muster in Iraq or Mexico today. As he pithily notes, “The system was not run *for* the people, and not, in the largest sense, *by* them, even when they voted in record numbers. It was a system of the politicians, created by the politicians and for the politicians, and generally speaking for the politicians in the two main parties” (p. 17). That Summers lays the root of Gilded Age “misrepresentation” at the doorstep of a winner-take-all electoral system and consequently fierce two-party partisanship, moreover, implicitly offers a continuing indictment of the system that prevails today.

Although regularly feeding at the trough of big business, Summers’s Gilded Age politicians were not the weak supplicants of the period’s economic titans that historians like Richard Hofstadter made them out to be. Rather, party leaders themselves exercised a considerable degree of both artifice and autonomy in securing or safeguarding political power. Summers offers a particularly compelling portrait of party control over the nitty gritty of electioneering: bankrolling party newspapers, mobilizing campaign clubs, printing and distributing ballots, buying votes (including the bloc of “resurrectionists” [p. 111] who regularly came back from the dead on election day), generally spreading fear of one’s opponent, and (especially but not only) in the South resorting to mob violence to influence electoral turnout and outcomes. At the national level, to be sure, Democrats manipulated the system by disfranchising black voters; but Republicans made up for such chicanery by prematurely admitting (and thus gaining Congressional representation from) states like Nevada, Idaho, and Wyoming. Against the resources of the dominant parties, the third parties who regularly dogged them—and regularly siphoned off sizeable protest votes during off-year elections—had, according to Summers, no chance to prevail. As he would conclude about the Greenback Party of the 1880s, “Absolute power may indeed corrupt. But the absolute *lack* of power corrodes” (p. 207). In this reckoning, party leaders, ultimately beholden to an electoral majority and nothing more, might even trump robber barons: the

railroads, as Summers convincingly documents, ultimately looked to legislatures more than the courts for protection.

If extraparty rivals were doomed to failure, Summers is hardly more sanguine about the changes effected by contemporary Mugwump critics of the party culture itself. For decades, civil service reforms inaugurated by the Pendleton Act of 1883 only added a written test on top of a partisan one for public office. The secret, or Australian, ballot that arrived between 1888 and 1892 did not so much disrupt the parties as serve as a "literacy test for the unlettered" (p. 243). And "anti-corruption" registration laws, in addition to generally disfranchising the mobile poor, handed state registrars numerous new ways to apply their own, or their party's, prejudice in the rejection of would-be voters.

For all their effectiveness, the book's organization and style do produce a few frustrations. Thematic emphasis on the structure of politics necessarily relegates the actors and events themselves to cameo roles. Summers offers tantalizing glimpses of a gatling gun campaign for the governorship in Maine in 1878, the cruel choices facing Iowa's insurgent James B. Weaver in the 1880s, and the remarkable legislative reforms engineered under New York Governor David Bennett Hill in 1886, but the context for these, and many similarly fascinating narrative tangents, is (necessarily) thin. Similarly, when Summers occasionally departs from his preferred perch as wry, sardonic observer to draw lessons for posterity, his good sense tantalizes without refreshing his readers. A proportional representation system, he counsels, might have substantially reduced electoral corruption. And, given the system as it was (and remains), insurgent groups, he suggests, are obliged to try to take over one of the dominant parties, rather than challenge them outright. How embattled Populists, split between Democratic cotton growers and Republican wheat growers, could have functionally internalized such wisdom is unclear. More generally, Summers offers no way out of the party-defined limits on American democracy. Nor does his party-centered gaze capture less official political organizing, whether African American "infra-politics" or a burgeoning women's public sphere growing up, in part, out of Mugwump reforms. Yet, when the most the critic demands is "more," the author can allow himself a contented smile.

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ERIC RAUCHWAY. *Murdering McKinley: The Making of Theodore Roosevelt's America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2003. Pp. xiv, 250. \$25.00.

This is a thin, well-written book on the bigger story behind one president's assassination and his successor's rise. The death of William McKinley, as Eric Rauchway puts it, has long been described as "a terrible but effective way of clearing the decks" for "political mod-

ernization" (p. xi). Thus, the dour McKinley gave way to the racy, globe-straddling Theodore Roosevelt, the smoke-filled rooms of Gilded Age politics gave way to the public moralism of the Progressive era, and nothing would ever be the same again. This book tells the story of McKinley's "two killers" (p. xii), the first Leon Czolgosz, who pulled the trigger, and the second Roosevelt, who buried his predecessor's legacy beneath a pile of aggressive social policies.

The union of these men's lives makes for an interesting narrative, bringing kaleidoscopic attention to the life of a literal nobody—he gave the false name "Niemann" to the police after the firing his weapon—alongside those of two presidents, one of them stodgy and bland, the other a public superman with abundant political conviction. Throughout, Rauchway brings economic and labor history into dialogue with the narrative of the assassination and the subsequent trial, raising a series of wonderful questions about politics (how was Roosevelt different?), social responsibility (who was to blame for Czolgosz's madness?), the economy (where did this mess come from?), poverty and ethnic discrimination (what was it like to be poor or an immigrant or black?), and reform (what do we do about all of this?). There was, Rauchway also concludes, no consensus on the meaning of the madness of Czolgosz. Was he insane? If not, what did that say about the United States, and about the assassination? If he was, what should be done about it?

To make sense of all of this, Rauchway provides a social history of nineteenth-century America intertwined with biographical narratives of the three principal characters and a history of the awkward relationship between a legal system grappling with insane acts and a psychiatric profession worrying over insane people. Czolgosz was not, Rauchway deduces, so much a hardcore anarchist as a representative of Cleveland's hard-working, poor immigrant class, saddled with dangerous labor and having little chance to rise up the American social ladder. He was inspired by Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* (1888), and by the dream of a better, more humane world, governed by a social-democratic form of community rather than rapacious capitalism. When that dream failed to materialize and when the social ladder proved to be nothing but an illusion, he turned to anarchism and, ultimately, to assassination. At his best, Rauchway follows the alienist Lloyd Vernon Briggs, who traveled across the upper Northeast seeking to understand Czolgosz's sensational crime. In doing so, Rauchway makes a kind of far-flung sense of the assassination, revealing it to be no less awful and far more rational than has previously been supposed. The sections on Czolgosz, his life, his social world, and his mind are breathtakingly fast-paced and read, as the glowing blurbs on the back of the book put it, as if they were part of a novel-thriller. They hold the bulk of the original research here.

Rauchway juxtaposes the world of Czolgosz with an examination of Roosevelt's ability to spin the assassination to suit multiple agendas, a reflection of TR's

somewhat less famous political cunning. It is unclear how much of this treatment of Roosevelt is truly new. I am not aware of anyone who has argued the contrary position—that Roosevelt was a political animal driven by unfettered instinct, lacking political savvy—or who could disagree with Rauchway's plain statement that "Roosevelt acutely understood that stories were a means to political ends" (p. xiii). Rauchway vaguely gestures, in that same early paragraph, toward "biographers and historians who describe Roosevelt as a boyish, romantic, immature, or impulsive" (p. xiii), but the footnote at the bottom of the paragraph cannot direct us to these people or their histories. At times, Rauchway seems to be writing against Roosevelt's contemporary critics rather than present-day historical work. Few, I will admit, have directed as much sustained attention to Roosevelt's repeated public use of the assassination, and fewer still have narrated this event as accessibly as has Rauchway.

That accessibility is, I believe, a principle goal of the author. Written by a professional historian, this book seems aimed at the elusive "larger market" and is therefore poised to capture a college-age audience hungry for history with present-day significance. The book is well written and integrated, shifting easily from greater to lesser levels of magnification, from new research to the nameless summary of someone else's work. The story of Czolgosz is fascinating, and the consideration of Roosevelt and his exploitation of a social crisis for political advantage will seem familiar and relevant. But this is not, first and foremost, a book written for other historians, a charge that bears less and less weight outside of the pages of this journal and its peers. Historians will rightfully complain that Rauchway (or his editors) have needlessly tucked all of the historiographical debate away in a short "Notes on Controversies" section at the end of the book, or point to the denuded footnotes and the overuse of boilerplate at the expense of careful hair-splitting. These things matter to us and for good reason. But everyone else will just love this book.

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JOHN HENRY HEPP IV. *The Middle-Class City: Transforming Space and Time in Philadelphia, 1876–1926*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 278. \$36.50.

John Henry Hepp IV uses Philadelphia to examine the transformation of urban space and middle-class culture at the turn of the twentieth century. The rituals and rhythms of everyday life, the author asserts, reflect the common assumptions that comprise culture. The study focuses on the quotidian interaction of the middle class with three institutions—department stores, newspapers, and urban transit—to examine how the bourgeoisie molded the social and physical space of the city. All three urban institutions developed to attract a middle-class clientele and simultaneously grew to encompass

its values. Middle-class men and women, Hepp argues, used contemporary science to shape and order these sites of "consumption, communication, and movement" (p. 8). Science, technology, rationality, and taxonomy fueled urban transformations and the shape they assumed.

Hepp's study underscores the enduring legacy of Robert H. Wiebe's classic *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (1967). Wiebe revealed a postbellum society struggling with the traumatic dislocation brought about by industrialization, geographic mobility, and urbanization. A new, increasingly cohesive professional corps emerged to combat the frightening disarray. Middle-class professionals instituted administrative and bureaucratic reforms—such as those associated with the Progressive movement—that successfully "rationalized" diverse elements of American society by the second decade of the twentieth century. Hepp identifies a comparable quest for rationality. It is one based not on fear but rather on bourgeois "faith in progress and the future" (p. 209). The search for order was no negative reaction to industrialization and urbanization; it was an assertive, positive effort to apply rational and scientific faiths to cultural and subsequently political realms. Hepp's middle class sought a "logical and rational and well-cataloged" (p. 2) city inspired by the application of science. And it initially succeeded. At the turn of the century, however, efforts to sell more transit, clothes, and newspapers to working-class Philadelphians meant that middle-class urbanites had to struggle to retain control over space and institutions. The Progressive movement, therefore, was a struggle to retain an order that was already in place.

Hepp gives life to Philadelphia's middle class by allowing members to speak through diaries, letters, and memoirs. Law students who rode the streetcars and trolleys, young women who shopped at Strawbridge and Clothier's department store, and businessmen who subscribed to metropolitan newspapers reveal ways the bourgeoisie moved through, claimed, and remade the urban physical and cultural landscape. Hepp uses photographs, business records, and maps to complement personal experiences and to demonstrate the increased size and categorization of urban institutions. In his case study of the department store, for example, Hepp chronicles its transformation from the mid-nineteenth-century dry goods store to the turn-of-the-century consumer palace. Retailers organized interiors to allow bourgeois consumers to shop their way through the stores. They introduced low prices, returns, ancillary services, restaurants, ladies' lounges, and seasonal sales to draw middle-class shoppers into their establishments. Success led retailers to add more services and departments, demonstrating a continued commitment to rational classification by separating shoes from suits and, subsequently, men's shoes from women's shoes. By 1920, all major Philadelphia retailers had also classified merchandise by class, adding bargain basements to attract working-class consumers. "Adding class (or gender or any other category) to the existing spatial divi-

sions also made the taxonomy more precise and hence more scientific" (p. 162). As a result, however, middle-class women and men lost dominance over this defining commercial institution. Train stations and transit, newspapers, and, finally, urban residential space underwent similar transformations.

While Hepp succeeds in situating real middle-class men and women within major urban transformations, the contours of change in these commercial and cultural enterprises are familiar. Readers can turn to Hepp's case studies for the specific Philadelphia stories. Hepp's main argument, however, succeeds less well. Did Philadelphia's middle-class men and women actually invoke science (a category inadequately analyzed by Hepp) or express taxonomic urges as they went about ordering their environment? The links between cause and effect remain elusive.

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JIM PHILLIPS and ROSEMARY GARTNER. *Murdering Holiness: The Trials of Franz Creffield and George Mitchell*. (Law and Society.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2003. Pp. x, 347. \$29.95.

Jim Phillips and Rosemary Gartner locate their book in the case-study approach to social history, a technique that uses well-documented events to shed light on peoples and processes that are ordinarily obscured. Their judicious, thoughtful, and very well-researched examination of a sensational holiness sect illuminates the history of religion, deviance, gender, law, journalism, and more.

Franz Creffield left the Salvation Army to form his own sect in Corvallis, Oregon, in 1903. The movement became increasingly extreme, and townspeople charged members, including daughters of respectable families, with burning possessions and animals and engaging in sexual immorality. Creffield and his leading assistant were tarred and feathered, and Creffield spent most of 1904 in the state penitentiary for committing adultery.

Creffield emerged from prison "transformed from a prophet to the Messiah himself" and soon reinvigorated his movement (p. 95). But at least three men were determined to kill him, and George Mitchell, the brother of two of his followers, soon shot him dead on the streets of Seattle (p. 95). Mitchell was acquitted by a jury that upheld a widely accepted "unwritten law" giving men the right to kill men who had seduced their wives, daughters, or sisters. But the acquitted killer was in turn gunned down by his sister Esther, the very woman whose honor he had defended.

True to their microhistorical method, the authors pair their meticulous research of these extraordinary events with the work of diverse scholars to explore fruitfully several themes, including the holiness movement, vigilantism, and asylums. The ease with which authorities were able to commit to institutions the movement's

female members, for example, illustrates how community leaders used asylums to enforce social conformity. But the book's strongest section employs newspapers and court documents to detail how Seattle leaders and opinion makers used Creffield's murder for their own political purposes as they struggled to balance support of the old-fashioned "unwritten law" with fears of lawlessness.

The second homicide, Esther Mitchell's killing of her brother, raised a much thornier set of problems—and little promise. The authors point out that commentary on the first trial had been overwhelmingly male. But now a woman had violently injected herself into the narrative by killing her purported protector, and she defended her decision with the same set of justifications that her brother had used. Her victim had destroyed the life of an innocent person (by killing Creffield) and "ruined my reputation" (by publicly claiming "that Creffield had seduced me") (p. 198). She had to take the law into her own hands when the law failed to produce a just result. Seattle's elite did not have the stomach for another high-profile murder trial, particularly one that raised such disturbing questions at a time when jury members seemed to be making law rather than applying it. Esther Mitchell and Creffield's widow, who had conspired in the second murder, did not stand trial. A panel of medical experts judged them insane and shipped them back to Oregon.

Phillips and Gartner also use a gendered analysis to examine why the sect attracted more women than men and alarmed so many respectable men. But some of the book's broader examinations could be more sustained and ambitious. The forest is at times lost among the trees. The authors are very concerned with assessing the evidence of exactly how much and what sort of sexual immorality transpired within the sect. Their conclusion, as always, is measured, reasonable, and cautious. This reviewer wished for more attention to the "so what" aspects of the subject: what did sex represent to the group's participants, and why was the larger community so obsessed with it? Likewise, the authors' explanations of why women from middle-class, respectable families joined Creffield's movement seem too circumscribed and circumspect. This is arguably the central question raised by the Creffield sect: why would women in comfortable circumstances, in a place and time not much given over to religious enthusiasm, become so devoted to this man? The authors promise to provide deeper insights into the religious and social lives of ordinary people, but it is not clear to what extent sect members were quirky exceptions or representative community members expressing, albeit in peculiar ways, obscure but widely shared social and cultural characteristics.

But these are exceedingly difficult questions to get at. This book does not fully elucidate Creffield's charms, but it is a well-written, meticulous, and thoughtful work that enriches the scholarship of several fields.

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JAMES M. O'TOOLE, editor. *Habits of Devotion: Catholic Religious Practice in Twentieth-Century America*. (Cushwa Center Studies of Catholicism in Twentieth-Century America.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. 289. \$39.95.

Inspired by religious historians' turn toward the study of practice and sustained by the collaborations of Notre Dame's Twentieth-Century America Project, the authors of the four essays collected in this useful volume set out to analyze American Catholics' "deeply ingrained habits of devotion" during the twentieth century, especially between 1925 and 1975 (p. 1). By focusing on this period, the authors self-consciously assess the significance of Vatican II (1962–1965) for U.S. Catholics. They aim to "see how the world of Catholic belief and practice both changed and remained the same after that important gathering had adjourned" (p. 4). Yet the central task of the book is to trace the shifts in the "key elements" of the "week-to-week religion" of Catholics in twentieth-century America: prayer, Marian devotion, confession, and the Eucharist (p. 4).

The initial chapter, Joseph P. Chinnici's "The Catholic Community at Prayer, 1926–1976," is the longest and most inclusive. Chinnici divides his impressive chapter into three sections. The first chronicles the "explosive changes in the pattern of Catholic prayer in the 1960s" (p. 10). The second section—perhaps the most important for revising the usual historical narratives—traces the "continuities" in the decades before the Second Vatican Council, just as the final section identifies the "discontinuities" that emerged in middle of the 1960s. In the conclusion of this detailed essay, which spans seventy-eight pages and includes 309 endnotes, the author ponders the "rupture" of the 1960s and analyzes the reception of "transformational reform" (pp. 82–87). Chinnici argues that "the initial liturgical adaptations were generally accepted within the community" (p. 82) because the earlier religious practice had "encoded a social world that no longer existed" (p. 83). So Americans received the Second Vatican Council in this context of social and religious change, and "its decrees provided both the grammar and the words for the creation of a new public language that made experiential sense" (p. 85).

Paula Kane, who chronicles Marian devotion between 1940 and 1985, also assesses the impact of Vatican II. She agrees with Chinnici's claims about continuity and suggests that the Council bolstered "a process already underway" (p. 116). Kane argues that devotion to the Virgin Mary flourished among ethnic communities during the interwar years and the Cold War era, when "militant anticommunism" influenced the practices of laity and clergy (p. 90). After a decline during the 1960s, there was a devotional "resurgence" in the 1980s that "centered on apparitions, apocalyptic warnings, and pilgrimages" (p. 90). Kane interweaves this historical narrative with a provocative analysis of those changes in the "religious economy of devotions" that is indebted to the rational choice theory of sociologists

Rodney Stark and Roger Finke (p. 114). Kane applies that theory to help explain the rise and fall of Marian devotionism, including "the failure of progressive Mariology." That failure "illustrates" the axiom that "when religions liberalize their rules, they decline and cede influence to rival religions or to new cults that place stricter demands on members" (p. 124).

James M. O'Toole, who also edited and introduces the volume, is less inclined toward sociological explanations in his account of the history of confession between 1900 and 1975, but he agrees with Kane about the significance of Vatican II. It was one of the forces—along with the rise of feminism, the impact of psychology, the rethinking of sin, and the change in eucharistic practice—that led to the "collapse of confession" between 1965 and 1975 (p. 168). In this carefully organized and judiciously argued essay, O'Toole draws on a range of archival and published sources to argue that confession had been "central" to U.S. Catholic practice from the late eighteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century. As with Marian devotion, during that time the sacrament had served "as an important marker of denominational identity: it was something that Catholics did but Protestants and others did not" (p. 185). Yet that identity marker had all but disappeared by the 1960s.

The decline of confessional practice arose, in part, from changes in eucharistic practice, O'Toole proposes (p. 180), and that is the topic of the final essay in this volume by Margaret M. McGuinness. Emphasizing the ways that the liturgical and extralitururgical practices established "boundaries" between Catholics and Protestants, she analyzes the reception and adoration of the Eucharist between the twenty-eighth Eucharistic Congress in 1926 and the forty-first Eucharistic Congress in 1976. Over those years, eucharistic theology endured but practice changed. The campaign to encourage frequent communion "finally succeeded during the 1960s and 1970s" (p. 221), but adoration of the Eucharist declined and "eucharistic etiquette" began to change. Those changes signaled a shift from the consecrated host as Jesus's "real presence" to communion as a spiritual meal (p. 223), and the origins of that shift in attitude and practice, McGuinness argues, "can be found much earlier" than Vatican II (p. 191).

Taken together, these essays make an important contribution to the conversations about the influence of Vatican II and the relation between Catholics and Protestants. The authors suggest that Vatican II was more or less decisive, depending on the issue at hand, and they show that ritual practice fortified religious boundaries, giving Catholics a shared sense of identity. Perhaps most important for readers of this journal, the essays situate this religious history in the American cultural context. And what is true of most collections is not true of this one: there is no weak chapter, even if some historians might be uneasy with Kane's use of sociological theory (I was not) and some readers might want the volume to include a wider range of practices (I did not). Historians should feel free to use any help-

ful theoretical tool as they try to explain change over time, and the choice to narrow the volume's focus to just four practices works well. The book gains in depth what it loses in breadth—and it is more than broad enough. In fact, this wide-ranging study of ritual practice is an indispensable resource for interpreters of U.S. Catholic history and twentieth-century America.

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SAMANTHA BASKIND. *Raphael Soyer and the Search for Modern Jewish Art*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. x, 260. \$39.95.

Among its many treasures, the Jewish Museum in New York boasts a 1926 oil painting entitled "Dancing Lesson" in which a young couple gingerly essays the latest dance steps as various family members, arrayed on the living room couch, look on with a mix of bafflement, consternation, and utter indifference. "Dancing Lesson" also takes pride of place in Samantha Baskind's book, the most recent in a very long series of attempts, some of them dating back a hundred years or so, to get at the thorny and all-too-elusive issue of what makes art Jewish. Is it subject matter? The ethnicity or religion of the artist? The neighborhood in which the artist grew up? Or is it, perhaps, a matter of sensibility, the more rueful the tone, the better?

Training her sights on Raphael Soyer, the painter of "Dancing Lesson" and of hundreds of other works that can be found in prestigious museum collections across the United States and Europe, Baskind claims this painting—and with it, a goodly portion of Soyer's numerous canvases, prints, lithographs, and watercolors—as vivid illustrations of an art in which "Jewish qualities are encoded" (p. 2). As for the artist himself, he, too, is said to have "encoded, coped, modified, adapted, retained, eschewed and embraced different aspects of his ethnicity and his Otherness in the Diaspora" (p. 199).

Soyer, a Russian-born painter who immigrated to the United States along with his family in 1912 and trained at both the National Academy of Design and the Art Students League, would have none of this. In both interviews and in a series of published autobiographies, he hotly repudiated the idea that he was a Jewish artist, the "Isaac Bashevis Singer of painting" (p. 1). Throughout his lengthy career, which spanned nearly seventy years, he took great pains to identify himself as a "nonparochial painter," a devotee of realism. Even so, Baskind insists on defining him as a parochial painter through and through, eager, as she puts it, to "tease out the influence of Jewishness in [his] work" (p. 7). Sounding the same note repeatedly, almost as if she is stuck in a groove, the author, assisted by contemporaneous reviews, reads Soyer's paintings as visual manifestos—or, at the very least, as visual manifestations—of his Jewish background. By her lights, "Dancing Lesson," to take but one example, is less about form, shape, color,

and composition than it is an "important comment on Soyer's Jewish experience, and the experience of many Jewish American immigrants" (p. 62). In this instance, as in so many others throughout the book, art is approached as if it were a sociological document rather than a matter of aesthetics.

Baskind's determination to categorize Soyer as an emblematic Jewish artist and, along the way, to interpret him as an object lesson, a case study in how to define Jewish art, does not so much enrich the discussion as delimit it. Having characterized Soyer, his own self-imaginings to the contrary, as a Jewish artist, then what? What does that assessment add to the literature? Where does it take us? How does it affect our appreciation of his way with paint or his use of color? Apart from suggesting, here and there, that Soyer's Jewishness negatively affected his reputation, precluding the artist from receiving his full due (but why?), Baskind does not elaborate much on these issues. Instead, her account is fueled uncritically by the notion that resolving the question of Soyer's fidelity to Judaism or his ethnic background is key both to unlocking and savoring his art.

In the end, Baskind's handsomely produced and clearly written work, the first full-length biography of Raphael Soyer, would have been even better served had it made abundantly clear what was—and is—at stake in claiming him as a Jewish painter. Like so many critics before her, she assumes rather than accounts for the perceived importance of this exercise in identity politics. Taking the discourse about Jewishness or foreignness or otherness for granted instead of subjecting it to sustained and critical analysis, her account ultimately stops short of clarifying why it matters. In strenuous pursuit of her subject's Jewishness, she leaves larger questions unanswered—and the reader hungry for more. In her introduction, Baskind expresses the hope that her insights "might have liberated Soyer from the constraints of personality and the promotion of public image," and pleased him, too. Would that she were right.

JENNA WEISSMAN JOSELIT
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LINDA R. ROBERTSON. *The Dream of Civilized Warfare: World War I Flying Aces and the American Imagination*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 481. \$35.95.

By 1917, the war in the trenches was beginning to be viewed with increasing despair as machine-age weapons systematically slaughtered a whole generation of young men in the mud of the Flanders Plain. Only in the heroic duels in the skies above the squalor of the Western Front was there to be found any trace of honor or romance. Here, it was believed, noble young warriors fought their single combats according to the rules of chivalric engagement. In reality, of course, the war in the air was just as vicious and just as bloody as the war on the ground, but in the last years of the war, the image

of the air fighter, the heroic lone eagle, was seized upon by the propagandists as a last desperate attempt to enoble a brutal war and preserve the mythos of the warrior hero in spite of a technology of mass destruction. Manfred von Richthofen, Albert Ball, Eddie Rickenbacker, and the other air fighter "aces" became public figures, powerful symbols that embodied the spirit of their nations. After the Armistice, these notions became embedded in the popular memory of the war, widely disseminated through memoirs, pulp fiction, and Hollywood movies, misleadingly suggesting that even in an industrial age, chivalric forms of warfare could survive, that fighting in the air was different—a better and more civilized way of waging war.

But equally misleading were the exaggerated claims made on behalf of the flying machine by the apostles of air warfare. Here, they claimed, is a weapon that will make armies and navies redundant, that will end wars by striking deep at the industrial heart of the enemy and destroy their means to wage war: a weapon so terrifyingly powerful that war itself may well become impossible. By 1917, when the United States became involved in the European war, it was already clear that modern war was a brutal business. Politicians and military thinkers, horrified at the casualties in France, were desperate to minimize the slaughter of young Americans. Beguiled by the seemingly heroic and noble characteristics of the air fighter and greatly overestimating the destructive potential of the airplane, they created a seductive vision of civilized warfare in which America could create a vast aerial armada and thus transform the nature of the war. Embedded in such a theory was the notion that the nation with the most powerful air force would inevitably have to assume the role of international peacekeeper, a theme that resurrected Rooseveltian notions of the United States as the world's policeman and that would underpin the future vision of strategic air power.

Linda R. Robertson's book is an attempt to examine these ideas about air warfare and explore their consequences: to tell the "story of how war-as-imagined gave birth to the dream that America could design, build, and fly the largest aerial armada in the world and use it to become the arbiter of war and peace" (p. ix). Although Robertson has certainly unearthed some fascinating material, there are several flaws in the study. For example, the author seems to suggest that it was only after 1914 that theorists began to "imagine" war in the air, whereas of course it has long been established that America's romance with aviation began well before 1914, and that the theoretical basis of the air weapon had already been formulated in the last decade of peace—particularly in the works of H. G. Wells, and in the pre-1914 essays of Giulio Douhet. Yet there is no reference at all to this material. It is also surprising that while the author claims American theories were shaped by British and German propaganda, a number of important sources seem to have been ignored, particularly the material created by the British propaganda bureau at Wellington House and specifically targeted at Amer-

ican readers: pamphlets like R. Wherry Anderson's *The Romance of Air Fighting* (1917) or Wells's newspaper articles of June 1915 calling for mass bombing attacks on German cities.

Robertson's most interesting contributions to our understanding of the subject are her detailed research into how the vast air program was envisioned and her examination of how the mythology of the European ace was translated into an American idiom, where the pilot became an icon of national values and character. Although most nations exploited the image of the air fighter as a symbol of the spirit of the nation, the notion of rugged individualism, the lone gun, clearly had special appeal for the American imagination. There is much of interest here, particularly for students concerned with the birth of the air service and with the significance of the representations and cultural history of the first war in the air, but the book is ultimately a little disappointing, adding only marginally to our understanding of the origins of American air power.

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LEE M. A. SIMPSON. *Selling the City: Gender, Class, and the California Growth Machine, 1880–1940*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 215. \$49.50.

This book challenges established paradigms in urban history, women's history, and western American history. Lee M. A. Simpson argues persuasively, if not always conclusively, that women were important participants in California's "growth machine," a coalition of land-based business elites and local politicians working to increase property values through city development. Simpson's contributions are twofold. She shows that women played significant roles in the activities of the growth machine and that the work of that machine, "instead of harming the majority of the population . . . made possible a wide range of economic policies designed to enhance quality of life as well as overall wealth" (p. 2).

Simpson begins by looking at women as property owners and business people in developing urban centers. From what Simpson calls an "apprenticeship" in property owning and managing, middle-class women moved increasingly into public affairs, blurring lines separating private from public spheres. They adopted a capitalistic frame of mind aimed at protecting property and increasing returns from their investments. Women's clubs, Simpson shows, were especially important in providing "a forum in which women could create a coalition designed to enhance the overall wealth of the city" (p. 40). Women also became involved in the work of chambers of commerce, either as members on their own or as members of women's auxiliaries. Simpson concludes that this engagement "suggests that in California men and women shared a vision of city growth that was designed to enhance business, social, recreational and spiritual opportunities" (p. 79). Club and chamber work in turn led women into urban politics and

into deep involvement in various forms of urban planning, ranging from beautification projects to more comprehensive planning work and to nascent zoning efforts. Simpson presents convincing portraits of the important, often leading, roles women took in several cities, most notably Santa Barbara, in concerted efforts to stimulate urban growth. In the most original chapters of her study, Simpson offers a reappraisal of gender roles in planning. For California women, much more than urban housekeeping was at stake in improving their cities. Economic growth in a time of fierce intercity rivalry was the name of the game.

Thoroughly researched, this book will be of considerable interest to a broad range of scholars. Urban historians will learn of important contributions women made to city development; women's historians will learn more about the blurring of public and private spheres and significant roles women played in politics; business and economic historians will learn about the roles women played in the formulation and implementation of public policies; and historians of the American West will learn of additional ways by which women spurred regional economic growth. As a pioneering work, however, it is sometimes more suggestive than definitive and raises questions about women in the West. Simpson looks at second-tier and third-tier cities, mainly Oakland in northern California and Redland, Santa Barbara, and Riverside in southern California. How typical were these cities in their patterns of growth and in the roles women played in them? What was the case in first-tier cities such as San Francisco and Los Angeles, which lay at the heart of California's growth machine? In 1904, no women were among the twenty-six founders of the Association for the Improvement and Adornment of San Francisco, the organization that spearheaded urban planning in the Bay Area metropolis during the Progressive era. Were middle-class women unified in supporting city planning measures? Middle-class men were not. Simpson provides glimpses of the opposition of some women to planning in Santa Barbara, but more on this topic is needed. Finally, how many women actually owned properties or businesses? Simpson writes that there were many. She is probably correct, as national studies by such historians as Angel Kwolek-Folland and Wendy Gamber suggest. More than anecdotal evidence about California women as property owners is called for, however. All in all, this book is valuable both for its substantial accomplishments and for the questions it raises.

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MARK FANNIN. *Labor's Promised Land: Radical Visions of Gender, Race, and Religion in the South*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 2004. Pp. xxiv, 355. \$40.00.

In this study of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers (BTW) and the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU), Mark Fannin argues that the two organiza-

tions challenged the "traditional" southern ideas about race relations and social power. According to Fannin southerners' ideas about race and class supported the interests of elites. That "common" southerners, such as the men and women targeted by the STFU and the BTW, embraced those ideas revealed how effective the hegemonic discourse of the powerful had been. By keeping whites and blacks divided, employers and others who had traditionally wielded power in the region could continue to dominate the social order. The leaders of the two unions understood that whites and blacks would have to unite to achieve their goals as they struggled to overcome the manipulations of employers.

Fannin provides a detailed examination of the conditions in which the BTW and the STFU emerged. After the Civil War the timber industry became one of the largest in the South. Because many of the workers in the timber industry and on plantations functioned like independent contractors and were dispersed, they were very difficult to organize. More daunting, according to the author, was the racial tension that divided tenant farmers and timber workers. As Fannin carefully explains, among white workers there existed little support for interracial organizing when leaders of the unions began their work. Leaders attempted to bridge the divide in various ways. The BTW organized blacks in separate unions at times and at times attempted a more egalitarian form of organization. The STFU organized blacks separately from whites. Fannin closely analyzes the strategies of the two unions, arguing convincingly that both attempted to convince potential recruits that they defended southern traditions even as they appeared to be challenging racial conventions. As Fannin demonstrates, this was a difficult line to walk, given the determined efforts by employers to foster racial strife, and the contradictions inherent in the strategy frequently caused internal strife.

The two unions also challenged gender conventions according to Fannin. In both cases, women supported their husbands. But, as Fannin explains, wives went further than this more typical role and became active in organizational campaigns and in strikes. Here again union activists turned the southern commitment to the defense of "southern womanhood" against employers. Often women described the suffering they and their children suffered because of employer policies.

Fannin has thoroughly mined the well-worked documents available for these two unions and offers creative interpretations of the organizations' respective contributions to southern labor history. But, like most labor historians, his heavy reliance on the documents produced by the labor movement reinforces a bias in favor of labor. Thus Fannin never seriously interrogates assertions of a divide and conquer strategy deployed by capital or the labor argument that racial tension was the creation of capital. He does not consider the possibility that a majority of blacks had good reason to mistrust unions and may have considered a free market for labor preferable to union control of the labor market that had always benefited whites. (Here Fannin might have ben-

edited from the work of Paul D. Moreno on race and labor markets.) Another problem, particularly in the case of the timber workers, is that practices the author attributes to "southern" paternalism were also used by employers outside the South. It appeared to this reader that the BTW was as likely to make gains with appeals that emphasized the alien nature of the organizations as with the more radical class appeals of the Wobblies. Fannin, to be sure, acknowledges that communities in the South often did resent the activities of these new "northern" invaders, but he really does not develop this line of interpretation fully. Had he done so, he might have moved beyond the confining class analysis he deploys. Nonetheless, this is the most detailed and innovative study of these two organizations to date.

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ALONZO L. HAMBY. *For the Survival of Democracy: Franklin Roosevelt and the World Crisis of the 1930s*. New York: Free Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 492. \$45.00.

In this ambitious work, Alonzo L. Hamby provides a comparative history focused on Franklin D. Roosevelt and Adolf Hitler as charismatic leaders in a time of global crisis. Hamby's account will discomfort celebratory liberals and critical New Leftists, while showing conservatives why scholars perennially rank FDR among the top three U.S. presidents. Summarizing the First New Deal as "a humanitarian success, a political triumph, and an economic failure" (p. 147), Hamby revises how we look at FDR, the New Deal, and Democratic liberalism.

Answering the call for comparative history by John Garraty in "The New Deal, National Socialism, and the Great Depression" (*American Historical Review* 78 [October 1973]: 907-944) and *The Great Depression* (1986), Hamby asks why FDR's New Deal failed to bring economic recovery, while British Conservatives Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain and Nazi fuhrer Hitler achieved significant recovery by 1935. Historians remember FDR as a great liberal reformer, while we overlook or disdain the records of his conservative and fascist counterparts. Hamby places FDR and New Deal reform in international perspective, finding some striking similarities between FDR and Hitler, surprising comparisons of New Deal liberalism and British Tory socialism, and significant differences among the political cultures of the world's three leading national economies in the interwar years.

Using recognized secondary accounts and definitive biographies, Hamby provides a unique cross-national history. He includes finely etched mini-biographies not only of FDR, Baldwin, and Hitler but also Reconstruction Finance Corporation money man Jesse H. Jones, Reichsbank director and Nazi economics minister Hjalmar Schacht, and the competent British chancellor of the exchequer Chamberlain. As do most histories of New Deal reform, this one details the work of Brains Trusters Raymond Moley, Adolf Berle, and Rexford

Tugwell, National Recovery administrator Hugh Johnson, relief administrator Harry Hopkins, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, and labor leaders John L. Lewis and Walter Reuther. Portraits of economic czar and Luftwaffe head Hermann Göring and propagandist Joseph Goebbels precede chilling accounts of Hitler's rise to power. Yet Hamby realizes Nazi job creation, productivity, and social revolution proved both real and popular.

Economist John Maynard Keynes indirectly dominates the policy scene, while Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin makes only minimal appearances until the last chapter. Hamby follows the well-worn path of intellectual history trod by most economists showing how Keynes tried—and failed—to give FDR advice to expand the money supply, increase federal spending, and fund relief and public works. At every turn, Hamby surprises and delights with wry insights that challenge cherished orthodoxies. After criticizing the United States, Britain, and Germany for taking the nationalist path of economic autarchy, Hamby puts international economic, diplomatic, and military events at center stage throughout the decade. He concludes that Britain's plodding, traditional response of budget cuts, unemployment relief, and monetary devaluation proved more successful economic policy than either the expansive, inefficient, and costly social vision of New Deal liberalism or the low-wage, armaments-based Nazi economic policies.

Hamby deploys a mature, considered view of New Deal reform crediting FDR's vibrant, optimistic leadership while presenting newsreel transcripts, fireside chat quotations, and magazine commentaries of the day to give a feel for the times and tie together his narrative. Specialists may quibble with Hamby over a lack of archival research, choice of factual details, and unorthodox interpretive judgments; however, readers will recognize a master scholar and gifted writer at the top of his craft. In suggesting it is well past time to place key individuals and events of the Depression in balanced historical perspective, Hamby chides historians who make after-the-fact moral and political choices preferring Democrats or Republicans, business managers or labor leaders, native-born Protestants or Catholic and Jewish immigrants, opponents of the New Deal or conservative proponents of the Tory welfare state. Hamby rightly makes no bones judging the barbaric values and abhorrent practices of Nazi leaders and compliant German citizens who sought clarity, stability, and forceful leadership. Most importantly, Hamby insists on a comparative view of the greatest economic crisis in world history to argue that despite his flaws, mistakes, and post-1936 hubris, FDR rightly deserves historical recognition as the world's defender of liberal democracy at a time when its survival could not be taken for granted.

PATRICK D. REAGAN
Tennessee Technological University

TETSUDEN KASHIMA. *Judgment without Trial: Japanese American Imprisonment during World War II*. (The Scott and Laurie Oki Series in Asian American Studies.) Se-

attle: University of Washington Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 316. \$35.00.

The literature on the United States' World War II internment of Japanese Americans has grown exponentially in recent years, particularly with increased comprehension of what occurred and efforts by some political figures to rectify the injustices through expressions of regret and monetary redress. Most of the literature has dealt with the reasons for the internments, the impact on the lives of the internees, their individual narratives, and case studies of internment facilities and events. In this book, however, Tetsuden Kashima sets out to make available information on the how rather than the who, what, and where. His primary objective is to show the procedures and processes used by the many government agencies to legitimate "incarceration" of Japanese Americans. He also demonstrates that plans for such internment were in place long before Pearl Harbor.

As the author indicates, plans for possible war with Japan were in existence in the 1920s. War plans had also been made for the event of war with other nations, including Canada, Britain, Germany, and New Zealand. Given the continual and rising concerns of army and navy military planners over Japan's actions in the Far East in the 1920s and 1930s, it is not surprising that war plans were under consideration by officials in Washington. Kashima shows that there were also proposals for what to do with the Japanese American contingent of the U.S. population in the event of war.

The author observes that ethnoracial bias was evident against both the Japanese and Japanese Americans. Historians have long understood that cultural and physical differences set Japanese Americans apart and prevented them from merging and blending with the rest of the population, as could Germans and Italians. So, although Germans and Italians also were subject to scrutiny and internment during the war, they did not experience racial bias as did the Japanese. Kashima's chapter on "Abuses, Protests and the Geneva Convention" demonstrates just how cruel and abusive the authorities were in their treatment of the Issei and Nisei held in their custody. It also substantiates the willingness of some authorities to use whatever means available to dispose of problems, both literally and figuratively, that arose from internments. Kashima's examination of the record is enlightening. The government's penchant for shuttling internees back and forth between camps and agencies, and manipulating rules, regulations, and even the Geneva Convention was, as Kashima shows, common practice.

The concluding chapter offers an even-handed summary of the points made in the book. The author makes apparent that the internment of Japanese Americans was more than "simply a tragic mistake," as stated by District Court Judge Donald S. Voorhees (p. 221). Referring to it as such diminishes the scope and suffering resulting from the actions that were taken against a "ra-

cially distinct" but innocent segment of the American population.

The author has provided copious notes to document his findings. Some of those notes add a unique perspective to the narrative on which they are expounding and would have been better served placed in the text itself. There are also several quotes that do not have dates attached to them either in the narrative or the notes. Some bias does creep into the author's narrative, but given his personal connection to these events (he and his family were internees) and the injustice of the internments, one understands the often passionate presentation of the topic.

Kashima's book will be of value to others who work in this and associated fields. Not only has he included materials from personal interviews with former internees, but most importantly he has done the legwork on how internees were processed and by which government organization. Future researchers will be able to use this book as a tool to point them in the right direction. It adds to our broader understanding of the events and their context by providing well-researched background information on internment patterns from beginning to end.

NONA COATES SMITH
Bryn Mawr College

STEVEN SCHWARTZBERG. *Democracy and U.S. Policy in Latin America during the Truman Years*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2003. Pp. xvi, 311. \$55.00.

This book presents a reinterpretation of U.S. foreign policy in Latin America during the Truman administration. The commonly held view, articulated by scholars such as Peter H. Smith and John H. Coatsworth, argues that the U.S. quest for economic and geopolitical advantage was the primary force driving its international behavior and foreign policy. Steven Schwartzberg, however, argues for the "civility of Yankee Imperialism" and the importance of U.S. support for the common good of democracy over economic and anticommunist concerns.

Schwartzberg examines several Latin American countries to show this civility. The primary case studies include Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica, and Venezuela during a period where these countries experienced transitions either to or from democratic systems. In all these cases, Schwartzberg makes the argument that intervention or lack thereof by accredited U.S. ambassadors was a driving factor in the success or failure of democratic elections or governance in these countries. Schwartzberg's arguments of ambassadorial predominance are most persuasive in the cases of Brazil and Argentina in the 1945–1946 period. In Brazil, the author credits the deft touch of ambassador Adolf Berle in encouraging Getúlio Vargas to continue with the 1945 elections despite pressures from supporters who sought continuation of his rule. In Argentina, Schwartzberg's unlikely hero is ambassador Spruille Braden, who openly supported Peronist opposition and

published his "Blue Book" of accusations of Juan Perón's collaboration with the Nazis in the weeks preceding the 1946 elections. Schwartzberg, however, excuses this open intervention as prodemocratic and credits Braden with laying the foundation for an aggressive democratizing push in Latin America.

An examination of Berle's and Braden's tenure provides some insights into the mechanics of U.S. foreign relations during the early years of the Cold War. Because Washington was preoccupied with events in Europe and Asia, lower-level officials and ambassadors had for a short period inordinate influence in shaping and dictating events in their countries. This serves to a degree to explain the unusual independence of Braden in Argentine politics in 1945–1946. However, their ability to mold perceptions began changing as the Cold War heated up in 1947 and U.S. policy makers focused increasing attention on the communist threat. This is precisely where Schwartzberg's attempt to extend his line of reasoning runs into problems. In Costa Rica, the author holds that Ambassador Nathaniel Davis exercised great civility by favoring neither antagonist in the 1948 Civil War between Teodoro Picado's government and the insurgents led by José Figueres (p. 184). Schwartzberg fails to address the more persuasive arguments of Kyle Longley's *The Sparrow and the Hawk: Costa Rica During the Rise of José Figueres* (1997), considered the definitive treatment of U.S.-Costa Rican relations during the period. Longley shows convincingly that Davis and other U.S. policy makers saw the Picado government as communist leaning and a threat to stability in the region. Longley argues that "at important junctures, Davis intimidated Picado with explicit and implicit threats . . . an action lauded by the State Department" (pp. 82–83). Davis's actions, rather than neutral, were pro-Figueres and dictated by his supervisors in Washington. Given the sensitivity of the United States to communism by 1948, Longley's arguments seem all the more persuasive.

In the case of Venezuela, Schwartzberg maintains that U.S. Ambassador Walter Donnelly overlooked the opportunity for a "mild intervention" in 1948 that might have helped forestall the military seizure of power and the downfall of Acción Democrática (AD). Unlike Berle and Braden, Donnelly is accused of failing to act to uphold democracy. Schwartzberg, however, seems to discount U.S. diplomatic and business alarm with AD's alliance with the Communist Party. It is therefore unlikely that Berle, Braden, or any U.S. ambassador would have acted to save AD when the chips were down.

Readers of this book will get the impression that Schwartzberg has an axe to grind with current scholars of U.S.-Latin American relations. He accuses them of an "easy cynicism" and seeking "the darker aspects of American policy." However, Schwartzberg fails to adequately address evidence contrary to his arguments in an effective way (especially in the case of Venezuela and Costa Rica) and leaves the impression that he ignores key scholarship that does not fit his thesis. While

the book is a contribution to the scholarship on the Truman era, it does not supplant several of the more well-rounded books on the subject.

ROBERT O. KIRKLAND
Claremont McKenna College

DAVID K. JOHNSON. *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 277. \$30.00.

David K. Johnson has written an important book, one that promises to reorient the historical scholarship on the Cold War. Other historians, most notably Robert Dean and Jennifer Terry, have provided detailed accounts of the anti-gay purges of the Cold War era, but they have done so as part of a larger story. What sets Johnson's account apart is that it places the purges center stage. As Johnson notes, historians usually treat the Cold War persecution of gays and lesbians as a byproduct of McCarthyism, if they treat it at all. But drawing on recently declassified government documents, as well as oral interviews with several of the men and women who were victims of the purges, Johnson shows that the Lavender Scare comprised a distinct episode of the Cold War, one in which Joseph McCarthy, a confirmed bachelor who was himself subject to homophobic taunts, had almost no role. As John D'Emilio pointed out long ago, more gays and lesbians were purged from the federal government than suspected communists and fellow travelers. Indeed, the typical victim of Cold War political repression was a gay man or lesbian who, when confronted by investigators, quietly resigned from his or her job rather than face public exposure.

One of the most interesting aspects of Johnson's meticulously researched account is its richly textured description of the gay and lesbian subcultures that thrived in the nation's capital before the Cold War. Building on the work of D'Emilio, George Chauncey, and Alan Berube, Johnson shows why young single men and women with same-sex desires migrated to the District of Columbia in such large numbers. In addition to providing freedom from the prying eyes of family, the city also provided these men and women with relatively secure white-collar jobs, thanks to the expansion of the federal bureaucracy under the New Deal; such jobs, obtained through neutral civil service examinations, were especially beneficial to women, as they enabled them to live independently of men.

Ironically, the very public-sector employment that fostered lesbian and gay social networks ultimately led to their undoing. Republican members of Congress had long resented the expansion of the welfare state, which they saw as a threat to traditional American values. In 1950, Deputy Undersecretary of State John Peurifoy provided Republicans with the ammunition they needed when, testifying before a congressional committee, he revealed that ninety-one State Department employees had been dismissed for homosexuality. Republican leaders discovered that the party's rank-and-file

cared more about the issue of homosexuality than the threat of communist subversion, and they began to deride the federal work force as a “femocracy.” Shifting the focus from communists to homosexuals enabled Republican leaders to gain support for an expansion of the national security state at the expense of the welfare state. Importantly, Johnson does not end his story here but goes on to show how the purges led to the formation of what Michel Foucault would have called a reverse discourse. In the late 1950s gays and lesbians began to mobilize against Cold War homophobia and to affirm their loyalty and patriotism as Americans.

As Johnson rightly points out, one of the effects of the purges was to consolidate the emergence of sexual object choice as an overriding principle of social and sexual difference. The state solved the riddle of how to define homosexuality by identifying as homosexual anyone who had had a homosexual experience; in so doing, it contributed to the decline of an older system that depended on gender for classifying sexual actors. But it would be wrong to exaggerate this shift in the organization of sexuality. As Johnson’s evidence indicates, the state continued to depend on gender nonconformity as a signifier of homosexuality, which suggests that the older system did not disappear but continued to exist alongside the newer one. For a more satisfying account of how gender and sexuality intersected in Cold War politics, one must turn to Dean’s *Imperial Brotherhood: Gender and the Making of Cold War Foreign Policy* (2001), which locates the purges in an ongoing struggle between two sets of elites, one midwestern and rural, the other eastern and urban. Johnson’s book would have been even stronger if it had engaged Dean’s arguments. Because it does not, we are left wondering how an eastern establishment style of masculinity, embodied by such statesmen as Dean Acheson and Sumner Welles, came to be recoded in the Cold War era as a form of male femininity that threatened the nation’s security. It may be that cultural critics with a background in queer theory are better equipped to answer this question.

ROBERT J. CORBER
Trinity College

PAUL BUHLE and DAVE WAGNER. *Hide in Plain Sight: The Hollywood Blacklistees in Film and Television, 1950–2002*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2004. Pp. xxiv, 328. \$27.95.

This book is the last of Paul Buhle and Dave Wagner’s three-volume history of the Hollywood Left. *A Very Dangerous Citizen: Abraham Polonsky and the Hollywood Left* (2001) examined the career of Hollywood Ten screenwriter Abraham Polonsky. *Radical Hollywood: The Untold Story behind America’s Movies* (2002) traced Hollywood’s Left intellectuals from the early 1930s until the blacklisting purges of 1947 and 1952. The third volume picks up the story “after the blacklist, when survivors began to find footholds as individuals in the film industry in England, France, and Mexico and

the television industry in New York and, under vastly different circumstances, in Spain, Italy, covertly from time to time, even in the back lots of Hollywood itself” (p. xix). Buhle and Wagner argue that the blacklist was more porous and the continued influence of the Hollywood Left more extensive than previously thought. Although they describe the wide-ranging cinematic efforts of radicals, the authors’ most innovative contribution is their path-blazing account of how dozens of blacklisted or graylisted writers and directors found work in television and helped to shape the social conscience of the new medium during the 1950s, 1960s, and beyond. The TV Left succeeded in working Popular Front themes of democracy, anti-authoritarianism, and antifascism into their shows. By the end of the twentieth century, their “shadows continued to flicker in the press, the cultural journals, film revivals, even home videos—in short, everywhere that cinema [and television] continued to cast its influence” (p. 184).

This is a celebrationist account of the resilience and legacy of the Hollywood Left. The “Golden Age of Television,” the authors argue, was made golden by the progressive writers who entered the emerging world of live TV, often writing using pseudonyms or as fronts. Under the influence of blacklisted writers Polonsky, Walter Bernstein, Arnold Manoff, and Ben Maddow, and directors Martin Ritt and Sidney Lumet, early television was far from conservative, predictable, or boring. Leftists worked on popular shows such as the docudrama *You Are There*, dramas *Danger*, *Studio One*, *Justice* (whose story lines were purportedly drawn from the National Legal Aid Society), and weekly theater programs such as *Goodyear Playhouse*, *Playhouse 90*, *Best of Broadway*, and *Play of the Week*. They also helped pioneer progressive TV shows such as *East Side/West Side*, which in a fifty-minute episode could deal with “racial discrimination, slum housing, joblessness, children’s endangerment, gender issues, troubled teenagers, fearful teachers and students and the force of the civil rights movement” (p. 50).

Buhle and Wagner describe the Left presence in myriad TV genres—dramas, comedies, science fiction, westerns, children’s programs—and offer an encyclopedic compendium of who was who, who wrote what, and who gave starts to a new generation of progressive writers, directors, and producers who carried forth the political sympathies of the blacklisted generation into the last quarter of the century: figures such as Larry Gelbart, Gene Reynolds, and Norman Lear. Baby boomers will be surprised to discover that many of the shows they grew up with were written by Leftists, including *The Donna Reed Show*, *Surfside Six*, *Make Room for Daddy*, *Gerald McBoing Boing*, *The Mighty Mouse Playhouse*, *Lassie*, and *Rocky and His Friends*.

Despite small errors in names, dates, and credits pointed out in other reviews (especially by nonacademics), this is a valuable study of the ideological underpinnings of early television and the impact of the old Hollywood Left on films made during the second half of the twentieth century. My main critique is that the

authors are guilty of "eraism." They assume that the 1930s-1940s Popular Front era was the only era of progressive cinema, that everything afterward was an offshoot of this "Golden Age." In that regard, they do an injustice to politically engaged writers and directors who came before and after. Silent filmmakers such as Edwin Porter, Frank Wolfe, Augustus Thomas, and Charlie Chaplin offered scathing (and often Left) critiques of American society. Likewise, while film and television figures of the 1960s and beyond certainly learned from their predecessors, they also created ideological visions that were shaped by their own particular experiences. Rather than be nostalgic about a political past long gone, Buhle and Wagner might have looked at the ways in which younger progressives use old and new forms of mass communication to reach audiences. I would venture that if the blacklisted writers they focus on were coming of age today, many would become bloggers rather than screenwriters.

STEVEN J. ROSS

University of Southern California

JEFF WOODS. *Black Struggle, Red Scare: Segregation and Anti-Communism in the South, 1948-1968*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 282. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.95.

"Americans of the 1950s and 1960s regarded Communism as an even greater evil than southern racism" (pp. 9-10). Here Jeff Woods takes us to the heart of a conundrum that helped to shape and misshape major contours of American life after World War II. Not all Americans viewed communism as a larger threat to the United States than racism, of course. Few Americans of color shared such an opinion. But most white citizens did, on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line. This perspective placed the United States at odds with the majority of the world's nations, newly emerging from European colonial rule and all too aware of the devastating impacts of racial hierarchies, and it complicated U.S. relations with much of what became known as the Third World. At home, this anticommunist priority decisively narrowed the range of mainstream ideas and policies, while at the same time creating pressure for the leader of the "free world" to eliminate the most egregious absence of freedom in the United States: racial segregation and discrimination.

In this thoughtful and well-written book, Woods focuses on the efforts of white southerners to use anti-communism as a tool to preserve white dominion in the states of the former Confederacy. By 1948, the writing was on the wall that legal segregation's days were numbered. That year brought the United Nations Human Rights Charter, the presidential order to desegregate the U.S. military forces, the Supreme Court's rejection of racial restrictions on property covenants, and the reelection of Harry S. Truman to the White House on a platform calling for greater civil rights. The Court had banned the all-white primary four years earlier, and in another half dozen years it would outlaw segregated

schools. By 1957, U.S. soldiers would be enforcing the court-ordered integration of Little Rock's Central High School, and the gathering black freedom struggle would force open the road to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

These victories for equality came at great cost, for the white South reacted to the civil rights movement with often-fearsome violence and intimidation. But Dixie segregationists also responded strategically, with an effort to win nonsouthern white support for their cause by tying race reform to communism. The link was subversion: communists, they argued, wanted to subvert American principles of the rule of law, private property, and freedom of speech and religious worship. So, too, they argued, did race reformers want to subvert the basic traditions of racial distinctions in the South. And communists, after all, supported racial equality.

Anticommunism in the nation as a whole reached its peak in the early 1950s, during the Korean War and Senator Joseph McCarthy's well-publicized investigations. In the South, anticommunist rhetoric rose on a different schedule, following the *Brown* decision of 1954 and the growth of the civil rights movement in the later 1950s. In time-honored white southern fashion, leaders of Dixie's red scare blamed race reform efforts on "outside agitators." They used state sovereignty commissions, state bureaus of investigation, and local law enforcement officials to harass civil rights workers. Woods explores how the "balance between political opportunism and true belief" (p. 7) regarding anti-communism varied among prominent white southern nationalists, such as Mississippi Senator James Eastland and Alabama Governor George Wallace, but he makes clear that the primary issue for them all was race, not communism.

Woods is not plowing entirely untilled ground in this study. Rather, he skillfully weaves together extensive research in southern newspapers and the personal papers of white southern leaders with strands from five established lines of historiography: the black freedom struggle's international ties (the work of scholars such as Penny Von Eschen and Brenda Gayle Plummer); links between the Communist Party of the United States and the civil rights movement (Gerald Horne and Robin Kelley); white southern segregationist leadership (Dan Carter and Numan Bartley); McCarthyism and the national red scare (Ellen Schrecker, David Oshinsky, and M. J. Heale); and the impact of world affairs on domestic race reform (Mary Dudziak and Thomas Borstelmann). Woods builds on this existing scholarship in order to give us the first full-scale history of how white southern segregationists used the language and tactics of the Cold War to resist race reform. Ultimately they were not able to preserve legal segregation, but men such as Wallace and Eastland did help raise white northern doubts about the patriotism of civil rights organizers and thus helped slow the development of national support for the freedom struggle in the South. The Cold War, ultimately, cut both ways. It required U.S. political leaders to eliminate grossly unjust prac-

tices, while it also empowered white supremacists to continue resisting racial equality.

THOMAS BORSTELMANN
University of Nebraska,
Lincoln

BRIAN WARD. *Radio and the Struggle for Civil Rights in the South*. (New Perspectives on the History of the South.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2004. Pp. xvi, 437. \$39.95.

Those who are familiar with Brian Ward's groundbreaking treatise detailing the relationship between rhythm and blues and the changing nature of racial consciousness in the second half of the twentieth century may be surprised to find that his latest offering pays very little attention to popular music. After successfully stretching the interpretative and methodological parameters of civil rights scholarship in his award-winning *Just My Soul Responding: Rhythm and Blues, Black Consciousness, and Race Relations* (1998), his comparatively conventional examination of black-oriented and owned radio adheres more readily to existing movement and historical literature. This is not to suggest that it is any less insightful or innovative than his earlier work. To the contrary, Ward's fairly straightforward approach to the development of African American radio in the post-World War II South accomplishes the goal he intended: that is, to rescue and retrieve a previously neglected yet vital phenomenon from the margins of the civil rights saga. With sharp analysis and a persuasive and effective writing style, Ward certainly demonstrates that the mass communication medium assumed more than a passive part in the evolution of the black freedom struggle.

Although on occasion one gets the impression that Ward would like to claim more for radio's social impact—that it was central to the black freedom struggle, for instance—he generally refrains from doing so. His tone throughout is cautiously restrained. The acclaimed historian judiciously mines the resources available to him (and given the ephemeral nature of the medium, Ward's extensive excavation of primary material is commendable), ultimately spinning a story based on oral interviews, manuscript collections, civil rights organization records, government documents, Federal Communication Commission radio station renewal files (a veritable treasure trove of various types of texts), and select accounts from entertainment trade and industry papers, popular periodicals, and newspapers. His thorough acquaintance with the secondary literature provides his narrative with exceptional depth and incisiveness.

Organized into three thematic sections that follow a loose chronological order, Ward's account begins with an overview of early attempts by black organizations and progressive groups to liberalize network radio's dissemination of racial issues and images. Most of section one focuses on the development of regional radio during the 1940s and 1950s as a forum for advocating the

mainstream values of the African American middle class. Part two examines black-oriented radio's response to the civil rights movement, with the author targeting particular cities and stations to highlight. Finally, in section three, Ward traces the controversial role that radio played in the black power struggle, an ironic denouement that serves as a fitting conclusion to the book. In the end, Ward proficiently provides for an intriguing and convincing historical investigation.

The approach and sources that he utilizes, however, inevitably require his chronicle to focus more on radio owners and executives than it does on radio audiences. Much is learned as to what went out over the air and how decisions concerning such transmissions were made; much less is ascertained as to how those electronically charged particles were received once they descended and landed in range of assorted listeners. Consequently, Ward has produced an excellent business history of the southern broadcast industry, giving particular emphasis to the trials and tribulations that individual stations experienced in negotiating the transition from the era of Jim Crow to that of civil rights and legal equality. Constantly guided (and constrained) by motivations that stressed profit first and activities of a more "political" nature a distant second, he contends that the obligatory maneuvering between the two necessarily prevented radio from reaching its full potential as a vehicle for social change. Still, Ward is able to document the myriad and often surprising contradictions (and genuine gains) produced when conflicting racial, regional, political, cultural, and commercial considerations coalesced within the mass communication marketplace.

As with his previous work, Ward provides much for scholars to contemplate. He has brought to the forefront a subject that many historians have rarely granted serious attention. By successfully incorporating the unconventional into a familiar story, he has once again helped to legitimize popular culture within his chosen profession. More importantly, Ward has proven that he is one of the leading civil rights historians of his generation.

MICHAEL T. BERTRAND
Tennessee State University

NIKHIL P. SINGH. *Black Is a Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. 285. \$29.95.

Nikhil P. Singh takes up an important subject: the degree to which African American political thought has roamed free of the nation-state. Looking at what he calls the "long civil rights era," Singh shows how often intellectuals like W. E. B. Du Bois framed their call for citizenship in international terms as part of the anti-colonial revolt of the 1930s to the 1970s. In so doing, black intellectuals offered an alternative vision to the nation-centered, liberal-democratic perspective represented by *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and American Democracy*, a study directed by Swedish

scholar Gunnar Myrdal and published in 1944. In asserting the power of the American liberal-democratic state to absorb African Americans, Myrdal attempted "to reassure the public that the period of black flirtation with the left was over." To the contrary, Singh argues that an "autonomous" black discourse continued to present African Americans as part of a world population of the oppressed and dispossessed.

In developing these and related ideas, Singh draws on a wide reading of articles and books by African American intellectuals. He has marshaled an impressive array of quotations that form a dense tapestry, although his analysis is sometimes muddled by cultural studies jargon and his selection seems somewhat idiosyncratic. The Trinidadian writer C. L. R. James, for instance, looms larger than Malcolm X, yet James was a politically marginal figure in his American years, while Malcolm X was a giant and had a great deal to say on African Americans' ties with Africa.

Nor does Singh push his history back as far as he might. Briefly passing through the 1920s, he mentions Jamaican Marcus Garvey, obviously an important figure for this theme, but he makes no mention of the Caribbean socialists who formed the African Blood Brotherhood and later made up the African American core of the Workers (Communist) Party. As a number of scholars have demonstrated, Richard B. Moore, Cyril Briggs, and others in their circle linked freedom and justice for African Americans and with freedom for Africans under European imperial rule. To the unrealized claim that America's melting pot could make anyone American, they (romantically) saw the Soviet Union as a better model, allowing individual nations to exist within a larger state. To put forth their views, they spoke to audiences gathered on Harlem street corners and published little papers, creating a small but vibrant black public sphere. To leave out this political community of the 1920s is to remain vague about the ideological origins of the very concept at the heart of this book. From the start, African Americans' radical faith that their destiny was tied to the destiny of other peoples of color was framed by a faith in international socialism and its variant, communism.

In his acknowledgements, Singh thanks Brent Hayes Edwards for reading some of the manuscript. Singh could have strengthened his own book if he had taken a page or two from Edwards's fine study, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (2003). Edwards not only examines the flow of ideas in an international black public sphere; he meticulously describes the political communities out of which these ideas came. Singh's book would be more useful if it, too, grounded ideas in the political lives out of which they emerged. Singh does not even begin to acknowledge the amount of movement that was going on: the travels of ideas and people back and forth across the Atlantic, between the United States, Europe, Africa, the Soviet Union, and the Caribbean. As an example, among the West Indians politically active in Harlem in the 1920s was a young man named Malcolm

Nurse, who joined the Workers (Communist) Party, took the political name "George Padmore," and, until his death in the 1950s, wrote incessantly about the cause of freedom for Africans and people of African descent. Padmore was a diasporic figure of unusual significance to the topic Singh has taken up, yet although Singh refers to him several times, he at no point identifies him as Trinidadian or West Indian; a reader not already familiar with Padmore would assume he was simply an American-born black intellectual who went right on living in America. Yet he was actually doing the writing Singh cites from across the Atlantic, where he first worked for the Communist International from Moscow and Hamburg and then moved to London. Some of the brief facts Singh does offer about him are wrong: for instance, Padmore was the Communist International's head of the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers, not, as Singh presents him, "Negro section chief" of the American party (p. 110). These errors are worrisome, but even more worrisome is Singh's failure to place the internationalization of black American discourse on race in the context of what was happening on the ground.

CAROL POLSGROVE
Indiana University,
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PETER B. LEVY. *Civil War on Race Street: The Civil Rights Movement in Cambridge, Maryland*. (Southern Dissent.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2004. Pp. xvii, 242. \$55.00.

South African satirist Pieter-Dirk Uys once wryly observed that the future is certain; "It is the past that is unpredictable." This is an apt description of the vicissitudes of civil rights movement scholarship in recent years. The first movement histories were constructed around a heroic narrative in which Martin Luther King, Jr., guided by the doctrine of nonviolence, successfully organized a movement and triumphed against Jim Crow. Historians' deification of King continued over the years, culminating in Pulitzer Prize-winning biographer Taylor Branch's anointment of King as the "moral metaphor" of our age. In the 1990s many scholars broke from the interpretation that the movement was defined by the actions of elite leaders and national organizations and instead emphasized the role of broader and intangible forces, including the black church, newly formed direct-action organizations like the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), grass-roots and local movements, the Cold War, and the mechanization of agriculture.

Along with abandoning the "top-down" interpretation, the new scholars also rejected the notion that any single factor was paramount in impelling and shaping the movement. Consequently, many retreated into the intellectual safety of empiricism, in which all the historical actors had the same number of lines—and no one got the lead. What was the motor of the movement? Everything. Yet, if something is everything, then it is

nothing. The empiricist interpretation allowed no room for contradictory or mutually exclusive forces within the movement. Instead, conflict and contradiction faded into a kinder and gentler world laced with classy sounding words like nuanced, complex, diverse, multivariate, and multicausal. Civil rights history became a reunion at which all was forgiven. Moderates became militants, and militants became moderates. Martin and Malcolm walked hand in hand, right off the poster and into the history books. Ironically, while scholarship grew more empiricist and took fewer intellectual risks, the public imagination underwent a rapture that transformed the movement into a civil religion, complete with its own gospel of redemptive suffering and pantheon of demigods in the form of King and Rosa Parks.

Peter B. Levy has gathered all the evidence necessary to challenge the empiricists' interpretation. The fiery and violent movement that shook Cambridge, Maryland, beginning in 1963 was remarkably militant and independent and could be interpreted as a formidable and irreconcilable challenge to the traditional national civil rights organizations. Although Levy's evidence begs this analysis, he stops short of the conclusion. While most authors err to the side of exaggerating the importance of their subject (how else do we justify our obsessions?), Levy is too modest about his. Nonetheless, his book should give us pause about the prevailing view of the movement and remind us of how instrumental mere mortals were in the black freedom movement.

The origins of the Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee (CNAC) can be found in the Freedom Rides organized along Route 40 in Maryland. Out of that protest arose a local desegregation movement in Cambridge led by Gloria Richardson, an imposing, well-educated, and articulate African American woman. Part of a respected black middle-class family in Cambridge, Richardson had done nothing of political note before she entered the movement, but by the force of her intelligence, resolution, and leadership she managed to prevent the national nonviolent organizations from colonizing and disarming the local movement—politically and literally.

Richardson went to great pains to bring working class people into the CNAC leadership. She set an uncompromising example when she called for black voters to boycott a referendum on a municipal antidiscrimination law. Resonating with the arguments of Malcolm X, Richardson argued that black people should not beg for freedoms that were inalienable rights. She openly advocated the right of armed self-defense and did not hesitate to rebuke King's offers to assist the movement in Cambridge. King was too "egotistical" and too wedded to pacifism for Richardson's taste. Richardson also disagreed with King on the overriding importance of civil equality, arguing that civil rights were only part of a larger struggle for economic and social equality. In this instance she reflected the ideas of her base as much as shaped them: a survey in Cambridge's black community found that only six percent of the respondents believed that "equal access to public accommodations" should

be the movements' top priority. Unemployment was the issue that registered the greatest support.

Forcible and coercive direct action was at the heart of the Cambridge movement. Black riots first erupted in Cambridge on June 14, 1963, coming on the heels of similar riots against police and Ku Klux Klan violence in Birmingham the month before. The repudiation of nonviolence in Birmingham so alarmed President John F. Kennedy that he gave his first and only nationally televised speech on the crisis and ordered massive federal intervention. Nonetheless, the nonviolence narrative so dominates the literature that this pivotal media event is completely omitted in the most widely read account of the Birmingham movement: Diane McWhorter's *Carry Me Home: Birmingham, Alabama—The Climactic Battle of the Civil Rights Revolution* (2001). In the same vein, the Cambridge movement is scarcely mentioned in most movement histories, even though the Cambridge riot was constantly front-page news and ultimately hastened Kennedy's announcement of his civil rights bill. In an unprecedented move, the president also dispatched his brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, to broker a truce in Cambridge. The incident constituted the most "direct intervention of the Kennedy Administration" in racial politics (p. 2).

There is much that is new and useful in this book, including a detailed account of the unique role of a woman as a leader in the militant wing of the movement. Richardson's leadership of men challenges the notion that masculine values and patriarchy inherently excluded women from leadership in the South. Levy gets bogged down at times in the Resource Mobilization (RM) theory, which he methodically uses to analyze every aspect of the Cambridge movement. Theory belongs in the footnotes or the conclusion. Nevertheless, Levy favors readers with a concise and fascinating account of a local movement that triumphed by rejecting the creed of nonviolence, adding to the growing list of local campaigns that make fiction of the nonviolent King-as-martyr interpretation.

LANCE HILL
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RHONDA Y. WILLIAMS. *The Politics of Public Housing: Black Women's Struggles Against Urban Inequality*. (Transgressing Boundaries.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 306. \$29.95.

By the late 1960s, public housing in the United States had gained a widespread and wholly negative image, tainting its residents as drug dealers or loafers and symbolizing the ills of postindustrial cities. Rhonda Y. Williams does not sidestep issues of rising crime rates and poverty, deteriorating buildings, and government neglect, but she does seek to paint a fuller picture by including the voices and efforts of activists, mostly black and mostly women, who lived in public housing and fought for social justice for their communities. From the earliest days of federal low-income housing, when optimism pervaded the experiment, women who lived

in public housing organized for better neighborhoods and respectability. As the decades wore on, argues Williams, the circumstances activists faced changed drastically, but the search for respectability—which included having material needs met as well as demands for respect and dignity—linked the generations of residents who became community leaders and attempted “to make the government live up to its ideals and promises” (p. 8).

The setting for this story is Baltimore, Maryland, where public housing emerged during the late Depression era to offer homes to the working poor. The location and composition of the earliest developments and those built to ease housing shortages during World War II cemented growing racial segregation, but African Americans welcomed the access to new housing after years of severe shortages and did not initially challenge these policies. During the 1940s, community members launched self-help activities and worked closely with management. When the views of residents and officials increasingly diverged in the 1950s, community leaders began challenging existing practices and demanding the right to contribute to policy formation.

By the 1960s, additional subsidized housing had been built and high-rise developments also appeared, but more than just the quantity and architecture of public housing had changed. Impoverished African Americans, many women with children and many receiving welfare, edged out whites and the working poor, and what had been a good place to live fell prey to government neglect and negative media attention. The richest of Williams’s sources, a group of oral histories with community leaders of the 1960s–1970s, makes this the most compelling section of the book. Inspired by the community work of those who had come before and the New Left and Black Power movements of the later 1960s, tenant activist grew more confrontational, demanding improved policing and long overdue maintenance as well as a greater voice in setting policy. They helped launch the welfare rights movement and started credit unions and food cooperatives. In these efforts, they took advantage of opportunities presented by Great Society programs. “War on Poverty legislation,” at least according to Williams, “did have impact on the local level—but only to the degree that black communities and black women in particular forced responsiveness and used the agencies as a channel for organizing” (p. 12).

Williams ends the story of Baltimore public housing with the successful 1978–1979 rent strike by residents of one complex, although, as the epilogue explains, the problems facing residents and the efforts of committed activists to battle for decent living conditions and a modicum of respect were still alive and well in the 1990s. Considering this, the book’s argument about the persistence of black women’s struggles would have been strengthened by a full-scale analysis of the closing decades of twentieth century.

Williams’s claim that we need to see the history of public housing from the perspective of the people who

lived it—those who saw the deterioration, those who experienced the crime and fear, those who suffered the neglect—is compelling. Laudable attempts to include the larger histories of public housing, social movements, and urban development, however, often take the book away from the focus suggested in the title. While Williams sets out to explore the particular perspective of poor black women, for example, the history of public housing activists also included white women and black men; tenant activists overlapped with civil rights and welfare rights groups; African American managers and other officials were both friends and foes to residents. The boundaries of who fits where and why are not always easy to discern.

Despite the author’s tendency to tell too many stories at once, the book takes an important look at how the trajectory of public housing in the country was experienced, embraced, contested, and resisted by those who lived in the developments. Housing residents tell housing officials, and by extension readers, “Treat all of us like you want to be treated” (p. 233). That means including their perspectives and their commitment to dignity and respect in the story of public housing. Williams does this, reminding us that while public housing may have failed, that does not always mean that those who lived there failed.

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JOYCE BLACKWELL. *No Peace Without Freedom: Race and the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915–1975*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 2004. Pp. xix, 241. \$55.00.

Joyce Blackwell has written a much-needed history of African American women’s involvement in the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). The problems with such a study are major. Since there were so few African American women in the predominately white organization, the book has a tendency to degenerate into a recitation of biographical details, and the account of membership recruitment strategies and numbers is too lengthy. Second and more important, although feminist analysis could have been used to understand how both black and white members viewed the organization, gender is seldom mentioned, whereas “the race card” is always played—by both Blackwell and the historical figures she discusses. Thus, although WILPF was made up almost entirely of women, except for their names there is little recognition of gender difference in attitude or ideology.

What Mary Church Terrell, the first African American member of the WILPF, said in 1919 in Zurich at the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace (the first international gathering since meeting in the Hague in 1915) remained true for the next sixty years: “White people might talk about permanent peace until doomsday but they could never have it till the dark races were treated fair and square” (p. 188).

Terrell, Thelma Edwards Marshall, Vera Chandler Foster, Bertha McNeill, and others all insisted on the link between racial justice and world peace. They worked in the anti-lynching campaign, on the Scottsboro boys case, and on desegregation and other civil rights issues, as well as in opposition to U.S. involvement in Haiti, to the proposed conscription of women during World War II, to the Vietnam War, and to apartheid in South Africa. Still, African American peace activists faced a dilemma during wartime: they were opposed to war but favored the higher-paying war industry jobs that blacks could get, which helped the war effort.

The description of WILPF's connecting of lynching violence with the peace movement is one of the best analyses of the book. The organization, led by African American members, put significant resources behind the movement to gain anti-lynching legislation in the 1930s (which was never passed by Congress).

Blackwell's assertion that black women in the WILPF had to join other liberal organizations for racial justice (like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) because they could not depend on their white WILPF colleagues to work for racial equality is questionable. Most activists, both white and black, were members of several organizations and divided their time and resources in several ways at different times. However, her critique of other WILPF histories that claim there was little racism in the organization seems well founded. She observes that "racism is not as evident when black women are not present" (p. 192), because the issue is not raised and it does not appear in archival or interview material. This does not mean that racism is not therefore present. Her observation may be the most important justification for this book, and Blackwell provides ample evidence of the difficulties faced by the tiny minority of African American WILPF members.

Chapter five summarizes U.S. involvement with the black republics of Haiti, Liberia, and Ethiopia over the past two centuries. Penning an excellent historical overview of what she calls "America's empire of darker people" (p. 117), Blackwell details both the American government's interference and the position of the WILPF, especially in the campaign to protest Benito Mussolini's takeover of Ethiopia. As with much of the book, however, there is very little gender analysis. What did it mean that black women (as opposed to men) were protesting U.S. intervention in Haiti or Liberia? Only during the Vietnam War did black women specifically talk about "maternal pacifism" and the racism inherent in the loss to so many black women of so many black sons.

One other caveat: Blackwell's strategy of beginning several chapters with a fictional scenario about one of the African American members, although labeled with a footnote as "partly fictional," is not well integrated into the rest of the material. The shift back to more objective reporting has no transition. This stylistic device, coupled with her habit of positioning the topic sentence of the next paragraph as the last sentence in the previous paragraph, makes for frustrating reading.

Still, the book abounds in surprising and relevant detail (such as the organization of the International Council of Women of the Darker Races in 1920) as the author has mined the WILPF papers for evidence of the work for peace and freedom that African American activists carried out in the midst of the racism inherent in the organization, and in American society, for sixty years.

MARGARET H. MCFADDEN
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BENITA ROTH. *Separate Roads to Feminism: Black, Chicana, and White Feminist Movements in America's Second Wave*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 271. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$23.00.

Benita Roth's timely and insightful sociological account of second-wave feminism combines two trends in the recent surge of writings on 1970s feminism: new attention to memories/memoirs of activists, known and unknown, and the search for a way out of the myth that feminism did not matter to women of color. Roth addresses both and along the way makes headway in working out a number of historiographical issues that have long burdened histories of the second wave.

In terms of oral history, Roth's is a compensatory strategy intended to bring in histories of women and groups whose manifestos and position papers did not appear in edited collections like Robin Morgan's *Sisterhood is Powerful* (1970) or Toni Cade's *The Black Woman* (1970) and whose voices have not been well archived. The group of feminists under examination came of age politically in what Roth calls a "competitive social movement sector" in the late 1960s and 1970s when the ferment of reform and revolution had the potential to divide political allegiances of women. Using interviews done in 2000, Roth treads her way through the familiar story of female activists facing the sexism of their male peers in movements like black nationalism, Chicano rights, and the New Left. To this she adds the recollection of those women who chose to leave women's caucuses within (for lack of a better term) home movements to form organized feminist groups. Their memories record the disappointment and anger at the restricted roles they as "women" played in student movements and the hostility and ridicule they faced from their male peers as they created their own race and class-specific feminisms.

Significantly, Roth does not separate gender activism from race and class activism. In doing so, she neatly steps over the old problem of which activism should be called "feminist" and which not. For black and Chicana women active in nationalist movements, their feminist consciousness and feminist theory emerged in and through race activism. For white women coming out of the New Left and civil rights, their race shaped their feminism through their preferred (and problematic) framework of universal gender oppression. While all women did battle against aspects of traditional gender roles, Roth is careful to note the different feminisms

each group produced. For women of color, this entailed addressing the idea that feminism was a white import. Chicanas argued that strong and politically engaged women existed throughout Mexican and Mexican American history and that gender inequality was the true import from white America. Chicanas, as members of a numerical minority in the 1970s, opted to stay more firmly within the Chicano movement. In contrast, black women tended to form independent feminist groups. African American feminists labored under the gendered weight of the liberal myth of black matriarchy as articulated in the Moynihan Report and the revolutionary import of empowered black masculinity in the black power movement, in addition to decades of civil rights activism. As Roth reminds us, feminisms were articulated in diverse political communities, and women of color came to feminism on their own terms, not simply as a result of racism in the white women's movement.

Roth grounds her analysis in the feminist concept of intersectionality and interestingly shows the term's emergence in her history. As a theory, intersectionality analyzes the production of identity through overlapping, mutually reinforcing oppressions of gender, race, ethnicity, class, and sometimes sexual oppression. The theory itself, however, is the accomplishment of feminists of color who in the late 1960s and 1970s refused to theorize gender apart from other systems of oppression. This insight shaped white feminist theory and activism and has, after much effort, resulted in the near-standard use of the plural when discussing feminism.

What is most refreshing in Roth's account is her ability to demonstrate the ways in which America's second wave emerged out of many kinds of political activism and resulted in a much wider variety of feminism than previous accounts have reflected. The book achieves a number of important effects: it decenters white feminism as the model from which all other feminisms came; it moves past the effort to parse out the divides among liberal, radical, and cultural feminisms; and it offers a way to chart similarities and differences among feminists in the 1970s. For scholars looking for a deep archive, Roth's book will not satisfy. She interviewed nine feminists and used published accounts, primary and secondary, to strengthen her analysis. For scholars looking for a new way to think about women's activism in the 1960s and 1970s, they will surely find guidance in Roth's analysis.

JANE GERHARD
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OWEN D. GUTFREUND. *Twentieth-Century Sprawl: Highways and the Reshaping of the American Landscape*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 297. \$35.00.

Nothing altered twentieth-century America more than the widespread adoption of motor vehicles and the road and highway improvements that sought to sustain, if not increase, their utility as transport. The nation's geography was remade: cities, for example, were not just de-

centralized but literally turned inside out in terms of how they functioned. In this book by Owen D. Gutfreund, explanation is offered for why and also for how automobility was imposed. The author reviews the history of the federal highway program; more importantly, he demonstrates in three case studies (Denver, Colorado; Middlebury, Vermont; and Smyrna, Tennessee) how that program variously played out in differing local communities.

Chapter one, entitled "Highway Federalism," is a useful synthesis of how the federal highway juggernaut grew, focus being placed on the evolving highway lobby dominated by vested commercial (especially industrial) interests, and the evolving planning and engineering bureaucracies that likewise became quite self-serving. Reviewed are the long-term implications of various Federal Aid Road Acts (1916, 1921, 1944, 1956, 1968, 1973, and 1974) as well as other relevant Congressional legislation, such as the Hayden-Cartwright Act of 1934 that reduced grant-in-aid to states that "diverted" gas tax revenues to "nonhighway" purposes. The Highway Trust Fund, formally put in place in 1956, was especially important, the sole instance of a federal revenue stream being solely directed at a single programmatic emphasis. Created was "a system of transfer payments from urbanized regions to rural regions, and from all taxpayers generally to those who drove automobiles" (p. 27). Neglected was the nation's urban transportation infrastructure, especially that of mass transit around which American cities had previously been structured. Implicit was not just an anti-urban bias but "an outright rejection of existing urbanization patterns" (p. 41). The unintended consequence was a full prioritizing of urban decentralization over centralization.

Two chapters illustrate the impact that federal highway mandates had on metropolitan Denver: first the problems that peripheral highway building generated for the central city, and then the opportunities that those initiatives offered developers in creating a new kind of sprawling, auto-oriented suburbia. Explored are the peculiarities of Colorado law (which, for example, restricted the City of Denver in its annexing of new territory), the political agendas of leading politicians (vis-à-vis the embrace of highway building), and the role of real estate developers (who ultimately came to exert great influence on road projects). Metropolitan Denver is presented as a rapid growth area of considerable size where suburbanization, promoted as inevitable, became absolutely impelling. Two chapters each are also given to Middlebury and Smyrna. The former is presented as a conservative place of deliberately slow growth that had automobility thrust upon it. The latter is presented as a fast-growth town that fully embraced automobility in vigorously promoting economic growth, which came to include a major automobile assembly plant. In Vermont, as in every state, motorists were persistently undercharged when it came to funding highways. But unlike many other states, Tennessee included, lack of a rapidly expanding tax base (one fostered by hyper growth) resulted in a federally man-

dated highway system that state government found it could ill afford to maintain. It was also a highway system that, in promoting suburban sprawl around Middlebury and other towns, generated land use and other environmental problems, solutions for which proved equally difficult to fund. At Smyrna, by contrast, a host of federal spending initiatives, in addition to highway building (including New Deal spending through the Tennessee Valley Authority and federal defense spending at several nearby military installations), wrought not just growth but prosperity, a prosperity fully translated into sprawling, auto-oriented redevelopment. Taken together, the three case studies demonstrate just how varied the automobile's impact was. Nonetheless, all three localities came to share similar land use outcomes. Automobility's transforming effects were both pervasive and ubiquitous.

Gutfreund might be faulted on several grounds. Nowhere does he rationalize his choice of case study localities. One is left to guess why he found their stories particularly compelling. Does he see these places as especially typical, or are they just different? Whereas his introductory review of the Federal Government's involvement in highway building is well targeted, it barely mentions many of the other federal programs that directly encouraged suburbanization in the United States: for example, the mortgage guarantees of the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans Administration. So also does he neglect the consequences of federal tax law: for example, the effects of income tax deductions for house mortgages and the effects of investment tax credits and accelerated depreciation allowances in regards to commercial real estate. With the Denver case study, the role of racial integration in the public schools, an important cause of "white flight" to the suburbs, is barely mentioned. How did automobility facilitate racism's playing out? With the Middlebury case study, Vermont's advocacy of open space preservation and other innovative land use initiatives is also given only cursory mention. To what extent were such initiatives car-related? With the Smyrna case study, the town's close proximity to Nashville is hardly considered at all. Might not the geographic base of his analysis be misdirected? Nonetheless, Gutfreund does effectively treat an important aspect of twentieth-century American history. The reader is provided with the details of just how automobility's most important land-use effect—urban sprawl—played out in three localities, places presumably representative of the nation's landscapes at large.

JOHN A. JAKLE
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LARRY D. KRAMER. *The People Themselves: Popular Constitutionalism and Judicial Review*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 363. \$29.95.

For the last two generations, the central preoccupation of constitutional historians seems to have been to pro-

vide a historical foundation to support the work of the Warren, Burger, and Rehnquist Courts in expanding the reach of the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection and Due Process clauses, in order to prevent state legislatures or state law enforcement officials from abusing the rights of criminal defendants, religious and ethnic minorities, women, and homosexuals. Liberals cheered these developments, and liberals wrote those histories that made it seem that from the time of John Marshall forward it had been the job of the United States Supreme Court, consistently with our constitutional scheme, to protect minorities from discrimination by the majority. Conservatives, not much in evidence in the academy, tended to view these Supreme Court decisions with some suspicion, believing that the Court was making up purported constitutional rights out of whole cloth, that the Supreme Court had been legislating rather than judging, and that such conduct was inconsistent with the Constitution, which leaves matters of making up new law to the legislatures and to the people themselves.

Since 1995, however, the United States Supreme Court has begun to move in a new direction, deferring more to the federal executive, and to state legislatures and state and local prosecutors. To the alarm of many defenders of the Warren and Burger Courts, it shows signs of cutting back on many of the rights-expanding decisions of the 1960s and 1970s. In response, liberal constitutional scholars have begun to lay a new foundation, one that would relegate the Supreme Court to a secondary role in construing the Constitution. Larry D. Kramer's book is part of this project.

Kramer demonstrates, in a convincing manner, that throughout most of U.S. history the Supreme Court has actually not had the last word in constitutional adjudication, and that it is the American people themselves who have always had the ultimate responsibility and power to say what the Constitution means. This they have done, Kramer shows us, from 1776 onward, even after the written Constitution of 1787, not only by demonstrating out of doors in massive rallies or even armed insurrections, as was done at the end of the eighteenth century and at the time of the Civil War, but also by the formation of political parties, by aggressive electioneering, and by the constitutional amendment process. Kramer also shows us that it is only in the last generation or so that there has been general acceptance among the chattering classes that the Supreme Court ought to have the final governmental say about the constitutionality of acts of the legislatures and the executive, and that before that a theory now called "departmentalism" reigned, whereby each of the branches had considerable discretion to interpret the constitutionality of its own actions, and none was bound to defer to the pronouncements of the others. Thus, for example, President Andrew Jackson, pursuant to the theory of departmentalism, could ignore the Supreme Court's pronouncements on the executive branch's policies regarding Native Americans, and the Jeffersonian-controlled Congress could eliminate federal judgeships

created by the Federalists, even though the Constitution seemed to require removal of judges only by the impeachment process. Kramer's implicit suggestion is that we should return to departmentalism and to popular constitutionalism if a Supreme Court begins to move in a direction of which the American people may disapprove.

One does not have to be a political liberal to appreciate the massive research that has gone into this volume, the careful (one might say, judicious) use of historical materials, and the encyclopedic knowledge of the literature of history, law, and political science that Kramer deploys. Indeed, even conservatives, who often fancy themselves populists, will find much of which to approve here. This book is a major achievement, it will deservedly garner a plethora of awards, and it will be ignored at the peril of anyone who seeks to understand constitutional history or future politics.

STEPHEN B. PRESSER
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DAVID A. HOROWITZ. *America's Political Class under Fire: The Twentieth Century's Great Culture War*. New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. xii, 290. Cloth \$90.00.

In this ambitious examination of populist reactions to the increasing prominence of policy intellectuals and experts in twentieth-century America, David A. Horowitz attempts to move beyond Richard Hofstadter's pioneering *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (1963) both in time period covered and in interpretation. Beginning with the 1920s, Horowitz's episodic narrative extends through the end of the twentieth century and presents a less hostile view of populist anti-intellectualism than did Hofstadter. Horowitz is not uncritical of those who have attacked America's political class. He acknowledges that ethnocentrism and prejudice have at times been features of populist attacks and that conservative elites have also appealed to populist sentiments for self-serving purposes. In contrast to Hofstadter, however, Horowitz downplays the purely irrational elements of this tradition and argues that populist criticism of America's political intelligentsia cannot simply be dismissed as either the product of ignorant opposition to progress or as a cynical effort by traditional conservatives to manipulate popular fears in defense of their own vested interests.

Horowitz considers a wide range of cultural and political responses to the rise of America's "New Class" of social service professionals. His case studies include the Scopes trial and resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s, resistance to Franklin D. Roosevelt's efforts at government reorganization, popular resentment directed at the Office of Price Administration in World War II, opposition to David Lilienthal's nomination to head the Atomic Energy Commission, the development of McCarthyism, George Wallace's populism, the growing hostility to affirmative action in the Nixon years, and the negative reaction to the Clinton health care plan. Other historians have thoroughly examined these epi-

sodes, and Horowitz does not offer any radically new interpretations of events taken individually. However, Horowitz develops an important overarching thesis by highlighting in each instance the persistence of what he sees as an understandable and at least partially justifiable fear among Americans of the antidemocratic consequences of the nation's growing reliance on experts and professionals to determine public policy. Thus the Scopes trial represented a defense of local control over schools, and opposition to the Clinton health care plan stemmed, at least in part, from the lack of open public input into the plan's formulation and the proposal's overreliance on experts to carry out its complicated provisions.

Horowitz acknowledges that because his focus is on public reactions to the growing prominence of experts, the actual role of the New Class in modern American society is beyond the scope of his study. Thus, he leaves unexplored the basic issue of whether policy professionals have, in fact, exercised the independent power attributed to them by their critics, or whether they have been more or less the servants of other more powerful interests in society—a charge often made by those on the left. He repeatedly cites the argument made by populist critics throughout the twentieth century that policy intellectuals are predisposed to support liberal policies in order to create more jobs for themselves in an expanding government bureaucracy, but he does not attempt to assess the validity of the argument.

This work builds on Horowitz's previous book, *Beyond Left and Right: Insurgency and the Establishment* (1997) in trying to move the discussion of modern American politics beyond the familiar categories of liberal and conservative. Horowitz convincingly argues that concerns about a loss of democratic control that do not fit neatly into a left-right dichotomy have contributed to the recurring expressions of popular hostility to intellectuals. Yet, it can hardly be coincidental that all the incidents of anti-intellectualism he discusses involve attacks on policy elites identified with liberal causes. Although one of the most significant developments of the last quarter century has been the growing prominence and influence of New Right policy experts and conservative think tanks, Horowitz cites no instance of a negative populist reaction to the growing power of this element of America's political class. Populist fears of a too-powerful government bureaucracy clearly contributed to the opposition that developed to FDR's executive reorganization plan, price controls, LBJ's Great Society, and Clinton's health care reform proposal, but Horowitz never fully addresses the question of whether traditionally conservative interests were in these cases still the driving force behind such opposition.

LARRY G. GERBER
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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

JORGE LUIS CHINEA. *Race and Labor in the Hispanic Caribbean: The West Indian Immigrant Worker Experience in Puerto Rico, 1800–1850*. (New Directions in Puerto Rican Studies Series.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2005. Pp. xv, 227. \$59.95.

Official accounts of Puerto Rican history, particularly those centered on the nineteenth century, routinely take note of the *Cédula de Gracias* (1815), the Spanish decree designed to encourage white immigrants to colonize the island's highlands. Typical of most immigration studies focused on the Americas, those analyzing Puerto Rico commonly emphasize European settlement. Images of African slaves arriving in San Juan are consigned to the recesses of our historic imaginations. Jorge Luis China takes us down a sparsely traveled path exploring West Indian immigration to Puerto Rico in the first half of the nineteenth century.

In keeping with the author's goal of presenting newcomers in their "polyphonic totality," this work highlights the course of immigration from neighboring islands. A common thread running throughout the book is the multidimensionality of this immigration. Contrary to popular imagery, some West Indian immigrants were white. Spain sometimes encouraged West Indian immigration; at other times it feared these newcomers and questioned their loyalties. While many were penniless, others arrived with desperately needed skills. In order to immigrate legally, many exaggerated their assets and misrepresented their devotion to the Roman Catholic Church. Legal immigration represents but one episode in the West Indian saga. Indeed, one of the most ambitious and laudable facets of this book is China's commendable attempt to account for illegal immigration. Escaping slaves from neighboring islands were not always returned to their Dutch and English masters. Yet the author does not romanticize nineteenth-century Puerto Rico as a slave refuge. West Indians were intermittently harassed by Spanish authorities, they were perennially suspected of subversion, and at times they were captured and forced to wear Spanish shackles.

Beyond the parameters of immigration studies, China's book subtly pierces a much larger debate over the nature of Puerto Rican identity. Traditional studies focusing on white newcomers fortify the myth—expounded in Antonio S. Pedreira's *Insularismo* (1934)—that the island's cultural nucleus lies in its Spanish legacy. Nevertheless, José L. González's *Puerto Rico: The Four-Storeyed Country* (1993) counters that the island's true heritage is located in its African past. Slaves, and most free blacks, did not have the option of leaving. Presumably black and mulatto Puerto Ricans remained century after century while whites came and went.

The findings in this book strike at the heart of González's thesis. China underscored that not all black and mulatto Puerto Ricans can trace their ancestry to slaves who arrived early in the island's colonial history. Instead, many are descended, at least in part, from early

nineteenth-century West Indian immigrants who relieved severe labor shortages. Of course, the same thing can be said of white Puerto Ricans. How many of them have West Indian ancestors? Spain constantly balanced its enduring fear of slave rebellions with the economic benefits that black immigration, free and enslaved, provided.

A problematic aspect of this book is the Taíno survival controversy. Spanish chronicles reported the massacre of the majority of the island's aboriginal peoples early in the sixteenth century. Their numbers were so few that by the early nineteenth century Spanish censuses did not even bother listing "*Indio*" as a racial category. China notes that population figures before the mid-nineteenth century were rather unreliable. He proposes that Spaniards exaggerated the Taínos' demise and that many simply fled into the hinterland where their descendants eventually intermixed with Puerto Ricans of European and African ancestry. The discussion takes on renewed significance in light of contemporary claims of indigenous ancestry on an island where, supposedly, few Taíno survived Spanish swords and diseases.

If indigenous peoples mixed with immigrants in the hinterland are their descendants still aboriginal peoples? Speculation about a Taíno survival becomes even more suspicious when we recognize, as China noted, that some maroons in Saint Domingue made believe they were aboriginals. There is little evidence in this book that we are on the verge of rediscovering a community that historians forgot. Instead, China's investigation suggests that those self-identified Taínos, to borrow a page from Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, are engaging in an invention of tradition.

China's work enriches our understanding of the West Indian dimension of Puerto Rican immigration history. History students should use this work as an example of how to reconstruct and account for unofficial events, such as illegal immigration. Moreover, the book will fuel future arguments and scholarly research on the origins and development of Puerto Rican identity.

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VALENTINA PEGUERO. *The Militarization of Culture in the Dominican Republic, from the Captains General to General Trujillo*. (Studies in War, Society, and the Military.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. x, 263. \$55.00.

Do decades of dictatorship and long histories of a military presence in politics produce societies characterized by authoritarian or "militarized" cultures? Valentina Peguero suggests that in the case of the Dominican Republic they did. In this book, Peguero offers an impressively balanced and comprehensive account of Dominican military and political history, focused on the expansive role of the national military in Dominican society during the dictatorship of Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina (1930–1961). She contends that the armed

forces played a central role in Dominican politics and society prior to Trujillo's reign, but that "militarism" greatly expanded under his rule as a strategy for sustaining the regime. In addition, she argues, this strategy helped consolidate an enduring "military culture" that would persist among Dominicans even decades after the dictatorship, as evinced, for instance, in what she believes to be a widespread culture of obedience to authority (p. 187). Whether or not one accepts this last, more problematic assertion, Peguero's book makes a significant contribution to the literature. Most notably, she incorporates rare and valuable interviews that she conducted with former soldiers, officers, and political leaders of the Trujillo state. These interviews supplement the U.S. State Department records and secondary sources on which the book is largely based. Peguero also draws at times on her own memories of growing up in the Dominican Republic during and after the Trujillo years.

Although primarily a study of the military and society during the Trujillo regime, Peguero's work contains introductory chapters on the pre-Trujillo period, including a solid overview of the first United States occupation of the Dominican Republic (1916–1924). In addition, Peguero charts the interesting and ambivalent course of U.S.-Trujillo relations. Most central to Peguero's guiding themes, however, is the second half of the book, which chronicles the expansion of the military under Trujillo. Here she treats the military's escalating budget, troop and weaponry levels, and training at home and abroad as well as its extension into further reaches of Dominican society. Under Trujillo's aegis, she shows, the military's professionalization did not eliminate but rather coincided uneasily with a form of intense politicization. Soldiers continually had to proclaim—and demand of the population—fealty to Trujillo, and the upper ranks, in particular, were often promoted or demoted for political and nepotistic reasons. Peguero argues that Trujillo's policies helped expand the military's role as a key avenue for social mobility, making it a particularly desirable profession for rural and poor young men and therein a mechanism by which the regime gained elements of popular support. Such support is evinced in the interviews she conducted with former servicemen. Peguero also analyzes these interviews for what they reveal about a paradoxical color politics within the regime. Trujillo, a light-skinned mulatto, was remembered as showing a preference for and seeking to demonstrate to foreign leaders his command over white troops through his presidential guard (which accompanied Trujillo abroad as well as in the National Palace). Overall, though, former soldiers represented Trujillo's military as evenhanded and broadly reflective of Dominican society (i.e. predominantly of African descent).

Despite glimpses into popular military experiences through her interviews, Peguero's treatment of the armed forces and the Trujillo regime in general remains essentially top-down. This left me curious about unexplored aspects of important events in Dominican mil-

itary history. For instance, what were the effects of the massacre of some 15,000 ethnic Haitians—a large portion of whose families had lived in the northwestern Dominican frontier for generations—on the Dominican soldiers who perpetrated this infamous atrocity in 1937? Could Peguero's research have cast new light on comparative questions of military obedience to genocidal orders and compliance with state terror? Peguero's generally top-down approach also appears to have conditioned her analysis of the mechanisms by which Trujillo sustained his long rule. She moves beyond much existing literature focused solely on the dictator's elaborate machinery of repression by emphasizing instead the putative powers of the regime's deceptive propaganda and seductive rituals of rule to win adherents. Indeed, throughout the book, Peguero asserts the causal efficacy of Trujillo's "demagoguery." Yet we would need more evidence of popular perspectives for this argument to be convincing, as even effusive public deference may be far from a transparent reflection of private sentiments that supposedly deified Trujillo (p. 158). Furthermore, explanations of Trujillo's exceptional endurance that rest on assumptions of widespread "indoctrination," "brainwashing," deception, and the development of a "culture" of obedience (pp. 107, 160, 162, 175–176, 181) seem to underestimate the capacity for reason, informal resistance, and complex consciousness of Dominicans.

Finally, despite what one may infer from the book's title and its introductory arguments, this work does not treat the militarization of cultural practices (broadly speaking), nor does it really demonstrate how—or that—convergences of military and political power since colonial times have shaped patterns of what used to be called authoritarian political culture. To investigate the latter would have required more exploration of popular discourses and perspectives. Notwithstanding these limitations—perhaps ones inhering somewhat in the book's expansive reach and quick pace—this is a crisply written, balanced, and informative account of Dominican military and political history in the national period focused on the Trujillo regime. Peguero has provided this account, moreover, amid a limited body of academic work on Dominican history, particularly in English. She has thus contributed to the historiography of the Dominican Republic a scholarly treatment that will be useful to students of Dominican history at all levels.

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JAIME LARA. *City, Temple, Stage: Eschatological Architecture and Liturgical Theatrics in New Spain*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2004. Pp. x, 299. \$65.00.

Jaime Lara's central thesis in this well-researched and copiously illustrated volume is that the sixteenth-century mendicant architectural complexes of colonial Mexico embodied the friars' eschatological and millen-

nial ideas to an extent previously unrecognized. The eschatological theme is familiar from earlier studies: the friars who evangelized New Spain tied their work to an imminent end time, heralded by the discovery of the New World and to be hastened by the conversion of its inhabitants. The massive colonial churches that loom over Mexican towns have also been extensively documented. Lara interweaves these two topics more thoroughly than any previous scholar has done. The friars were not creating a "new Jerusalem" simply by trying to turn Indian towns into Christian utopias. They were literally rebuilding Jerusalem's monuments in the Indian towns of New Spain and decorating them with apocalyptic insignia.

Lara traces the relevant strains in European apocalyptic thought, from commentaries on the Book of Revelation, through the influence of the Sibylline Oracles and Joachim of Fiore, to the identification of Charles V as a second Charlemagne and as the last world emperor, who would surrender his crown to the returning Christ in Jerusalem. This event was to be heralded by the appearance in the sky of the cross and the instruments of the passion—motifs that decorate many Mexican structures, as do motifs that refer to Charles. Always tied to apocalyptic ideas was the image of Jerusalem, "the metaphor at the center of Judeo-Christian space-time and the teleological goal of human existence" (p. 94). There was the historical city with its destroyed or extant temples: Solomon's, Herod's, Constantine's Holy Sepulcher complex, and Islamic structures that Christian visitors mistook for long-gone Judaic ones. Any of these temples could serve as a synecdoche for the whole city. And this "earthly" Jerusalem city/temple was conflated with the celestial one, glimpsed and described by Ezekiel and John, which would be realized on earth at the end of time.

Medieval architects built new Jerusalems all over Europe. To qualify, a structure had only to evoke its model by some similarity of shape or proportion, not to reproduce it in detail or at full scale. By the time the mendicant friars reached Mexico, practical guides for building Jerusalems, based on travels to the Holy Land and interpretations of Ezekiel, were widely available. The most influential was the fourteenth-century work of the Franciscan Nicholas of Lyra, which Lara sees as the model for the mendicant evangelization centers, with their tripartite, single-nave churches with flat roofs and crenellations, and their atria with corner *posa* chapels and with a central cross, which replaced but also evoked the altar of holocausts. The *posa* chapels Lara links to actual structures in Jerusalem and also to an artistic convention of using such structures as stage sets to depict events in the holy city; this convention also influenced the open chapels. Some open chapels were modeled on Lyra's conflation of the Al-Aqsa mosque with Solomon's Hall of the Forest of Lebanon. And it was not just the churches that recreated Jerusalem but whole towns: Lara traces the grid plan of colonial Latin American towns and cities to another Franciscan,

Francesc Eiximenis, who designed an ideal Christian city based on the visions of Ezekiel and John.

Detailed descriptions of a number of Mexican structures show the execution of these ideas in stone and paint. Lara attends mainly to the structures but gives some attention to their use: the "liturgical theatrics" of the volume's title refers to the dramas that were performed in the atria and open chapels but also to the broader program of catechetical instruction, processions, liturgical chants, confession, and other activities enacted in these spaces. The whole "mendicant complex might be understood in some degree as an elaborate stage set for an eschatological drama" (p. 36). Here the native people acted out their new identities as the converted "Lost Tribes," subjects of the millennial New Jerusalem.

Lara, striving to avoid the old "spiritual conquest" view of the friars' work, correctly presents the native people as active partners with the friars in building both the new churches and the new religious practices. He stresses similarities between Christianity and precolumbian religion (as well as architecture) that allowed for harmonious convergence and synthesis. This is too Panglossian; he skirts dissonant and irreconcilable elements, the friars' growing despair over the Indians' seemingly diabolical otherness, the nonspiritual reasons native people had for performing a Christian identity in their public spaces, and the ability of native exegetes to find meanings in Christian symbols that were neither precolumbian nor European but reflected their colonized condition and other ongoing concerns. Nevertheless, the volume is highly informative about Old World apocalyptic ideas and their execution in New Spain, and it makes a valuable addition to the literature on a colonial interchange that, although often examined, is still incompletely understood.

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ELLEN GUNNARSDÓTTIR. *Mexican Karismata: The Baroque Vocation of Francisca de los Angeles, 1674–1744*. (Engendering Latin America.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 305. \$29.95.

Ellen Gunnarsdóttir's examination of the life and writings of a seventeenth-century holy woman is a welcome and important addition to the growing literature on the manifestations of female religiosity in colonial Latin America. Gunnarsdóttir's subject is Francisca de los Angeles, a religious laywoman or *beata* whose extraordinary life developed in the context of the Mexican high baroque. Francisca was also a *queretana* at a time when Querétaro had become the base of operations for the 1683 Franciscan mission to the north; moreover, Francisca grew up saturated by the intense popular piety of the Counter Reformation, which would culminate in the Querétaro demoniac scandal of 1691. Her life was thus touched by some of the most important currents in

seventeenth-century Mexican society, and her story makes fascinating reading.

Born in 1674 on the outskirts of Querétaro, Francisca was one of nine children of impoverished but respectable parents. From childhood, she showed signs of unusual devotion and a mystical bent. At the age of nine she began to confess with the Franciscan friars of the newly founded Colegio de Santa Cruz; they quickly acknowledged her precocious spirituality, convincing her father to allow her to don the habit of a Franciscan tertiary. From that point until her death in 1744, Francisca consistently manifested spiritual gifts that earned her the patronage of Franciscan friars and the inhabitants of Querétaro. She was trusted by the friars to advise on evangelization and even, reputedly, bilocated to Texas to serve as a missionary herself. Unlike some of her contemporaries, she emerged successfully from a brush with the Inquisition and became foundress of an important religious institution. At the end of her life in 1744, Francisca presided as headmistress over the daughters of Querétaro's lower elite while retaining her reputation for sanctity. Gunnarsdóttir's careful study does justice to the manner in which Francisca's religious career developed and to the tensions implicit in the role of a neighborhood holy woman. Her natural tendency was to the interior life of prayer and meditation; however, her ability to sustain herself depended upon the piety and patronage of fellow citizens. As her gifts became more widely acknowledged, she moved from the (anyway risky) path of mystical union and bilocation to the more practical and less perilous occupations of a foundress. In so doing, she consolidated what must be one of the longer and more successful careers enjoyed by a Mexican holy woman. But while her success as a foundress may have taken her to a more stable and secure position than that of a neighborhood visionary, it may also have cast her into the relative obscurity from which Gunnarsdóttir has rescued her.

Any biographer must navigate between the attractions of the particular and the importance of context, and every biographer steers by a different measure of where the balance between the two must lie. While Gunnarsdóttir provides a wealth of contextual information in her first and final chapters, context might have been enhanced in various locations in between. For example, it seems clear that Francisca was a reluctant foundress pushed into creating a *beaterio* by the twin forces of financial need and the hunger of *queretanos* for foundations. Gunnarsdóttir misses an opportunity to integrate this foundation into a more general tendency within Mexican urbanism, exemplified by but not limited to Mexico City. Furthermore, Gunnarsdóttir's life-cycle approach is a useful way to study a long and complex life, but at times she forces the consonance between Francisca's life and her career. For example, although 1713 may have represented a period of consolidation for Francisca, it may be a bit premature to decree that the thirty-seven-year-old *beata* had entered "old age." And finally, though the author believes that a study of high baroque piety yields "a more fruitful

perspective" than would a gender-based analysis, Francisca's biography offers the opportunity to integrate both. Her identification as a "tomboy" in childhood, her sense of herself as a "spiritual male," her feelings of superiority to upper-class nuns, her conflicts with sometimes capricious male confessors and benefactors: all cry out for an analysis that acknowledges Francisca's rootedness in gender and class hierarchies. Indeed, one of the characteristics of baroque popular religion was its capacity to effect the kind of class and gender inversions that allowed a young Mexican girl from an impoverished family to become the adviser and confidant of educated Spanish missionaries. These inversions, however, were never permanent, and an understanding of how a woman like Francisca could simultaneously occupy the role of spiritual colleague and obedience-bound confessant demands a nuanced treatment of gender and class. Still, Gunnarsdóttir's treatment is meticulously researched, thoughtful, and thorough, and its focus on the spiritual context offers its own rewards. This is a useful and important book. Readable and engaging, it will be essential reading for those interested in Mexican women's history and Counter Reformation religiosity.

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TIMOTHY HAWKINS. *José de Bustamante and Central American Independence: Colonial Administration in an Age of Imperial Crisis*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2004. Pp xxviii, 283. \$40.00.

Our knowledge of how independence was achieved throughout Spanish America favors those who fought to overthrow the imperial yoke and, by so doing, became icons of the nations that were forged in the aftermath of often brutal armed conflict. Miguel Hidalgo and José María Morelos figure prominently in the liberation and construction of Mexico, just as Simón Bolívar and José de San Martín dominate the emergence from colony to republic in the countries of South America. As is frequently the case, Central America marches to the beat of a different drum. Administered as the Kingdom of Guatemala, which stretched from Chiapas to Costa Rica, the isthmus of Central America produced no inspirational leader who could galvanize secessionist fervor. As noteworthy as the transition to independence is the story of the man who did his royalist best to prevent it. José de Bustamante was a steely Spaniard who, between 1811 and 1818, did much to ensure that Central America did not experience the autonomous seizures that undermined Spanish authority elsewhere in the New World.

Timothy Hawkins begins his study of Bustamante by dissecting the extant literature. He observes that scholars, especially those from Central America, have traditionally portrayed Bustamante as "the personification of Spanish absolutism, supervising a 'reign of terror' that stifled dissent and crushed overt opposition" (p. viii), thus creating a "Bustamante myth" (p. xvii). In his

revisionist critique, Hawkins focuses on "the preservation of empire rather than the struggle for independence," examining "the methods utilized by imperial officials to maintain order" and illuminating "the degree and nature of support for Spanish rule in the colony" (p. xxvi).

Hawkins takes care to chart key elements of Bustamante's career before his arrival in Central America. He discerns formative experiences in Bustamante's training at the naval academy in Cádiz and his partnership thereafter with Alejandro Malaspina in convincing Charles III, figurehead of the Bourbon reforms, to fund "a voyage around the world that would combine geographic exploration and scientific discovery with a thorough investigation of the political, social, and commercial status of the Spanish colonies" (p. 8). Both Malaspina and Bustamante "were products of the Enlightenment," but the mother country they sailed from in 1789 was not the one to which they returned five years later. A once "energetic, activist state" now had Charles IV on the throne, a fickle heir who "allowed a young and inexperienced favorite named Manuel Godoy to assume the reins of power," precipitating "almost permanent crisis" (p. 10). The outspoken, liberal-minded Malaspina fell foul of Godoy and soon found himself "stripped of all his titles and honors and imprisoned" (p. 12). Bustamante, in stark contrast, "presented the [C]rown with a detailed report on how to secure the commercial and defense needs of the colonies in the midst of the European hostilities" (p. 13). Godoy was impressed by Bustamante's strategic thinking. While Malaspina languished in jail in La Coruña, Bustamante was dispatched to Montevideo, where he served as the crown's highest representative for "seven successful years" (p. 18).

Bustamante's "proven record" in Montevideo, Hawkins makes clear, paved the way for his appointment in 1810 as "captain general, governor, and president of the Kingdom of Guatemala" (p. 21). With Spain and its empire in turmoil—the French invasion of 1808 had resulted in the overthrow of Godoy and the abdication of Charles IV—Bustamante arrived in Central America in 1811 with an uncompromising vision. "The masses confuse the words *patria* and *país*, patriotism and citizenship," he declared. "The country where one is born, where one develops reason, where one's soul forms its most permanent impressions, deserves and inspires affection. But how distinct is the wide, true love for the *Patria*, which includes all of the peoples united by the same social bonds, all those under one Religion, one King, one Law, one culture, one will, and one character." Bustamante's firm belief—for him, as for all "good Spaniards," there was "no distinction between kingdoms, nor between the provinces which comprise the vast extent of the Monarchy" (p. 84)—was matched by a resolute sense of purpose, of what to do on behalf of the crown in order to protect its interests.

Hawkins depicts Bustamante at work with telling detail, responding to unrest in El Salvador and Nicaragua by devising "a counterinsurgency state" (p. 115) that

marshalled the manpower of "some four thousand troops." Bustamante's "active military forces" (p. 141) were deployed in Oaxaca to stop Mexican moves for autonomy from spilling over into Central America. He intercepted the mail, kept a close watch on the movement of goods and people, and imprisoned anyone who aroused suspicion. When, ruling in the crown's name, the Cortés of Cádiz promulgated the Constitution of 1812, its progressive ideas were decidedly at odds with Bustamante's, who saw the blueprint for a new colonial order "as something to be tolerated when possible and obstructed when necessary" (p. 143).

Bustamante became "a figure of hatred at the highest levels of colonial society" not just because his policies curtailed elite privileges but because "his guarded nature and reserved manner, his dislike of ostentation, and his scrupulousness in refusing gifts or bribes" (p. 186) clashed with elite pretensions and proclivities. Professional substance combined with personal style to offend creole pride and diminish creole prestige. When, in 1818, Carlos de Urrutia replaced him, Bustamante's departure was celebrated by the creole elite, who cooperated gladly with Urrutia in drawing up a list of forty-seven charges against Bustamante when his term of office was formally reviewed. The admiral from Asturias, however, was not only cleared of all accusations but went on to serve the crown in several subsequent positions, dying in Madrid in 1825 after a half-century of "continuous service to Spain and its empire" (p. 212).

The interpretive acumen by which Hawkins contemplates evidence and argues his case is striking. His conclusion—that "the controversies that so deeply marked Bustamante's tenure . . . resulted from a struggle for power between rival institutions during a particularly unstable time" (p. 210)—does not dispel the "Bustamante myth" so much as clarify why it might have been useful to construct it in the first place.

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ALINE HELG. *Liberty and Equality in Caribbean Colombia, 1770–1835*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 363. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

Aline Helg opens her book with three questions about absences in Colombian, especially Caribbean Colombian, history: "Why did Caribbean Colombian lower classes of color not collectively challenge the small white elite during this process [of nation formation]? Why did race not become an organizational category in the region? Why did the Caribbean Coast integrate into Andean Colombia without asserting its Afro-Caribbean-ness?" (pp. 6–7). By asking these questions, the author proposes to offer some explanation for the origins of "Colombia's long-lasting self-representation as a mestizo nation" (p. 7) that effaces its African roots.

Asking why people in the past did not behave in ways that we might expect is a tricky proposition. One fears

anachronism or the stuffing of evidence into ahistorical categories. Such is not the case in this meticulous and vigorous study of Caribbean Colombia in the late colonial period and the early decades of independence. What the author successfully conveys is a broad portrait of this society and the interests and identities that shaped it. This work joins a recent spate of excellent studies in English—for example, those by James E. Sanders, Marixa Lasso, and Nancy Appelbaum—on the politics of race in independent Colombia. Helg, however, goes deeper into the colonial roots of racial identities and conflicts.

Helg depicts Caribbean Colombia as a colonial backwater, resistant to the efforts of Bourbon officials to transform it. Through the central and later decades of the eighteenth century, crown and church sought to stabilize and populate the frontier and to install the institutions of the Spanish monarchy and Catholic Church. However, in the vast hinterland beyond coastal cities such as Cartagena, several groups repeatedly defied the bringing of what the Spanish considered civilization. Unvanquished Indians such as the Wayúu of the Guajira Peninsula, maroons, and *arrochelados* (squatters on unclaimed lands) were the targets of viceroys and missionaries from the 1740s through the 1780s. These campaigns to remake the frontier, though, were short-lived. The fantasy of control was disabused by the colony's remoteness. Other Bourbon projects of renewal failed, too, including attempts to revitalize the slave trade to the region.

In the cities of Caribbean Colombia, however, Spanish institutions and values took firmer hold, although not always in the ways expected by the colonizers. Helg focuses especially on the dynamics of racial identity and privilege in coastal enclaves like Cartagena and Santa Marta where people of color, free and enslaved, formed the majority of the population. She finds that, while the dominant classes sought to defend white privilege and endogamy, the laws and customs that regulated racial status in other parts of the empire were more permeable in Caribbean Colombia. For example, when the monarchy introduced in 1795 the process known as *gracias al sacar*, by which colored people could legally purchase white status, creole elites in neighboring Venezuela protested vehemently, forcing the crown to reaffirm the "stain of slavery" as a social and legal handicap in colonial society. The metropolis formally reinforced white privilege, as it would continue to do until the last days of colonial rule in South America (the Constitution of Cádiz of 1812 reproduced the biases against African-descended people). In Caribbean Colombia, in contrast, the mechanism of *gracias al sacar* warranted no protest whatsoever. In Helg's view, the lack of response to this controversy demonstrates the "fuzziness" (pp. 100, 254) characteristic of urban society in this corner of the empire, despite tacit recognition of hierarchical norms regnant in other parts of Spanish America.

Another symptom or recognition of the distinctive racial patterns in the colony was the urban militias

formed in the later eighteenth century to bolster the imperial defenses against the British. In other Caribbean colonies like Cuba and Puerto Rico, the colonial regime recruited free people of color to serve in the militias, which offered significant privileges, but segregated blacks and mulattos in separate units. However, in Caribbean Colombia, there were no separate *pardo* and *moreno* units but militias *de todos los colores* (pp. 100–105).

The next three chapters of the book take a different tack, moving from the social structures, institutions, and values of late colonial society and focusing on the politics of decolonization and independence in the early nineteenth century. In this section, Helg pays far closer attention to the ideas and actions of political and military elites as they sought to liberate the colony and consolidate a national state. One such example is the rivalry between two *caudillos*, Simón Bolívar and José Padilla, a mulatto general whom Bolívar, a former slave owner from Venezuela, suspected of imposing a *pardocracia* (rule by Colombia's colored population). Thus, while preoccupation with race was more muted in Caribbean Colombia during the latter phase of colonial rule than in other Spanish American colonies, such as Venezuela or Cuba, the wars for independence apparently brought it to the fore.

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IRENE SILVERBLATT. *Modern Inquisitions: Peru and the Colonial Origins of the Civilized World*. (Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 299. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

In this book Irene Silverblatt sets out to reformulate ideas about the emergence of the modern nation-state and the role of the Spanish Inquisition. She argues that the bureaucracy and ideologies characteristic of the early modern state first emerged when Castile began to establish colonies in the New World. Silverblatt takes seventeenth-century Peru as her setting and the Inquisition as her focal point for studying a state-like bureaucracy that controlled culture and society. Inspired by Hannah Arendt's 1960s theory about the connections among racial ideologies ("race thinking"), bureaucratic rule, and violence in nineteenth-century imperialism and, later, in the rise of fascism, Silverblatt demonstrates how these forces first emerged in Spain's vicerealties. Like Arendt, Silverblatt aims to locate the "submerged" darker currents of Western civilization and the "subterranean stream of history" (p. 27). She does so with detailed analyses of evidence from Inquisition cases, idolatry campaigns, and evangelization processes, proposing that "the dance of bureaucracy and race, born in colonialism, was party to the creation of the modern world" (p. 4). Building on theories of the state advanced by Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, and Max Weber, on the one hand, and the work of scholars examining the foundations of England as a

modern nation, on the other, this book attempts to add "flesh and feeling" (p. 23) to previous studies about the emergence of the early modern state while also demonstrating Spain's key role in its beginnings.

To begin, Silverblatt explains the inner workings of the Inquisition (chapter two) and how it forged a governing system that contributed to the development of a bureaucracy with state-like social practices in colonial Peru (chapter three). The Inquisition's records tell the story of "the newly modern world's forays into state-making" (p. 75) through its use of procedures to determine truth. She describes the bureaucracy's highly regulated use and display of violence to forge a new model of civilization. In chapters four and five Silverblatt explores the complex role that "race thinking" played in the organization of colonial society. Drawing on missionaries' manuals and sermons as well as Inquisition records, she illustrates how Iberian concepts of "purity of blood" and "stained blood" were transferred to and transformed in Peru. Defining and identifying the *español*, *indio*, and *negro* as colonizer, colonized, and slave (and, later, adding increasingly nuanced racial mixtures and castes, such as *mulato*, *mestizo*, and *sambo*) was part of the "modern-world's colony and state-making origins" (p. 115). State building and race thinking went hand in hand, as bureaucrats assigned racial categories to royal subjects in order to control them. Silverblatt argues that in the process definitions of caste, culture, and nation became confused.

Subsequent chapters illustrate the bureaucratic workings and resulting disorder of this increasingly complex state-structuring of race thinking. We see the Inquisition trials of New Christians (chapter six) and nonindigenous women accused of Andean witch practices (chapter seven) as well as the emergence of nativist practices (Indianism) and its collision with idolatry campaigns. In every chapter, Silverblatt points out the ultimate difficulty bureaucrats had in defining categories and the violence necessary to institute and carry out policies.

While Silverblatt's book is ambitious—reshaping our notions of colonialism, the modern state, and race—it successfully contributes to the dialogue on these topics. Like other theorists of modernity, she argues that the modern state is directly linked to its colonial origins and the rationalization of violence. But her work widens our scope of analyses by adding Spain's role in these developments. It will prove to be a valuable tool for students and scholars examining the methods of the Inquisition and the relationship between ideas/practices of purity of blood, caste, and race as they changed over time in the New World. Silverblatt's study helps us view the Inquisition as a modern institution built on theories of race and bureaucratic hierarchies. Elaborated with extensive archival research and argued with great clarity, the book is an essential read for students, scholars, and general readers interested in colonial Peru, the In-

quisition, and colonialism's relationship to the modern state.

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FRANK SALOMON. *The Cord Keepers: Khipus and Cultural Life in a Peruvian Village*. (Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. xxi, 331. Cloth \$99.95, paper \$27.95.

In the best tradition of ethnohistory, Frank Salomon has produced an insightful and challenging work that goes beyond its notable contribution to Andean studies. At the same time that this book enlightens scholars about the elaboration and interpretation of the *khipus* (knotted cords of cotton or wool of pre-Hispanic origin), about Andean history from Inka times to the present, and about contemporary social and cultural principles, it also develops pathbreaking ideas about alternative forms of knowledge and unique efforts to encode them. To achieve this, Salomon relies on extensive archival and field research, exegesis with local people, his thorough knowledge about scholarly work on the Andes and about a landmark 1608 Quechua book of pre-Christian deities (whose locus is Huarochiri, the Peruvian province where by chance he encountered the *khipus*), and the intensive interrogation of previous interpretations about the *khipus* and of theories about systems and principles of "writing" and inscription.

A core idea developed throughout the study is "that the *khipus* functioned at a distance from language syntax, conforming rather to the nonverbal 'syntax' of fixed social performances such as inventorying, accounting, attendance-taking, calendric registry, quota-giving, sacrificing." Salomon continues, "[*khipus*] were concretions of nonverbal action which once made, were susceptible to verbalization" (p. 37). As opposed to most other studies of *khipus* that rely on archeological specimens, Salomon was fortunate to study them in a context where they retain contemporary relevance. Even though the people of San Andrés de Tupicocha, the peasant community where the *quipocamayos* (the current local name given to the cords) are located, do not decipher or update the cords (Salomon argues these were enduring practices that only waned in importance around the turn of the twentieth century), they curate them and give them central social and cultural relevance. *Quipocamayos* are used in public ceremonies as well as in more private settings for divination, and are also seen as repositories of local "tradition," that is, as part of the life of ancestors still respected by contemporary people.

Witnessing this continuing importance of the *quipocamayos*, it seems to me, made Salomon aware of the relevance of understanding the performative level of the art of *khipu* use. One of the most interesting points convincingly argued by Salomon throughout the book, and linked to the word "concretion," is that through this

activity, Andean people “realized themselves” and “effected changes in their world” (p. 39). Scholars of performance have for sometime paid close attention to the very act of “doing” or “rendering” and the specifics of how this is done, in order to better understand how social life works. The *kipus* did not just record social actions; they made them real. In this sense Salomon’s study contributes to the study of performance and the world of nonverbal communication. However, a scholar of performance might also be left with the desire to know more about the ritual and performative aspects of the use of *quipocamayos* in Tupicocha. For example, we only get a glimpse of the role of music and dance in the public occasions in which they take part and we do not get enough sense of other performative aspects of the public ceremonies where they are central. But to be fair, one cannot do everything, and Salomon promises more work to come about historical, cultural, and social life in Huarochiri.

One important point that the author touches upon in a few places but does not develop in full is the impact that his interest in and studies of *quipocamayos* have had, will have, or could have for the people of Tupicocha and for Andean people in general. What he has been able to attain through his study is important knowledge about a living culture and its past. How much of this knowledge has been shared with the people he studies or with Peruvian students and scholars? I hope that Salomon has plans for translating (in a double sense of simplifying his often intricate prose and putting it in Spanish) these findings soon. The politics of knowledge should always be at the center of our attention.

This is a multifaceted book that can be appreciated from many different angles and at various levels of expertise. Salomon is aware of the complexity of his data analysis and theoretical discussions, providing the reader with summaries, making suggestions as to how nonspecialists should read a chapter, and linking already developed points and those that will be inserted later. It is still not an easy read, even for those acquainted with Andean culture and history. It is worth the effort, however, because it is intellectually stimulating and deepens our understanding of Andean culture, history, and social practices. This important book also broadens scholars’ understanding of the ways in which human beings encode knowledge and how they realize their social and cultural life.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

SVIATOSLAV DMITRIEV. *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 428.

There is less to Sviatoslav Dmitriev’s book than the title promises. It is about the Roman province Asia, which

is only the western part of Asia Minor, and it does not really consider how cities in that area governed themselves. Instead, it examines the language used in Greek inscriptions about city officials.

This was a dissertation, and reads like one. Beginning with a philological discussion of several terms for aspects of magistracies, it goes on to previous scholars’ attempts to organize offices into groups. Dmitriev admits (p. 25)—although his methodology overlooks—a crucial fact: each Greek city had its own form of administration, and the officials’ titles and responsibilities that are the main theme of his book did not necessarily apply in the same way in all, or even in most, cities.

The period under study is halved: “pre-provincial” reaches from the death of Alexander to King Attalos III’s bequeathal of Asia to Rome; “provincial” follows, ending with Asia’s reorganization by Diocletian at the end of the third century. This obscures the question of whether Asian cities responded differently to the frequent changes in Roman rulers under the republic than they did to longer-reigning monarchs before or after. There are studies of individual cities in each half, but not the same cities, which also disguises continuities; yet continuity becomes the theme of the concluding chapter. This is more nuanced, but also far more general, than the previous sections and seems to follow less from them than from other scholars’ discussions.

Some terminology falls uneasily on American ears: “college” for a board of officials (but also for age groups such as ephebes) and “presidium,” rarely used outside Soviet organizations. Footnotes list inscriptions solely by city and date; readers will need to check them to get any context. Some of the terminology is translated, but most (not just officials’ titles but whole phrases) is transliterated. This is annoying for those who read Greek, but it does not help those who do not, as few terms are explicitly defined. Sometimes vital information is left out, as when priesthoods are discussed without mentioning what god(s) they served.

Dmitriev uses the language of inscriptions to reveal the status and responsibilities of civic officials. Unfortunately, most of his evidence, especially for the Roman period, comes from honorifics, which are by nature magniloquent and inexplicit. Nonetheless, he treats them as if they were the key to *mentalité* (and as if there were a single *mentalité* for all Asian cities). There is not enough attention to the few, precious, contemporary literary works; for example, Dmitriev asserts that the orator Dio of Prusa did not commit any personal resources to benefactions toward his city (p. 166), which is amply contradicted by Dio’s own orations (46.6; 47.19–23).

Evidence is poorly marshalled, sometimes inaccurate. Inscriptions of varied cities (sometimes very few or outside the province) are jumbled together with those of supracivic bodies like the League of Asia, because they use a particular word or concept. From these, Dmitriev makes broad statements and sees province-wide social trends. This ignores the cities’ vaunted, although challenged, internal autonomy, local differ-

ences in terminology, and the distinction between city and provincial offices.

For example, Dmitriev redefines *leitourgos*, one who fulfills an official duty at his own expense, incorrectly (p. 118); his attempt to connect it with immunity from taking on such duties confuses immunity granted by a city with that granted by the Roman state from its own taxes and from offices of the League of Asia, and misdates a famous senatorial decision from 39 B.C.E. (by consuls' names) to the second or third century (when it happened to be inscribed). Occasionally he seems not to have read his inscriptions in full, or compared them to one another: he portrays the sacred office of *prophetes* at the shrine of Apollo at Didyma as so unattractive that few would take it (p. 143), yet his evidence for this is people filling it of their own accord, and he soon (p. 150) cites a man who gave feasts in order to become *prophetes*.

Dmitriev treats coins as if they were texts without economic or archaeological context. (There is no consideration of material remains of official buildings, like *bouleuteria* or *prytaneia*, in the book.) He holds coinciding dates assigned for Miletus's coinage and decrees in the Hellenistic period as independent evidence for its autonomy, but the argument is circular: documented times of autonomy were used to date episodes of coinage. Then, arguing from gaps in what is preserved of Priene's decrees, he tries to insert similar gaps into Priene's coinage. He does little with later civic coins, though they are a major source for officials' names and titles, and why such names appear has been much debated since the monumental *Roman Provincial Coinage* series (not noted here) began in 1992. The book's sole illustration, a coin of Smyrna, is captioned with a 1912 wrong guess at the name of a magistrate, although corpora published in 1957 and 1987, not to mention the image itself, give the correct name. An out-of-date compendium is preferred to actual ancient evidence.

This is a book by a scholar who is unfortunately not yet able to deal with the historical and social complexity of his material. We still await a usable update on city government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor.

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JOHN F. DONAHUE, *The Roman Community at Table during the Principate*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2004. Pp. 333. \$70.00.

Authors, even academic authors, normally write with some sense of their audience in mind. The most puzzling feature of this volume by John F. Donahue is its ambiguity in this regard. At first glance, the book appears to target a select audience of classicists and ancient historians. There are approximately 150 pages of text, forty pages of endnotes, thirty pages of bibliography, and eighty-five pages of appendixes. Here fully seventy-five pages—a quarter of the whole—are taken up by a collection of 316 Latin inscriptions. Since these are not translated, readers without a working knowl-

edge of Latin will find the book of limited value. This is both unfortunate and unnecessary, because Donahue admits that "the highly formulaic nature of many of these dedicatory and honorary texts would make the translation of each entry an exercise in redundancy" (p. 164). Hence a sampling of the documents in translation would have sufficed. Nonspecialists should thus continue to consult A. R. Hands's *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome* (1968). This contains a comparable corpus of eighty-one Greek and Latin texts, all translated into English. It was part of the "Aspects of Greek and Roman Life" series, which was aimed at a broad audience whom the editor presumed to be unfamiliar with the ancient languages.

The professional historian, in contrast, may well wonder why this book was written. Donahue repeatedly scores three basic points. Two of these—the observation that community-wide banquets would have required a large physical space, and a considerable infrastructure—are mere common sense. His third finding, that the Roman elite doled out unequal portions at festal events in order to acknowledge and reinforce class distinctions, is hardly new. Scholars have recognized for decades that the more affluent attendees typically received larger and choicer portions than their poorer brethren. Donahue adds nothing to our understanding of this revealing social dynamic.

Since he appears to be intimately conversant with the evidence for Roman public feasting, it is regrettable that Donahue does not address a number of important historical questions to which the answer is not immediately obvious. Foremost among these is the genesis of the Christian communal dinner (*agape*). Believers "daily frequented the temple together and ate their meals at home together" (Acts of the Apostles 2: 46). Pagan Romans would have found this egalitarian setting startling. Did early Christians invent this tradition out of whole cloth, or should we look for its origins in Judaic culture? Donahue ties Caesar's extravagant public banquets to the intensely competitive nature of Roman electoral politics, but other elements of Caesar's public policy were strongly influenced by his exposure to the institutions and practices of the Macedonian kingships in the Greek East. Hellenistic monarchs notoriously entertained on a lavish scale, but Donahue completely neglects their festal practices. One should at least consider the possibility that late republican and early imperial dynasts such as Caesar, Antony, Caligula, and Nero looked to the East as well as to Rome for inspiration.

Finally, Donahue fails to reach a coherent conclusion. To do so requires pursuing the topic into late antiquity—an era that is ripe for investigation. Here two examples must suffice. Fourth-century emperors lived in splendid isolation from their subjects and, as Ramsay MacMullen rightly notes in *Roman Government's Response to Crisis A.D. 235–337* (1976), tried to provoke a sense of awe (*kataplexis*) among those to whom they granted an audience. Did seclusion put an end to the imperial banquet, or did it lead to calculated displays of

imperial munificence worthy of China's Ming dynasts? At the municipal level, one would similarly like to know whether the elite gradually abandoned a philanthropic tradition that had endured for centuries, or whether over time it was subsumed under the heading of Christian charity. Donahue's approach insensibly leads us to these questions, but for answers the reader will have to look elsewhere.

Public feasting is an interesting and important subject, and in the case of Rome much work remains to be done. I hope that the next scholar to explore this theme will tread new ground rather than repackage what we already know.

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LESLIE BRUBAKER and JULIA M. H. SMITH, editors. *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300–900*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Pp. xi, 333. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$29.99.

The early medieval period has been the locus of lively scholarly debates in recent years over issues fundamental to an understanding of how what we know as "Europe," "Christianity," and "the Islamic World" came to be—issues like the nature of identity and of political power. This very useful book situates the impact of gender within the context of the latest scholarship on these larger debates. The authors of these sixteen essays, covering Roman, Byzantine, Muslim, and "Germanic" societies, are more interested in what gender can tell us about the early Middle Ages than what the early Middle Ages can tell us about gender. They do not offer new theoretical paradigms, but they do break new ground in our understanding of the period in question.

One important theme to emerge from this book, although not singled out in coeditor Julia M. H. Smith's fine introduction, is the interaction between gender and ethnicity. Many groups in this period were concerned with their ethnic (for want of a better word) identities. Walter Pohl, in "Gender and Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages," uses stories of Amazons and pseudo-bearded women to examine the ways late antique writers explained difference. By equating fighting women with the Amazons of Greek myth, authors made them a separate ethnic group, casting women who were too strong and aggressive as pagan and "other." Mary Harlow shows how late Roman ideas of the relation between dress and masculinity changed as they began to adopt "barbarian" styles like leggings. Shaun Tougher's article on the court eunuch points out that while in the late Roman period eunuchs tended to be ethnic outsiders, by the ninth century many Byzantine eunuchs were native, indicating a severing of the link between foreignness and emasculation. Julia Bray's comprehensive overview of Abbasid social structures connects the foreign slave origins of several of the mothers of Abbasid rulers to a new concept of the family in which maternal lineage was no longer as important as it had been. Bonnie Effros challenges traditional methods of

determining the ethnicity of burials from the brooches found in women's graves, arguing that this assumes women were passive transmitters of fixed identities, although she does not prescribe a different methodology (which presumably would have to entail radically redefining what we understand by "ethnicity" in the early medieval context, a redefinition scholars have already begun to undertake).

The second theme that emerges says more about the nature of the sources and of contemporary historiography than it does about early medieval culture: the absence of women from discussions of masculinity (but not the absence of men from discussions of femininity). Harlow, Tougher, and Lynda Coon ("What is the Word if not Semen?" Priestly Bodies in Carolingian Exegesis") demonstrate that it is possible to write about men as gendered beings without considering women at all. Coon discusses with great erudition Hraban Maur's representation of priests as wombs to be fertilized by the semen of God's word and give birth to spiritual offspring, mentioning women only to note that "Whereas women are the repositories of male seed, Christian converts are feminised vessels for divine revelation" (p. 295). This essay, one of the strongest in a strong book, is an impressive and insightful analysis of masculinity in the ninth century, yet it does not ask what it means for women and for gender relations in the society as a whole that men can appropriate the positive aspects of femininity. The male-authored and male-focused nature of most of the sources combines with the inescapable echoes of centuries of historical scholarship on men as an unmarked category to make it all too easy to exclude women. We still need women's history as well as (not instead of) the history of gender.

Articles by coeditor Leslie Brubaker on Prokopios's depiction of Theodora, Martha Vinson on accounts of Byzantine bride shows, Nadia Maria El Cheikh on the harem of al-Muqtadir, Ian Wood on Pippinid genealogies, and Mayke de Jong on accounts of the Empress Judith all use textual representations of women to understand constructions of gender, and all use those constructions as a way into the politics (in the broadest sense) of these societies. Each of these scholars finds a slightly different balance between discussion of these cultural representations and discussion of the lives of the women in question, but each includes men in the discussion, both because the authors of the texts are all male and because the women in question are known to us largely because of their position as daughter, wife, or mother of well-known men. Wood's essay, in particular, is a tour de force, drawing important conclusions about the nature of political power and legitimacy from sketchy evidence (and from silence) in a most convincing way.

Another group of articles is less concerned with constructions of gender than with male and female historical actors and their interactions. Both Gisela Muschiol, writing on Western liturgical practice, and Yitzhak Hen, on cultural patronage in Merovingian Gaul, confirm the argument of Suzanne Fonay Wemple (*Women*

in *Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister, 500–900* [1981]) and other scholars that Merovingian women had more power and influence than their Carolingian counterparts. Dawn Hadley concludes that other issues—age and family status, for example—were more important in determining Anglo-Saxon burial practices than gender. Janet Nelson, in an essay informed by the scholarship on “courtliness,” finds that women, both monastic and secular, wielded a great deal of influence on Frankish and Anglo-Saxon courts, in gender-specific ways.

Overall the scholarly quality of these essays is remarkably high, informed as they are both by extensive scholarship and (in most cases) by familiarity with current issues in the field of gender studies as well as early medieval history. They are uniformly written to be accessible to a scholarly audience not familiar with the questions addressed. I have already used the book in a graduate seminar. Anyone teaching medieval gender, women, or early medieval history will want to do the same.

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VICTORIA THOMPSON. *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*. (Anglo-Saxon Studies, number 4.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2004. Pp. x, 236. \$85.00.

Among medievalists, students of later Anglo-Saxon England, the two centuries or so before the Norman Conquest, are an enviable lot. They suffer of course, like other scholars of the tenth and eleventh centuries, from a dearth of sources, but those they do have are almost as abundant in the vernacular as in Latin. This means that, in a survey of a key issue in social and religious history like the volume under review, they are able to measure more closely than most the degree to which people at the time lived, and died, within a common symbolic and conceptual universe. Moreover, since the period saw not just the consolidation of England as a united Christian kingdom under Alfred the Great and his successors but also the final waves of non-Christian immigrants into the British Isles, they are able to gauge how new populations assimilated into the dominant culture just as it was reaching maturity in the generations before and after the year 1000. Victoria Thompson makes the most of these realities. Utilizing a wide range of evidence from a number of fields—religious texts and wills, graves and gravestones, manuscript illustrations, poetry—she reveals both the high degree to which Christianity shaped reactions to death and dying in later Anglo-Saxon England and the remarkable multiplicity of behavior and belief that nevertheless prevailed from place to place and time to time, sometimes even in the same place.

Thompson begins with a chapter on Æthelflæd (d. 918), daughter of King Alfred and wife of Æthelred, ealdorman of Mercia. By weaving in and around the surviving evidence of Æthelflæd's life, the author explores death, dying, and relations between the living

and the dead in the early tenth century, concluding that, in spite of Æthelflæd's elite status, her “recorded activities” and those of “her articulate, wealthy and powerful family represent the concerns of many of their contemporaries and fellow countrymen writ large” (p. 25). Æthelflæd and Æthelred spent a good deal of their adulthood making arrangements for their lives after death. They founded religious communities. They contracted for liturgical suffrages in life and death. They sought out saints' relics and devoted themselves to their cults. Focusing on someone like Æthelflæd can only reveal so much, however, and, in the five chapters that follow, Thompson takes a wider view, exposing the diversity of response that spanned the borders between Christianity and paganism, clerical and lay culture, Latin and Old English texts, and orthodox and unorthodox attitudes and beliefs. That diversity is particularly visible in local practices such as the making of graves and the treatment of corpses.

The second chapter has two parts. In the first, Thompson introduces one of the main themes of the book: like other early medieval churches, the Anglo-Saxon church was far more interested in where someone was buried than in how. The consecration of burial grounds and their location in churchyards were new in the late ninth century, and virtually universal in the late eleventh. At the same time, execution sites, and the corpses of criminals, suicides, and heretics were increasingly situated near old pagan barrows, which themselves often lay along the borders of Christian parishes, at the edge of sacred space. In the second part, she analyzes a fascinating vernacular homily on death, hell, and paradise, from the later tenth century, in which men can expect “every night a new bride brought to bed, and she as lovely as Juno” (p. 53). Not surprisingly, the author is anonymous. The fourth chapter analyzes a mid-eleventh-century manual for priests, whose contents suggest that popular piety and practice had been deeply touched by the death rituals of clerics, monks, and nuns by the year 1050. The next two focus on death and the body, in particular the problems raised by the ever-present *wyrms*, a category of creatures that encompassed maggots, vermin, serpents and dragons. The final chapter, fittingly, is on judgment, and ends with a compelling discussion of St. Peter as the gatekeeper not only of paradise, but also of hell.

Thompson is both careful and imaginative and her writing is often more than just scholarly. She is as comfortable interpreting tomb sculpture as she is liturgical *ordines* or the use of charcoal to line graves. Filled with evocative details, unexpected sources, and fresh insights, her book makes substantial contributions to Anglo-Saxon studies, medieval history, and the interdisciplinary investigation of death and dying.

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PIERRE BOUET, BRIAN LEVY, and FRANÇOIS NEVEUX, editors. *The Bayeux Tapestry: Embroidering the Facts of History*. (Proceedings of the Cerisy Colloquium, 1999.)

Caen, France: Presses Universitaires de Caen. 2004. Pp. 426. €39.50.

The Bayeux Tapestry, or more correctly, as authors of these essays insist, the Bayeux Embroidery, is one of the most famous textiles in European history. Seventy or so meters long and about fifty centimeters wide, of fine bleached linen worked largely in wool, it depicts the conquest of England in 1066 by William of Normandy. It is the treasure of the town of Bayeux, where the first surviving explicit record places it in 1478. An entry in a Burgundian inventory of 1420 and a much earlier reference to a tapestry in the possession of one of William's daughters may suggest that it was not always at Bayeux; but, like almost everything about this enigmatic work, their interpretation is debatable. Who designed and executed it; where; precisely when; why; for what patron or audience; to be displayed in what context: all remain questions. No comparable textile survives from this date. Its complex nature calls for careful interpretation. A combination of visual images with terse but continuous inscription, a work of art, a political text and an artifact, it demands elucidation as a visual and literary narrative (perhaps, as several authors here suggest, as one to be talked through, explained and developed by a narrator), and as a physical object, subject to the limitations and possibilities of its medium.

Early in 1983, the embroidery was moved and rehung, providing the opportunity to submit the textile to a thorough investigation, to inspect the back, to ascertain its condition, and to take samples of the materials for scientific analysis. A colloquium held at Cerisy-la-Salle in 1999 discussed the results of this investigation, here published for the first time, with contributions by scholars involved in a joint Caen/Hull Universities project. Articles by Nicole de Reyniès, Gabriel Vial, Brigitte Oger, Marie-Hélène Didier, and especially Isabelle Bédard and Beatrice Girault-Kurtzman, two of the four specialist restorers of textiles who carried out the work, reveal the quality of the embroidery. They also suggest a work produced to a single design—in panels, which become shorter—but worked simultaneously by teams of embroiderers, joined together after completion, and with central scenes, inscription, and borders the product of a single operation. The embroidery was conceived and produced as a whole, probably quickly.

Other papers deal with a variety of topics. Hitherto presumed lost documentation concerning the fate of the tapestry under German occupation, particularly its investigation by Viking historian and SS *Sturmabführer*, Herbert Jankuhn, is discussed by Sylvette Lemagnen. The embroidery is related to Latin sources (Marjorie Chibnall on Orderic Vitalis), to the fourteenth-century *Grande Chronique de Normandie* and its precursors (Gillette Labory). Its value as a historical source is central to most essays: for the coronation of Harold (Barbara English); for the history of warfare (John France); for costume, civil, ecclesiastical and especially military (Oliver Renaudeau); for military and

other architecture, ships, and the materials of everyday life (Anne-Marie Flambard Héricher).

Interpretation of the work as a whole, and the story it tells is the concern of François Neveux and Pierre Bouet; Brian Levy is interested in how the story is told, placing the embroidery, as others do, in the tradition of epic and *chanson de geste*. Odo, bishop of Bayeux and half brother of William, the most likely patron of the work, runs through the essays as a leitmotif, fighting at Hastings (Neveux) and depicted wearing some of the most luxurious armor represented (Renaudeau). The uncomfortable late eleventh-century fact of a fighting bishop is seen by Valerie I. J. Flint as a deliberate counter to contemporary Gregorian reform. Maylis Baylé places the work artistically. Most essays confirm and extend existing interpretations: that Odo commissioned the work; that a sharp antithesis of lay/clerical in its audience and message is anachronistic. Elisabeth Van Houts restores a role to William's wife Mathilda and her pregnancy in the preparations for the attack on England. Hers is the only gender-conscious perspective on a text designed, as France insists, for an elite (male?) audience. The volume opens with a summary of the long-standing debate over the textile, summarized to 1988 by Neveux, drawing on the fundamental work of Shirley Ann Brown, who herself brings her studies up-to-date to 1999. This valuable collection ends with David Hill's account of reproductions of the work in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which provide sobering evidence of the extent of post-eleventh-century restorations and their greater or lesser "corruption" of the text in a minimum of 379 places.

The Bayeux "Tapestry" is an iconic object, significant, enigmatic, and endlessly debatable. It depicts an event central to two eleventh-century polities that has lost nothing of its importance for their later national histories. Meaning can, and certainly has been, poured into it. It tells the story of Norman triumph and is often seen as Norman propaganda, yet, as has long been recognized, it is no simple anti-English text. It is now seen, as here, as essentially Anglo-Norman, the product of a new fusion of cultures after 1066, even a major influence on that new cultural amalgam. English, Neveux, and especially Bouet underline its sympathy with the defeated English King Harold. Bouet offers a subtle and convincing interpretation of a deliberately ambiguous work, produced in and reflecting a precise historical moment and circumstance. That moment was the immediate aftermath of conquest, when William sought reconciliation with his new English subjects, before his predatory followers and the English uprising divided and hardened opinion. The "Tapestry" should be dated ca. 1067–1068, making it one of the earliest postconquest commentaries. The redating is important and will certainly be contentious. It is consistent with recent thinking on the short-term unfolding of conquest, and with the results of the detailed examination of the textile. The latter cannot, however, prove it. "Scientific" study reminds us of the quality of this textile and tells us much about its production. But it will not resolve the

questions of interpretation that the Bayeux Embroidery poses and to which this volume makes an important contribution.

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RICHARD GODDARD. *Lordship and Medieval Urbanisation: Coventry, 1043–1355*. (Studies in History, New Series, number 41.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 330. \$99.00.

In the past twenty years, important studies of individual cities have significantly revised the landscape of medieval English urban historiography. Our concepts of the use of urban space (domestic and public), of social organization, of economic development, and of the culture of medieval towns have all been modified. Research that organically connects towns and surrounding hinterlands to create regions of interdependent economy and culture has challenged the conceptualization of medieval English towns as isolated entities whose histories could be confined to areas enclosed within walls. Making use of methodologies associated with more recent urban historiography, Richard Goddard makes an important contribution to medieval English urban history with his study of Coventry between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries.

Goddard's book approaches the emergence of Coventry as a major town from two perspectives. He establishes the initial foundation of Coventry's success in the policies of the city's two primary lords: the priors of the cathedral chapter and the earls of Chester. Like many cities, separate seigneurial jurisdictions separated Coventry into halves. Goddard argues persuasively that both lords acted to establish markets, foster immigration through grants of burghage tenure, improved urban infrastructure, and successively provided the basis for urbanization. They did so not through any altruistic motivation but to enhance the value of their fees. Until the middle of the thirteenth century, the priory was most successful in enhancing its possession of urban rents and properties and in investing in planned development of streets, markets, and housing within Coventry. Having created conditions conducive to urban growth, the priory lost its position as the primary lord in Coventry to the increased economic and political influence of resident burgesses by 1345.

The second half of the book focuses on the successful commercialization of Coventry and the creation of economic conditions that promoted sustained growth. Focus here shifts from lordship to the activities of burgesses and laborers. Goddard considers immigration patterns, occupational structure and labor specialization, the land market, and the use of credit in the development of commerce. Using place-name surnames from various citizens' lists, deeds, and bonds, Goddard demonstrates that Coventry attracted immigrants from an extensive catchment area similar to patterns of immigration at York and London. He does not explain boundaries of the immigration catchment area in terms

of other towns and areas of settlement, nor does he consider factors such as transportation or natural features that defined the shape of immigration to Coventry. In a somewhat similar geographical approach to Coventry's medieval influence, Goddard examines bonds enrolled under the Statute Merchant to consider the range of the city's commercial hinterland. Goddard suggests that there is a direct correlation between immigration and trade, and mapping of the immigration catchment area and the commercial hinterland indicate the logic of his conclusion.

Goddard lists occupational diversity and labor specialization as two defining aspects of commercialization. He lists 153 different occupations for Coventry by the fourteenth century. Unlike other large towns, Coventry's workers and merchants were not clustered in any single trade, such as the cloth industry, in the thirteenth century. By the fourteenth century, however, the largest single occupation was that of merchant. While it is undoubtedly true that Coventry's merchants and laborers produced a vastly greater array of goods and services than those found in smaller villages, Goddard's evidence also suggests decreasing specialization, particularly at the highest levels. As he points out, men listed as merchants often engaged in production and sale of a variety of goods and services ranging from wool to ale. By the fourteenth century, capital began to be concentrated in the hands of greater investors, who diversified their commercial and industrial interests to match market conditions. Similarly, it is probable that many unskilled laborers, particularly single women or female heads of households, engaged in a variety of occupations as they became available or necessary. In short, one could argue that occupational diversity did not produce specialization among either the elite or the poor.

Goddard's painstaking consideration of trends in considerations, rents, and leases demonstrates persuasively that the land market in Coventry remained strong, even during periods of general crisis elsewhere in England. He demonstrates that real estate values and prices for grain in Coventry's hinterland varied inversely during the thirteenth century. Yet even during the agricultural shortfalls of the early fourteenth century, when prices rose precipitately, leases remained stable, then climbed in the decade prior to the Black Death. Contrary to the trends in so many major cities, the demand for land and continuous building in Coventry suggests continued immigration and investment during the fourteenth century. Coventry's growth while other major cities declined made it the greatest urban center of the midlands by the fifteenth century. Goddard provides the historical foundation for this phenomenon of urban transformation in medieval England.

JOHN PAUL BISCHOFF
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ELIZABETH FITZPATRICK. *Royal Inauguration in Gaelic Ireland c. 1100–1600: A Cultural Landscape Study*.

(Studies in Celtic History, number 22.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 294. \$70.00.

In medieval Europe, the issue of the relationship between power and authority was much debated, especially through the processes of appointing and recognizing the rightful successor of a king or lord. The Irish had a real problem organizing lawful succession, along with which went the need for public recognition of the legitimate (or successful) claimant. In much of continental Europe, this was done through the coronation of kings or the investiture of lords, but in Ireland such ceremonies were lacking. The question of inauguration of Irish kings and lords has been discussed through the medium of written sources, although less than the one of succession. Elizabeth FitzPatrick takes the question much further by basing her study on the sites for inauguration rather than accounts of it. This opens up a new set of data, valuable because the physical evidence raises new questions.

FitzPatrick's first and major problem is the identification or recognition of inauguration sites. After a brief prologue on the rites of inauguration and chapter one discussing the available sources there are three chapters on the sites. FitzPatrick arranges these around the sites' physical attributes: mounds, stone slabs, and stone chairs, linked to appendixes listing them. The sites are clearly a heterogeneous collection including new mounds, reused prehistoric ones, and prominent natural features. Unfortunately the author's program is somewhat flawed in detail; the criteria are not mutually exclusive, as when a stone slab occurs at a mounded site and the geographical information lacks grid references. Some of the sites, particularly the important ones of Magh Adair or Tullach Og, need a proper modern survey, not just an air photograph and old records. The discussion of the Clann Aedh Buidhe is somewhat misleading, misdating the acquisition of their territory and its extent (Map 14b). FitzPatrick's main conclusion is that it is impossible to produce a physical definition that allows one to identify an undocumented site with any confidence. The underlying pattern would seem to be one of appropriation of the landscape, ancient or natural.

The survey chapters are followed by two more thematic ones. Chapter five concerns the role of the church in inaugurations and concludes that "Where the majority of medieval royal inauguration ceremonies are concerned the church came to the secular king-making site rather than the king or chief to the church" (p. 193). The value of FitzPatrick's survey is shown by this conclusion, countering the impression given by the anecdotal evidence of the few but well-known examples of cathedral inaugurations. Chapter six attempts to locate the inauguration sites in their contemporary political and landholding landscapes, largely derived from Ulster examples. Inevitably this is rendered a problematic exercise by the vagaries of reconstructing the landscapes of the eleventh to sixteenth centuries, along with the difficulties of identifying the inauguration places.

There is also some overlap with earlier chapters, such as with regard to Kilmacrenan, a site apparently used by two lineages for inauguration, although FitzPatrick makes no comment on this. Again, as with the physical appearance of the sites, no pattern can emerge from the disparate evidence presented.

An issue that FitzPatrick could have explored but did not is that of chronology. She states firmly (and, in my view, correctly) that there is no real evidence for late prehistoric inauguration at such sites as Navan or Tara, and no evidence that there was any continuity of such rites from late prehistory into the Middle Ages. However, there is a corollary to this. Much of the evidence she surveys dates from the tenth century or later. More to the point, the evidence of inauguration sites appears to be associated with the formation of new, or newly powerful, dynasties. This connects (although she does not link the two) with FitzPatrick's idea of the inauguration place as a site appropriating the past or the land. In this reading, the rites and sites are another of those cases of the Irish bending or inventing tradition to suit change.

FitzPatrick was brave to publish this book, because it tries to make a story when none emerges from her survey of the sites and their documentary evidence. It is not even clear whether it was deemed essential for a lineage to have a traditional, fixed site of inauguration. Given this, it would be easy—but totally wrong—to conclude that her efforts have been wasted, for inauguration sites and ceremonies were an important part of the political organization of medieval Ireland, and this book clarifies our knowledge of them greatly. The fact that there was no clear agreement in Ireland about these sites, and their marginalization of the church, tells us much about the fragmented state of Irish medieval political thinking, where power was always deemed more important than authority.

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BRIAN A. CATLOS. *The Victors and the Vanquished: Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon, 1050–1300*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th series, number 59.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xxiv, 449. \$95.00.

With the Islamic conquest of the Iberian peninsula, the region surrounding the Ebro river became the Thaghr al-Aqsa, the "Furthest March." By the eleventh century its society was thoroughly Islamicized, mostly through gradual conversion. Over the course of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, the region fell to the kings of Aragon and counts of Barcelona, but the Muslim population stayed put. It is the nature of this regional *mudéjar* society that Brian A. Catlos sets out to examine.

The book comprises three distinct sections. Part one offers a description of the Thaghr before and during the Christian conquest. It is a very readable synthesis of current literature on *mudéjares* and the *Reconquista* in the Crown of Aragon and in Iberia generally. In ad-

dress administration, religion and culture, commerce, agriculture, language, political habits, and family structures in the Thaghr, Catlos presents a picture of a frontier Islamic community "at once orthodox and yet particular" (p. 54), one that defined itself against its Christian neighbors but also its Islamic neighbors. The Christian conquest was hardly a cataclysm, he argues, for a variety of reasons: a substantial history of contact across the frontier; conflict driven less by ideology than by practical politics; surrender treaties that left Muslim communities with considerable autonomy; a low level of emigration; and royal and comital policies that encouraged Muslim settlement. Above all, the Islamic traditions of this region fared quite well when faced with the inchoate and still flexible institutions of its new Christian rulers.

Part two is the core of the book, an analysis of the mature *mudéjar* society of the Ebro, based principally on the examination of unpublished documents from the royal registers of the Archive of the Crown of Aragon for the last quarter of the thirteenth century, supplemented by an impressive range of additional chronicles and documents in both Latin and Arabic. The result is an "holistic" analysis, rich in detail and broad in scope, made up of thematic chapters on *mudéjar* financial and judicial administration, economic life, ethnic identity (class, language, and religion), and social experience (participation in community defense, ideology, sex, violence, and daily life). Three theses emerge strongly. First, the "native Islamic institutions" described in part one were not swept away but transformed into "new *mudéjar* institutions" (p. 125), some more than others, and not by imposition but by organic and not always uniform adaptation. Second, Christian domination led to the integration of *mudéjares* into Christian frameworks but nevertheless allowed them to maintain a separate, coherent identity. Third, purely sectarian concerns were rarely behind apparent episodes of discrimination against or abuse of *mudéjares*, while formation of situational interest groups that cut across confessional lines was the norm; ideology can often be shown to be an after-the-fact rationalization. Catlos depicts a vibrant and confident *mudéjar* society fully enmeshed in Christian society, not standing apart from it, and not yet subject to formal policies of marginalization. Those would begin only in the fourteenth century.

Part three is a series of short "microhistorical" case studies that attempt to tie together the various thematic strands of part two. These focus on individuals and families, often officials, and their roles in intracommunal tensions brought about by administrative abuses or claims of tax exemption. While Catlos's tracing of these convoluted tales over many years in the registers is well done, this is the least successful of his three parts. The narratives offer some details of social life, but the overwhelming amount of information concerns justice, finance, and economics. In the end, the case studies do not seem that distinct from examples discussed at less length in the first two chapters of part two—a testament to the clarity of Catlos's presentation there.

Catlos rightly distinguishes the experience of the *mudéjares* of the Ebro from that of their Valencian neighbors, better known from the work of Robert I. Burns and Pierre Guichard, and takes clear positions on a variety of historiographical controversies in *mudéjar* studies that will be of interest to specialists. He regularly points out parallels and links between the *mudéjar* and Jewish communities; collaborative work between these two subfields holds great promise. Catlos is also concerned to make a methodological contribution to the historical study of identity, ethnogenesis, and minority communities, as his frequent comparisons to places as diverse as colonial Mexico and modern Israel attest; reference to current scholarship on identity in early medieval Europe might have been equally useful. Some of his appeals to anthropological, biological, and sociological models are more successful than others, and they occasionally lead him into the sort of idealization of Islamic society that he criticizes in others' work. But if they are not always persuasive, such creative interdisciplinary forays are precisely what recommend this well-conceived, meticulously researched, and ultimately convincing book to an audience beyond scholars of medieval Spanish history.

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CAROLYN L. CONNOR. *Women of Byzantium*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 396. \$45.00.

In the introduction to her book, Carolyn L. Connor explains that this is a volume meant for a broad readership. Her intention is to present women of Byzantium to a more general audience than the academic or specialist, and she underlines this point by dedicating the volume to her students. In these terms, the book achieves what it sets out to do. It is a clear and accessible synthesis of past research undertaken on women's lives and roles in Byzantine society. There is little new here for the specialist, but the general reader is given a sense of the range of material available on women in Byzantium.

The book is divided into four main sections: Late Antiquity (here defined as ca. 250–500 c.e.); Early Byzantium (500–843); Middle Byzantium (843–1204); and Late Byzantium (1204–1453), a conventional time-frame. Connor also aims to present women from all levels of Byzantine society, noting that there is no single book that brings together women in Byzantium either within this entire period or across the whole range of social strata. Each section consists of an introduction, in which Connor lays out her factual and methodological concerns, followed by a series of chapters focused on particular aspects of women's lives, illustrated through case studies. Late Antiquity begins with Thekla and issues of female sanctity and the place of women in early Christianity, setting the scene to discuss ascetic women (Macrina), pilgrimage (Egeria), and female imperial authority (Theodosian empresses and Galla Placidia). Early Byzantium looks at saints and sinners,

women as artistic patrons, empresses and ordinary women (Mary of Egypt, Anicia Juliana, Theodora, Theodore of Sykeon's family); Middle Byzantium examines monasticism, art, and empresses (Irene of Chrysobalanton, depictions of female saints, Zoe and Anna Komnene); Late Byzantium tackles women's work and monastic foundations (Theodora Synadene and Maria of the Mongols).

Within this setting, the reader is also presented with a summary of the key works of scholars researching within the field of women in Byzantium from the 1970s up to the very early years of the twenty-first century. Thus, for example, the section on ascetic women derives from the scholarship of Elizabeth Clark, the section on Theodosian empresses from the work of Kenneth Holum, women in art from Connor's own research, and women's work from Angeliki Laiou. For the general reader and the student, this is commendable, offering an accessible introduction to some key areas of scholarship on Byzantine women.

There are, however, some drawbacks. The straightforward narrative smoothes out and even ignores scholarly disagreements, leading to a simplification of the debates and issues within the study of women in Byzantium. For example, recent debate over the role and power of Pulcheria, led by Christine Angelidi, Averil Cameron, and Cyril Mango is overlooked in favor of presenting the "traditional" line. It may be that Connor chose to not complicate her narrative; nevertheless, such discussions might have shown the general reader that the story of women in Byzantium is not an uncontested one. Themes are not pursued across time, and although the wish to present women from all social spheres is laudable, Connor finds herself, like many before her, struggling to present lower-class nonreligious women consistently.

Another area that might have been analyzed for the benefit of the general reader and student alike is the historiography of women's studies within Byzantine studies, which very much reflects changes in feminist thought and scholarship more generally. Through chapter bibliographies and the choice of scholarship, this information is implicit in Connor's account, and it would be interesting to see it made more explicit. The book is situated very firmly within Anglo-American scholarship, in particular Anglo-American scholarship from the late 1970s to the early years of this century. Even within this context, however, there are some surprising omissions in the bibliography: among others, one might reasonably expect Catia Galatariotou, "Holy Women and Witches: Aspects of Byzantine Conceptions of Gender," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 9 (1984–1985); Barbara Hill, *Imperial Women in Byzantium 1025–1204: Power, Patronage and Ideology* (1999); and Judith Herrin, "The Imperial Feminine in Byzantium," *Past and Present* 169 (2000) to be cited. All three scholars have made significant contributions to our understanding of different aspects of women's lives in Byzantium.

What Connor has written is a very safe narrative ac-

count, solid, factual, informative, and essentially straightforward. It tells us what women did; it speculates on what they may have thought or felt. It tends not to analyze or involve itself in debate, but perhaps such things are not needed in a general book.

LIZ JAMES

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AUGUSTINE THOMPSON, O.P. *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125–1325*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 502.

The Italian communes were remarkably complex organisms. Professional and craft guilds, neighborhood militias, *consorterie*, priests, monks, confraternities, factions, and heretical groups are among the bewildering array of groups that influenced communal politics and society through official political mechanisms, private patronage networks, and violence. How does one get one's arms around such complexity? Is one particular group, or network of groups, more representative of communal society than others? If one focuses on the *popolani*, with their aptitude for building sophisticated institutions, then one might see in the communes the modern bureaucratic state in embryo. If one focuses on urban magnates, with their *consorterie* and patronage networks, then the communes look less sophisticated, different in degree, not kind, from the world of feudal magnates in the countryside. Despite their differences, these opposing images of communal society share a common assumption. The communes were fundamentally secular institutions.

Augustine Thompson's book offers a bold challenge to these traditional views of communal society. "Lay government, far from being 'secularized' by its separation from the cathedral and bishop, came to express and understand itself through ever more explicitly religious rhetoric and rituals" (p. 3). This conclusion is the fruit of an innovative method that offers a new and compelling perspective on the communes. Instead of choosing a group with a conscious political identity, such as magnates or *popolani*, as the window into communal society, Thompson casts his net more broadly by choosing the laity, a diverse group, both politically and socially, that nevertheless shared a socialization deeply rooted in the rites and liturgy of the church. For this reason, Thompson argues that one can learn much about the communes by studying liturgical sources, such as Sicardo of Cremona's *Mitrato* and the *Ordo Senensis*. While Richard Trexler and Edwin Muir have demonstrated the importance of public ritual for understanding civic life, the idea that the liturgy of the Mass, baptism, and the Divine Office can tell us much about communal society and politics is truly innovative.

If "at no time were the communes secular in the modern sense" (p. 136), then why has religion remained "oddly alien to civic life" in the historiography of the communes? The key to understanding the fundamentally religious nature of the communes lies in the ordinary religious life of the laity, which, as Thompson

notes, is largely uncharted territory. Glancing over the treatment of medieval religion in Einaudi's handbook of Italian history, Thompson writes, "Traditional scholarly divisions rule: a section on the Gregorian Reform is followed by sections dedicated to heresy and repression, the mendicant orders, and the Church's institutional crises of the 1300s. Heretics, popes, theologians, Franciscans, and saints. Where is everyone else?" (p. 1). In the sources, we can see "everyone else": that is, ordinary laypeople, engaging in professions and crafts and participating in communal government. Very seldom, however, do the sources give us direct access to their religious experience. For Thompson, this represents a significant gap, both in our knowledge of lay religion and in our understanding of the communes.

Given the dearth of sources that directly record the religious experiences of ordinary laypeople, how does one get at it? Thompson writes, "Thirteenth-century Italians worshiped in a world of sacred spaces and sacred rites. Individual piety arose within those spaces and rites" (p. 343). This is the book in a nutshell. The book's first five chapters are devoted to a discussion of urban "sacred geography," which includes cathedrals, baptisteries, urban chapels, collegiate churches, monasteries, lay confraternities, communal *palazzi*, civic patron saints, processions, candle offerings, and bell ringing. Using a wealth of evidence drawn from civic and ecclesiastical statutes, tithe lists, saints' lives, art, and architecture, Thompson reminds us that the urban environment was densely packed with expressions of orthodox religion. Part two helps us make sense of this sacred geography with a careful examination of the Divine Office, Mass, penance, and baptism, placing them in the context of the liturgical year in order to recover, as much as possible, people's experience of the liturgy. The city's sacred geography both expressed and reinforced a lay religious experience rooted in a lifelong interaction with ecclesiastical rites and liturgy.

This book is a stunning achievement. Not only is it a masterful study of the Italian church and lay religion, it calls into question prevailing views of communal society and challenges us to rethink the way we apply terms like "secular" and "religious" to medieval society. In modern discourse, these adjectives are often expressed in terms of spatial metaphors, as if describing two territories separated by a boundary. One expression of this intellectual habit in the historiography of the communes is the familiar division of the urban landscape between the cathedral and the communal *palazzo*, as if capitols of two competing kingdoms. If, as Thompson argues, orthodox religion was an inextricable part of the average layperson's outlook, by virtue of their socialization, then it is likely that they took their religion with them as they gathered in the *palazzo comunale* to attend to the affairs of government. What, then, does it mean to say that the communes were secular?

DAVID FOOTE
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WILLEMIEN OTTEN. *From Paradise to Paradigm: A Study of Twelfth-Century Humanism*. (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, number 127.) Boston: Brill. 2004. Pp. xv, 330. \$140.00.

The term "humanism" has a number of very different meanings, perfectly intelligible to the scholars who work on the time periods for which it is used as an analytic framework even though its meaning for these different periods is noncongruent. For the twenty-first century, humanism is secularism as opposed to religiosity; for the Italian Renaissance, humanism is the study of classical literature and culture; and for those studying the twelfth century, the term is used for the period's assumption that humanity and the physical world, with their relationship to God, were intelligible to human understanding. Richard W. Southern first gave "humanism" this meaning for medieval intellectual history, a meaning here adopted by the Dutch scholar Willemien Otten. Otten, following Southern, resists the tendency of some modern scholars to draw an artificial distinction between twelfth-century humanism and scholasticism, with the assumption that the former was practiced only in the monasteries, the latter in the schools. Otten does, however, concentrate on philosophy rather than on the regularization of the study of theology and canon law in the emerging universities. The thinkers on whom he focuses, especially Peter Abelard, Alan of Lille, and William of Conches, were among the most influential twelfth-century philosophers. He uses the concept of twelfth-century humanism to address a broad range of topics, all of which he suggests were discussed in a context of rather optimistic rationalism.

The book begins with the thinkers of the so-called Carolingian Renaissance, who reinterpreted the philosophy and theology of the patristic period in a way that Otten suggests persisted for the next three centuries. (Much of his own earlier scholarship focused on John Scottus Eriugena, a ninth-century theologian.) The book's title comes from what he sees as an important question from the ninth century through the twelfth: how one might return to paradise. The question was shaped using the paradigm that God and nature belong together, and thus paradise, the land of unchanging bliss, is the land of nature still unsullied as God intended it. Humans may, in a saved state, proceed to Paradise, where God, nature, and humanity meet in what Otten calls a "trialogue" (p. 3), and humanistic thinking and writing were forms of entering into this triologue. Through the early twelfth century, he suggests, paradise was treated primarily as a memory or something in the past that one might learn about, but by late in the century paradise had been reconceptualized as a goal toward which humans might build, with God's help and in the context of nature.

The book's broader theme is the analogy drawn in the twelfth century between nature and scripture, between science and religion, which will come as no surprise to medievalists. Otten does not hesitate to carry what he

terms a conversation into modern times, where he regrets that the twelfth century's approach has been abandoned. He points to Primo Levi, the twentieth-century Holocaust survivor and writer, as his source of inspiration in recognizing that if one loses rationality one is on the road to fascism. Nonspecialists might perhaps be the best audience for this worthwhile discussion, given that intellectual historians of the Middle Ages have long understood the connection drawn then between faith and reason, but unfortunately nonspecialists would not be able to follow the analysis presented here. While this book is clearly the product of a great deal of careful thought, it is far too technical and often abstract for the reader who does not already know a good deal about twelfth-century philosophy and theology. The repeated distinction between what Otten terms form and content, for example, remains opaque, especially as he argues that they were not actually separated until the thirteenth century, after images and reality (not the same as form and content) parted company.

As much as I dislike being negative about a book written by someone so well versed in medieval philosophy and so earnest about the intersection of faith and reason, it is difficult to give an unqualified recommendation for a book so disorganized (parts of the introduction, for example, reappear essentially verbatim in chapter one), so lacking in overall structure or newly compelling thesis, and so densely and sometimes confusingly written. Nonetheless, the work is worth consulting for those studying individual twelfth-century thinkers, especially Peter Abelard and the philosophers associated with the school of Chartres, where Otten offers judicious insights into specific texts and well-informed translations of seminal passages.

CONSTANCE B. BOUCHARD
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WILLIAM CHESTER JORDAN. *Unceasing Strife, Unending Fear: Jacques de Thérines and the Freedom of the Church in the Age of the Last Capetians*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 154. \$29.95.

Jacques de Thérines, Cistercian abbot of Chaalis and Pontigny, learned doctor of theology, was one of those historical characters who should have written his personal memoirs, preferably in the tell-all style favored today, but did not. In his own time he enjoyed somewhat the status of an inside player; he observed great events from the epicenters; he mingled with those who moved and shaped those events directly. What he knew or heard might have enlightened us on many points, had he chosen to tell the story. It has fallen rather to William Chester Jordan to present that story, pieced together *faute de mieux* from Jacques's official writings: the quodlibets that he produced on questions of the day, his arguments at the Council of Vienne, the records of his abbatial administration. This book gives us a fresh look at the events of a turbulent time through the eyes of a fresh source, but those eyes do not quite

penetrate the veil of the sanctums where the great deeds were plotted and decided.

Jordan resumes succinctly varied dramatic occurrences of the early fourteenth century: struggles between Philip the Fair and Pope Boniface VIII, expulsion of the Jews from France, destruction of the Templars. For each event he gives us the comments or the likely experiences of Jacques de Thérines. Some of those comments he finds unexpected or even courageous. Jacques opposed the expulsion of the Jews in 1306. He questioned the prosecution of the Templars. In other matters his opinions are hardly surprising. As a leader of an order that benefited from ecclesiastical exemption he opposed the weakening of exemptions for ecclesiastical orders. As a practitioner of traditional monastic virtues he had little sympathy for the extreme ideals of the Spiritual Franciscans. He administered the abbeys entrusted to his care efficiently. He died a quiet death at an advanced age.

We are left with the observations of an eminently conventional and conservative churchman. His objection to the expulsion of the Jews merely restated the church's traditional position, counseling patient conversion rather than persecution. Regarding the Templars he agreed with Pope Clement V; it was simply a matter to be regulated by the church and not the state. He was presumably pleased to witness the readmission of the Jews in 1315, but he has left us no expression of his pleasure. Presumably he was dismayed at the execution of the Templars. His reaction is not preserved. Why did Philip the Fair act so suddenly against the Templars? He does not say. We have Jacques's opinions. We lack his insights.

To supply those insights Jordan presents a cogent, but properly judicious, analysis. And still Jacques de Thérines's record poses as many questions as it provides answers. How was it that he dared—"took the chance" as Jordan puts it (p. 16)—to speak publicly against the policies of a notoriously ruthless royal regime? Did Jacques expect his querulous quodlibets to reach the king's notice? In at least one case, Jordan speculates, he did. His argument against expulsion of the Jews might have been meant to give cover to Philip's eldest son, the future Louis X, who welcomed exiled Jews into his independent kingdom of Navarre. Is that evidence, perhaps, of a more open and diverse administration at the court of Philip the Fair than the dark dictatorship often depicted?

We cannot expect the story of Jacques de Thérines, told through its imperfect record, to answer deep questions about an unsettling period. Nor does Jordan propose that aim. Rather he holds Jacques up to us as a mirror. His life reveals the struggles and stresses of a troubled time, a time of "unceasing strife, unending fear." Yet even as a reflection of a strife-ridden age, the saga of Jacques de Thérines leaves us wanting. Remarkably little of fear and loathing—compare Jacques's comments with the fierce social critique and apocalyptic obsession of an Ubertino or an Arnold of Villanova—comes through in the life or incidental observations of

our protagonist. He lived peacefully. He died, so far as we can tell, unafraid. Perhaps the real lesson to be taken from his story is that, amid the turbulence and drama that captivate the attention of historians, people learn, as Voltaire said, to cultivate their own gardens and endure.

Jordan opens a window on a remote time. It is Jordan's genius to spot that window, his achievement to let us peer through. That alone makes this work a valuable contribution to our historical perspective. It adds yet another piece to our understanding of a critical and enigmatic period.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

HARRO HÖPFL. *Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c. 1540–1630*. (Ideas in Context, number 70.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 406. \$90.00.

This book by Harro Höpfl combines with unprecedented ambition two dynamic and fruitful fields of recent historical research: the Society of Jesus in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and early modern political thought. The author, perhaps best known for his study of the shifts in John Calvin's political ideas over time (*The Christian Polity of John Calvin* [1982]), here demonstrates equally impressive scholarship in a broad, synthetic work of intellectual history. His new book is a deeply researched, highly learned account of the "content and inner logic" (p. 7) of the political ideas of members of the Society of Jesus during the era of its "race of giants" (p. 376), from 1540 to about 1630, concentrating especially on the 1580s through the 1610s. The work draws from an impressive range of mostly published sources by dozens of authors, the large majority written in a technically demanding, late scholastic Latin, although Höpfl also covers works in English, French, German, Spanish, and Italian. Among the book's many virtues is its philologically meticulous analysis of works by not only the era's best known Jesuit intellectuals, such as Robert Bellarmine, Francisco Suárez, Luis de Molina, and Robert Persons, but also those who are less familiar today except to specialists, notwithstanding their reputations to contemporaries, such as Martinus Becanus, Franciscus Costerus, Thomas Fitzherbert, Jacob Gretser, and Louis Richeôme. The study makes a major contribution to our understanding of early modern political thought, and to the continuing, revisionist assault on once-widespread caricatures, even among professional historians, about Jesuits. By revealing divergences about politics among Jesuits, Höpfl demonstrates that "the image of the monolithic Society with a single political strategy, especially one of subverting political authorities, was a fantasy" (p. 224), and he states that "As for the Jesuit-Spanish-Papal legend, it defies comprehension" (p. 323).

Yet the reputation of Jesuits for "meddling in politics," of which their Catholic as well as Protestant critics accused them at the time and ever since, is the impetus for the interrelated range of issues explored by Höpfl: the Jesuits' views on the proper response to heresy by political authorities, "reason of state" and the associated virtue of prudence in rulers, the source and legitimation of political authority, positive laws and the common good, and, finally, the most (in)famous teachings with which Jesuits were associated: namely, the justification of tyrannicide and the indirect papal power to depose rulers. Even though politics was not an independent subject in the Jesuit curriculum, its implications for religion made a sustained consideration of political concerns unavoidable, especially for a religious order that assiduously approved Catholic rulers' political support of the church and the faith. Höpfl makes a strong case for Jesuits' "irreducible beliefs about the irreplaceable centrality of order, hierarchy, monarchy, and obedience in any collectivity" (p. 51) as the intellectual scaffolding for much of their political thought. Although he does not quite spell it out, one gets the impression that much of the Jesuits' reputation for objectionable political doctrines derived less from the content of their political thought (much of which was traditional and/or shared with Catholic or Protestant contemporaries) than from its context and the results of "the actual political engagement of the Society" (p. 366). As the most influential Catholic religious order by the late sixteenth century, with many Jesuits serving as confessors to rulers, and given unprecedented tensions over the relationship between religion and politics both within Catholic and across Catholic-Protestant confessional divides, it is unsurprising that crises inspired polemics, of which the cluster over the English Oath of Allegiance, the Venetian Interdict, and the assassination of Henri IV of France ("absurdly laid . . . at the Jesuits' door," pp. 332–333) in the first decade of the seventeenth century was the most serious. This would help to explain why, for example, tyrannicide as a political doctrine was particularly identified with the Society of Jesus, even though it had been advocated since antiquity, was reiterated in the Middle Ages, and was defended by others, including Calvinists, in the period.

A brief review cannot do justice to the vast erudition, precise readings, and penetrating analyses on so many fronts in this book, which should become a standard work in the field of early modern political thought. Nevertheless, some criticisms might be made. The price paid for a thematic, intellectual-historical treatment of Jesuit political thought is relatively little sense of change over time or even of chronology. For the most part, Höpfl gestures toward or assumes knowledge of the political contexts in which his protagonists wrote but does not provide them. And some readers may be put off by the number of Latin terms and phrases that the author has chosen to leave untranslated in his prose. But compared to the achievement, these are minor

points. This is an imposing work of scholarship that will endure.

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WILLIAM WEBER, editor. *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700–1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2004. Pp. vi, 269. \$44.95.

This collection presents eleven essays, most of which originated in a 2001 conference organized by editor William Weber. Weber himself is arguably the most influential scholar of the practicalities of European concert life in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; here he is joined by other recognized experts to tackle an extremely important set of questions. The volume is interestingly interdisciplinary, including scholars from history, sociology, and cultural studies along with musicology. About half of the essays are straightforwardly informative, concentrating on presenting new archival information; the rest offer varying degrees of cultural-theoretical speculation.

The book's main themes can be summarized fairly succinctly: the loss of the patronage system by the end of the eighteenth century; the consequent development of public taste and therefore a public marketplace for music; both composers' and performers' dependence on pleasing this ever-growing public, and the strategies they developed to function successfully in their new economic environment. The volume is not quite punctiliously edited, but it is readable and on the whole interesting.

The first part provides an overview of the terrain, with some methodological and theoretical context. Weber's introductory essay, "The Musician as Entrepreneur and Opportunist, 1700–1914," specifies the particular kind of social history that he considers relevant for these queries. In it he sets out the terms of inquiry into social roles, commercialism, the development of public (even "mass") markets for music, and the necessity for a certain amount of opportunism and self-display in the musician's quest for success; particularly important, I think, is his careful historicization of the terms "entrepreneur" and "charlatan."

In a second introductory chapter, "The Musician of the Imagination," Richard Leppert concentrates on what might be considered the theoretical context. Leppert is well known as a particularly adept scholar of musical iconography, and he puts his skills to use here to explore the audience's position in a context where "musicians functioned as embodiments of a rich . . . cultural imaginary" (p. 25). Leppert identifies the process of imagination and projection he details here as part of "the 'visual turn' that marks modernity" (p. 26).

The second part of the collection concerns fairly early examples of the musical entrepreneur, Tanya Kevorkian's "Changing Times, Changing Music: 'New Church' Music and Musicians in Leipzig, 1699–1750" and David Gramit's "Selling the Serious: The Commodification of

Music and Resistance to It in Germany, circa 1800." Kevorkian's is a very straightforward presentation without much theoretical speculation, but it relies on a wealth of documentary and archival material that combines social, political, and economic information in ways that musicologists have not ordinarily been able to do. For example, she discusses the ways in which new sources of wealth informed new kinds of musical patronage, and she has unearthed data that offer a highly unusual opportunity to characterize very precisely—indeed, to name individually and tag by profession, gender, and social status—the members of one particular musical audience.

Gramit's chapter is an offshoot of his book, *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770–1840* (2002), and it details one of the most provocative aspects of this historical process, a doubled view of commodification and resistance: that is, a culture war in a sense surprisingly familiar to us. Already before 1800 mass taste was thought incompatible with good taste and likely to lead to the deterioration of music altogether. This gloomy forecast was well understood, Gramit shows, as part of a general concern about the loss of patronage, as artistic production moved from court and church supervision into a new public marketplace.

The next four essays in the volume detail various aspects of concert management as it evolved during the nineteenth century. In "From the Self-Managing Musician to the Independent Concert Agent," Weber offers a straightforward account of an aspect of professional musical life that is seldom studied. From biographical and autobiographical accounts and correspondence, he describes the process typically used in each phase of the historical development, focusing on the particular skills musicians needed in order to do the management work themselves. Weber gives some attention, too, to placing these different transactions within the history of capitalism.

Laure Schnapper's essay, "Bernard Ullman—Henri Herz: An Example of Financial and Artistic Partnership, 1846–1849," offers the book's only focus on the United States; Schnapper tells us that Herz was struck by the size and diversity of American audiences compared to those he was used to in Europe, but also by their considerably less reliable taste. Dana Gooley's "Franz Liszt: The Virtuoso as Strategist" is a highly sophisticated inquiry that expands upon the brief coverage of this topic in his book, *The Virtuoso Liszt* (2004). This is the most interpretive and one of the most critical of the book's chapters, concentrating on the clash of long-standing entrepreneurial practices with the new ideology of romanticism. Liszt managed—through a complex system of canny programming, purpose-built performing style, and good friends in the press—to charge more money per concert than anyone else and at the same time build a reputation as a selfless, brilliantly talented servant of Ludwig van Beethoven rather than a self-aggrandizing spiritually empty virtuoso.

Simon McVeigh, author of "An Audience for High-

Class Music': Concert Promoters and Entrepreneurs in Late-Nineteenth-Century London," is part of a team (with Christina Bashford and Rachel Cowgill) that is currently compiling an enormous database on "Concert Life in Nineteenth-Century London." In this chapter he tells partly the same ideological story that Gooley does: the development, under the auspices of the romantic movement, of the rubric of the "improving" concert—that is, of music so spiritually important and "good for you" that it should be judged by standards of difficulty and moral edification rather than entertainment value.

The three essays in the final section of the collection explore the interaction of gender with the other parameters already in play in the evolution of the musical entrepreneur. Tia DeNora, author of "Embodiment and Opportunity: Bodily Capital, Gender, and Reputation in Beethoven's Vienna," is a sociologist whose *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius* (1995) was among the first to show musicologists how Beethoven's reputation, and that of the "classical" musical canon that formed around him, were shaped by cultural situation and public expectations. Here she is interested in an aspect of the well-known hardening and essentializing of notions of gender from the early nineteenth century that were reflected in the "gendering" of the repertory itself. DeNora proposes that aspects of Beethoven's playing and its embodiment of "hard" techniques, force, and strenuous activity then became hallmarks of "great" music that raised the stakes and changed the terrain for female performers. This sense is well corroborated by the rich data offered in Paula Gillett's essay, "Entrepreneurial Women Musicians in Britain: From the 1790s to the Early 1900s," which studies the careers of women from four generations, active professionals including performers, composers, and even an opera manager. The final essay, Jann Pasler's "Countess Greffulhe as Entrepreneur: Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation," asks unusually searching questions about social and economic conditions in this moment in France, about the relationship of aristocracy to society as a whole, and other contexts for the countess's activity. Pasler offers a lot of interesting detail, mostly from family archives, of Elisabeth Greffuhle's activities as concert organizer and sometime performer. In her home (salon) concerts she was forward-looking, experimenting with the format of her programs and introducing new musical repertoires as they became available. The countess eventually moved into the public realm, establishing and running the Société des Grandes Auditions de France and staging large-scale works that had not been performed in Paris before.

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MERVYN O'DRISCOLL. *Ireland, Germany and the Nazis: Politics and Diplomacy, 1919–1939*. (Cork Studies in Irish History, number 3.) Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2004. Pp. 304. \$65.00.

This book by Mervyn O'Driscoll is a thorough and well-researched discussion of diplomatic relations between Ireland and Germany during the interwar years. It focuses quite narrowly on formal diplomatic contact, whereas on occasion one would have welcomed further discussion of broader issues. Nevertheless, it is a useful case study of the diplomatic strategy pursued by a newly independent small state with a large European power in a time of change and conflict. The book is strong on the strictly diplomatic material but weaker on the general history of the period. O'Driscoll misreads the character and political basis of the Cumann na nGaedheal government in the 1920s.

Links between Ireland and Germany had been established prior to Irish independence in 1922. The radical wing of Irish nationalism identified closely with the German Empire in its struggle with Britain and France during World War I. Various attempts were made between 1919 and 1921 to generate support in Germany, but no formal recognition was obtained. Even after the Irish Free State was established, relations with Germany were low key. The Germans did not wish to alienate Britain, still the major power in Europe, while the Free State government did not have a clear strategy in respect of Germany. In 1924, its diplomatic mission was withdrawn from Berlin.

By the time full diplomatic relations were resumed in 1929, the Irish Free State had been consolidated, and its diplomatic service was more self-confident in its independence from Britain and its professionalism. The German diplomatic service was slow to recognize these changes, however, continuing to give priority to Britain over Ireland. A trade treaty was agreed in 1930, but it is questionable if this was the "watershed" the author claims, since Britain remained dominant in economic matters. Irish Minister Daniel Binchy recognized that Ireland was relatively unimportant to Germany, although the Center Party was an avenue of influence for him.

Binchy's resignation in 1932 was prompted in part at least by the election of Fianna Fáil, a radical nationalist party that sought to revise the treaty settlement of 1922. As Adolf Hitler came to power, the Irish chargé d'affaires in Berlin, Leo McCauley, adopted what O'Driscoll describes as "ambivalent admiration" for the Nazi regime. The head of the Irish diplomatic service, Joseph Walshe, also expressed considerable admiration for the authoritarian methods of the new German government, recommending a similar departure in Ireland to Eamon de Valera. De Valera was committed to breaking most links with Britain, and Germany was, in theory, an obvious focus for attention. This proved to be an illusion as German policy for most of the 1930s continued to view Britain in a positive light, and Irish policy was more conservative than required by de Valera's ideology.

O'Driscoll provides an interesting comparison of Fianna Fáil and the Nazi movement. He shows that both were nationalist, revisionist, and authoritarian and that both sought to overthrow the previous imposed regime.

In the Irish case, this was achieved in democratic fashion whereas in Germany a totalitarian settlement was imposed. In what was one of the major diplomatic miscalculations for Ireland, Charles Bewley was appointed minister to Berlin in 1933. Bewley was driven by his ideological animosity to Britain, was antisemitic, and was partisan in respect of the Nazi regime. His reports read as excuses for the worst excesses of the Nazi system, and he complained that Irish newspapers did not understand Germany. The major Irish newspapers provided more balanced analysis of Germany than the senior Irish diplomat did. It is puzzling that Bewley remained so long at his post, not only because of his views but also because on this account he did not adequately represent Irish interests in Berlin. Ireland turned a blind eye to antisemitic policies in Germany, was ungenerous to refugees fleeing persecution, and generally supported appeasement on the grounds that Hitler's nationalist demands were reasonable. Bewley was removed from his post in 1939, but O'Driscoll does not offer a satisfactory explanation for the length of time he remained in Berlin. When war broke out, Ireland remained in the British zone of influence but declared its neutrality, a position that the German minister in Dublin informed Berlin would work to Germany's advantage.

The book ends just as the situation became more interesting: the Germans established links with the Irish Republican Army, and agents were sent to Ireland at various times during the war. While O'Driscoll touches on this issue, he does not deal with it in detail; Mark Hull has covered much of the ground in *Irish Secrets: German Espionage in Wartime Ireland 1939–1945* (2003). What this book does demonstrate is the limited opportunities available for Ireland to develop a diplomatic strategy independent of its relationship with Britain.

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SIBELAN FORRESTER, MAGDALENA J. ZABOROWSKA, and ELENA GAPOVA, editors. *Over the Wall/After the Fall: Post-Communist Cultures through an East-West Gaze*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 320. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$30.00.

Recent years have witnessed a growing interest in the culture and identities of the former socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The transformation of the region's economies, their integration into the global market economy, patterns of economic (and other forms of) migration between the region and its western neighbors, cultural exchange generated by the mass media and new information technologies, and the incorporation of the western states of the region into the pan-continental political structures of the European Union have all acted to remake the cultural sphere. At the same time, however, most observers have been aware that this has not been a simple transfer of western cultural forms; instead it has been a dynamic process in

which cultural transformation has been negotiated on an everyday level by Central and Eastern European citizens. As editors Sibelan Forrester, Magdalena J. Zaborowska, and Elena Gapova correctly point out in their introduction to this volume, the field of Eastern European studies, as conventionally understood, has been slow to take up the challenge of analyzing this transformation. Their fundamental aim in putting the volume together has been to explore the potential for applying insights derived from postcolonial theory in particular, and cultural studies more generally to the realities of the region. The result is a book that is both varied in content and extremely stimulating; a path-breaking collection that will shift the agenda of research into postsocialist Central and Eastern Europe.

In geographical scope the essays concentrate on the Central European states—the former German Democratic Republic (GDR), Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia—that tend to be well-covered in the literatures of any discipline dealing with the region, but there are case studies from both Bulgaria and Ukraine, which are traditionally less well represented in the field. Perhaps the only significant omission is analysis of cultural forms in the former Yugoslavia. The scope of the subject matter is broad as the essays shift from the transformation of *samizdat* across the 1989 divide in the GDR, to Robert D. Kaplan's *Balkan Ghosts* (1993) as a text about the way in which the negotiation of the region has shaped Western identities in the 1990s. It ranges from a survey of the politics of sexuality in the Czech Republic to the inscription of a traumatic historical past, and multiple politics of memory, on the urban fabric of contemporary Warsaw.

Despite its diversity, this volume is much more than the sum of its parts, as certain fundamental issues raised in the introduction are echoed throughout its pages. The first is that of the deep-seated postsocialist nature of many of the cultural forms and identities that have emerged during the region's transformation. The material remnants of the socialist past have clearly served as repositories and as means through which Eastern European identities have been constructed and performed during a period of intense change. In some cases, especially that of the former GDR as examined by Rainer Gries, this has taken the form of a nostalgia: a sense of a search for a comfortable, past golden age in a climate of uncertainty. In others, such as Zaborowska's analysis of the urban landscape of contemporary Warsaw, the urge to forget a traumatic past has been frustrated by the layers of memory that are embedded within the urban fabric. This focus on the region's postsocialist nature, even after a decade and a half of capitalist transformation, is suggestive of the ways in which contemporary historians might engage many of the issues raised by the book. The contributors point to the way in which the years before and after 1989 can be interpreted fruitfully as a continuous period; they suggest strongly the need for the systematic historical investigation of social and cultural persistence across an obvious political watershed.

This book highlights another central issue, that of the legitimate borders of the region. While the Cold War inclined scholars toward seeing the geographical boundaries of Eastern European studies as being somehow fixed by the geopolitical realities of postwar Europe, this has been challenged since the early 1980s by those dissidents who sought to assert a claim to the "Central European" status of their countries. With the more open climate of cultural exchange since 1989, this fixedness has broken down further. The editors and contributors usefully suggest interrogating the hybridity of the identities and cultural practices of the region. They point, furthermore, to the way in which "Eastern Europe" as we have understood it has been a product of a constantly shifting discourse through which European identities have been constructed and re-constructed. For anyone concerned with the region, the de-centering implied by the project of this volume will pose a challenge, suggesting uncertainty about where the boundaries of the field lie. Yet, it also presents an opportunity to be grasped by historians, who are well-equipped to contextualize that uncertainty.

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ALEC RYRIE. *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xix, 306. \$65.00.

There has been a tendency on the part of some scholars in recent years to claim that the Henrician regime pursued a middle way in religion, exercising control over extremists on both sides in the Reformation's Catholic/Protestant fracture. And certainly, as Alec Ryrie and a host of other scholars have shown, the reaction against reform (or "the gospel") during the early and mid-1540s saw a purge of the gospellers. Ryrie claims, however, that the swings and roundabouts of the later Henrician period actually created the circumstances whereby the evangelicals were able to seize political power in 1547.

The central task for those who would explain the Reformation's impact on early modern politics is to decipher why certain groups and factions adopted a particular kind of religious language in order to gloss their relationship with the regime and central figures within that regime. (A supremely successful recent instance of this is Ethan H. Shagan's *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* [2003].) Ryrie does manage to convey the "to-and-fro" quality of religious legislation in the years his study covers. Chapter two brings out the problematic relationship between the king and the reformers, some of whom took strong exception to the royal supremacy. (The dynamics of that relationship and the rampant equivocation the gospellers employed foreshadowed, in some respects, the relationship between Catholics and the crown after 1558.) The exile communities are dealt with in chapter three. As with the Elizabethan exiles of the latter half of the sixteenth century the decision to go abroad was clearly not just an exer-

cise in the avoidance of martyrdom. Those who went overseas anticipated the sweeping change of fortune which dynastic and regime change might bring, although the timing of such a change was impossible to predict. Ryrie suggests, however, that the crucial centers of English evangelicalism were to be found inside the realm. And, in chapter four, it becomes clear that the evangelical cause was sustained within the Henrician polity by equivocation and compromise, even by out-and-out hypocrisy, as the reformers attempted to cut their coats. But it is the locales of evangelical endeavor that are primarily important here. And, in chapter six, Ryrie deals with the court, reciting the quite well-known details of how the evangelical imperative made unlikely inroads even into the Howard family (in the circle around the earl of Surrey). It was the "fashionability" of evangelicalism in some quarters, even while it was politically dangerous, which made it possible for it to become the political and religious style of the Somerset regency.

Quite interesting is the speculation on the question of the origins of conservatism in the period, and why those who had once shown themselves of a similar mind to the gospellers turned against them. Ryrie suggests in chapter six that it was very often the experience of holding episcopal office that persuaded influential clerics that order and discipline were both essential and beneficial. Here, perhaps, we have a kind of prequel to the Presbyterian controversies of the later sixteenth century.

The seventh chapter traces some of the networks in London that the evangelical underground inhabited. One has to say that these do not seem particularly extended or extensive, but the case is made that, as with Catholicism in a later period, it was the presence of these people in the capital that had a potentially radical political effect.

In conclusion one might say that, in many respects, there is nothing particularly new here, although there is no rule that every account of the Reformation (or indeed any other topic) has to rewrite its subject entirely. One might, however, take issue with Ryrie's claim that "the golden era of the local study in English reformation history is passing" (p. 7). It may well be that many local studies have not entirely lived up to their billing. But there are respects in which the close focus of a local study can reveal the dynamics of contemporary politics in a way which examples pulled together from a so-called "national" perspective simply cannot (if one is, for example, trying to construct an account of how changes of "official" religion took hold in practice). Ryrie suggests that local studies are themselves unlikely now to reveal anything new. That depends, however, on the way that they are done. By searching further afield from the often rather narrow source material on which local historians have relied, it will be possible in the future to find new and interesting things to say about early modern politics and religion.

Another thought that occurs is that just as these years might be taken to have created the groundwork for the

Edwardian Reformation, so one can detect in them the origins of the Marian reaction. It is clear from Ryrie's account that one of the consequences of the spread and articulation of sacramentarian opinions, which came to the fore in the 1530s and 1540s, was to elicit the kind of reactionary response that would be the hallmark of the Marian regime.

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PAUL M. HUNNEYBALL. *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 218. \$99.00.

Paul M. Hunneyball's objective in this book is to examine cultural change in the seventeenth century, specifically through an analysis of the evolution of architectural style in Hertfordshire. The basic outline of shifts in architectural taste in this period—from Jacobean to artisan mannerist to classicism—has, of course, been long established, but the originality of Hunneyball's work lies in the meticulous analysis of how these changes were disseminated down the social scale, beyond the elite of trend-setting patrons, and how the meanings of the various motifs, styles, and forms changed in different social and architectural milieus.

To the twenty-first-century reader, the choice of Hertfordshire as the county of study might seem perverse: its modern identity is one of dormitory towns and creeping suburbanization. But in the seventeenth century the very factors that make its modern architectural landscape featureless and anodyne made it particularly dynamic in architectural terms: its easy proximity to London rendered it attractive to gentry with political, professional or mercantile interests in the capital, but who also wanted a residence in a rural setting. Thus Hertfordshire had an unusually high proportion of newcomers among its gentry, many of whom had strong links with the capital and its cultural innovations. It offers the opportunity, therefore, to consider architecture as an expression of social identity within a mobile society, and to chart the dissemination of cultural forms away from London.

Hunneyball's knowledge of Hertfordshire's seventeenth-century buildings is comprehensive and his analysis shows an impressive command of detail. Particular styles and motifs are traced in their dissemination across the county, from the extravagant display of Hatfield House to the frugal attempts to remodel unfashionable older residences amongst the lesser gentry. The gradual triumph of classical models, for both aesthetic and practical reasons, is lucidly demonstrated. But Hunneyball has not simply concentrated on the houses of the gentry: he has tried to encompass the built environment as a whole and to reconstruct the broader architectural contexts to gentry houses, looking at church buildings and funerary monuments, philanthropic institutions, and the houses of the non-elite—

areas that have been much less well charted in most of the existing scholarship. While the gentry were busy adopting classical motifs in their seats and their funerary monuments, they were happy to extend a church or build an almshouse in the gothic style or vernacular traditions. Classicism was not adopted with equal speed in all contexts: its impact was varied, depending on the kind of building one examines. Social display or emulation was not the only factor determining a patron's choice of architectural style: traditions of piety or pragmatic utilitarianism were also powerful determinants.

The analysis becomes particularly interesting when discussing the boundaries between the lesser gentry and the rest of the community. Here social emulation was clearly still a factor, but Hunneyball is particularly good at demonstrating the practical constraints on builders' ability to respond to changes in fashion and taste: the cost of materials, the lack of skilled craftsmen, and limited access to new designs before the advent of the pattern book. The motifs that were widely adopted were those most easily adapted and modified, such as sash windows and hipped roofs. Classical styles became more widespread in the later seventeenth century, partly because of their popularity amongst the social elite but also because they lent themselves to economical building methods and were more easily copied and adopted by local craftsmen than the extravagant ornamentation of artisan mannerism.

At the sub-gentry level more than 600 buildings were examined, many of which were urban and showed little evidence of efforts to emulate the gentry. But that is not to say that social competition within urban society could not be expressed through architecture. By the 1680s the use of brick, although hardly any cheaper than at the start of the century, was much more widespread, and the adoption of flush facades and features such as sash windows were increasingly common. The model here was not so much the houses of the gentry as the post-fire buildings of London, where building regulations, together with a need for economy and the logistics of the building trade, had all combined to produce a style of architecture that drew on classical principles but owed little in inspiration to gentry models. There is much that is suggestive here about the relationships between metropolis and province and between urban and rural society.

Hunneyball's book is essentially a work of cultural history, but it is refreshingly free of the jargon of cultural theory and is founded on a very solid foundation of empirical research. The conclusions drawn have important implications for our understanding of the construction of social and cultural identities and provide an illuminating case study in the "appropriation of culture" across social and geographical boundaries.

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PATRICK LITTLE. *Lord Broghill and the Cromwellian Union with Ireland and Scotland*. (Irish Historical

Monographs.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2004. Pp. xvi, 270. \$85.00.

How well we know the story of Oliver Cromwell's rejection in 1657 of the parliamentary offer of his, and his dynasty's, enthronement. The final, providential justification for his spurning of kingship—that he would not set up what God had cast down, that he would not build Jericho again—has come to seem symbolic of the man and his self-identification as a servant of the living God. Less well known are the counter arguments made—in particular, those of Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill—to persuade him otherwise. On April 11, 1657, Broghill urged Cromwell to consider how “healing and settling” could be best advanced by complying with parliament's desire for the stability of a monarchical constitution, guaranteed by parliament, safeguarding the people's liberties and reconciling moderate royalists to the new regime. Speaking as Cromwell's governor of Scotland and chief advisor to Henry Cromwell in Ireland, Broghill was the voice of the British Protestant interest. On April 16, he argued that parliament would not offer Oliver a title blasted by God, that if kingship was damned then so was the rule of a single person, and, therefore, that the protectorate should fall by the same reasoning. If the extinction of the “rump” parliament was divinely sanctioned, as Cromwell had often insisted, how, by that argument, could any parliament enjoy divine favor? Broghill essentially asked Cromwell to reconsider his reading of providence. He reminded him of the Old Testament story of King David's reaction to the death of his child (2 Samuel 12: 15–23); having “fasted and wept” while the sick child was alive, he returned to normal once he was dead. Broghill's message was that one disposition of the living God should not determine one's politics for ever. His plea went unheeded, and, apart from a brief rallying to the cause of Richard Cromwell, Broghill's vision of a pan-British Protestant union died with it. One of the many merits of this fine biographical study by Patrick Little is that it re-engages us with the high religious and political seriousness of Cromwellian politics.

A younger son of the first earl of Cork, the greatest Protestant landowner in early Stuart Ireland, Boyle found his family fortunes shattered by the Irish insurrection of October 1641. His elder brother (from 1643, the second earl of Cork) became a staunch royalist. Broghill, by contrast, looked to the parliamentary cause as the best means of protecting the Protestant interest, not only in Ireland but in Britain and beyond. It is important to recognize the international dimension of his Protestantism. In his teens he had lived at the Huguenot academy at Saumur (at the same time as Algernon Sidney) and in Geneva. While civil war and political infighting raged in England, relief for Irish Protestantism remained as low a priority at Westminster as it had been in Whitehall, but in 1649 came the moment and the man. Cromwell's expedition to Ireland brought the two men into close alliance. For Broghill, the conquest of Ireland and the reinstatement of the Protestant in-

terest there depended on its moderation and on a wider picture of Anglo-Irish, subsequently British, union. As events unfolded, he came to see the protectorate as the only possible means of combining these qualities. From 1655 he was Cromwell's lord president of the council in Scotland and pulled off the feat of creating a moderate Protestant coalition to offset the internecine feuding of remonstrants and resolutioners. Within the higher echelons of the protectorate itself, he was a key figure in a British network of moderates whose commitment to the regime embraced a civilian normalization of government. For them, after the disastrous major-generals experiment, constitutional revision, a Cromwellian monarchy, and a British union identified with the international Protestant interest, became pivotal. Broghill was a key player in the coalition that secured parliamentary approval for such a package and its presentation to Cromwell. Oliver's rejection of kingship was an irrecoverable blow to Broghill. Hope flickered anew, but very briefly, with the short-lived succession of Richard Cromwell. Broghill remained sceptical of Stuart intentions and their commitment to the Protestant interest. By the spring of 1660, he was submitting to the inevitable, becoming lord president of Munster, earl of Orrery, and lord justice in Ireland. With the fall of the earl of Clarendon in 1667, his political career was effectively over.

This is a finely nuanced study demonstrating how meticulously researched and thoughtful biography can provide powerful illumination for major and rather more impersonal themes such as state building, confessional strife, and constitutional crisis.

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BRIAN WEISER. *Charles II and the Politics of Access*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 208. \$85.00.

On a hot August morning in 1678, King Charles II was taking his usual stroll in St. James's Park when a man named Christopher Kirby approached him with a warning that he was to be assassinated. The king, who knew Kirby through a shared interest in chemistry, was alarmed enough to schedule a private meeting with him later that day. Kirby brought to the meeting a ranting clergyman named Israel Tongue, who carried a detailed account of a Jesuit conspiracy to murder the king and foment an insurrection. This was the beginning of the so-called Popish Plot that was to rock Charles II's kingdoms for the next four years.

The story reveals a lot about access to the king. If he knew who you were, it was not particularly difficult to have a conversation with him, or even to arrange a private rendezvous. It is hard to imagine his suspicious grandfather or his awkward, snobbish father acting in the same easy-going way. A century later, a king might still have been approached while walking in St. James's Park, but it would most likely have been on a matter of personal rather than national importance. Would

George III have immediately granted a private interview to a man with whom he was barely acquainted?

Charles II was personally more approachable, and more confident, than his predecessors. In addition, political circumstances in the wake of the Civil Wars demanded more royal openness. Yet the pattern of access to monarchs was changing throughout Europe, restricting the ability of subjects to have direct contact with their rulers. The French King Louis XIV had ensconced himself at Versailles, at the center of a complex network of office holding and clientage that largely (although never entirely) distanced him from dealing directly with individual problems. Charles II's strategy of accessibility was exceptional, and it had no future, because kings of the eighteenth century would crave greater privacy as well as less direct responsibility for the daily management of affairs. Access to them would come through ministerial channels or staged ceremonies rather than through informal personal contact.

Curiously, Brian Weiser does not mention Christopher Kirby in his book, nor does he emphasize the uniqueness of Charles II's behavior. The author's main objective is to demonstrate how the king used access to his person as a political tool. Charles alternated between a desire to be "everybody's king"—that is, to make himself available to individuals of all political or religious persuasions—and a policy of limiting his favor to one faction or party. He was most accessible just after the Restoration, and again during the Arlington ministry (referred to here as "the Cabal"). He cut himself off from Nonconformists under the Danby ministry of 1673–1678 and became an enemy to the Whigs during the Exclusion Crisis. As a result, royal household regulations after 1673 allowed less access to the king; and at Winchester, Charles planned to build a palace that would provide him with both geographical and personal isolation from the bustling tumult of Whitehall.

The subject is fascinating, but Weiser's treatment of it is patchy. What is most lacking in this book is a systematic examination of exactly why and how individuals tried to gain access to the king. Kirby was not typical. Most of those who approached Charles II did so asking for personal favors, not for a political audience. The majority of these petitioners wrote him letters rather than trying to run into him on a morning walk. Many of them would have used intermediaries: courtiers, ministers, and other office holders who had some contact with the king. Occasionally, official bodies like town corporations wrote to him. These formal petitions tended to be political or economic, and were handled with greater care than were individual requests. There was a subtle etiquette to petitioning, just as there was to direct contact with the king at court. We need to know more about both. Weiser gives many hints about them but does not discuss them in enough detail.

The best features of the book are the chapter on royal palaces and the useful appendix, showing exactly where Charles II was on every day of his life between 1661 and 1684. A fine chapter on economic policy, dealing mainly with the short-lived Council of Trade, fits uneasily with

the rest of the argument. The conclusion is brief and disappointing. The worst aspect of the book, however, is the number of typos and spelling mistakes. I counted about two dozen. A different type of error is found on page 107, where the two censuses of Nonconformists are divided into localities, not into dioceses as the label claims.

PAUL MONOD
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CLIVE WILKINSON. *The British Navy and the State in the Eighteenth Century*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2004. Pp. x, 246. \$85.00.

Even though the British Navy was "the most enduringly powerful and successful instrument of war in the eighteenth century," its development, as Michael Duffy contends, was marked by discord, recrimination, and factionalism among its senior personnel (*Mariner's Mirror*, May 2005, pp. 216–217). This was no more apparent than in the criticism heaped upon the fourth earl of Sandwich during and after the last of his three terms of office as first lord of the admiralty (1771–1782). Vilified by political opponents for allegedly wasting public money, blamed by the public for the loss of the American colonies, and unpopular in the navy for being at the helm during its darkest eighteenth-century hour, Sandwich has since been condemned as inept, corrupt, and inefficient by generations of naval historians. According to Clive Wilkinson, such verdicts are harsh and unwarranted. Sandwich, far from being dishonest and incompetent, was an extremely able administrator and astute politician who endeavored to implement sensible, innovative policies that promised to correct a fundamental flaw in the navy's structure: the growing gap between the operational demands on the service and the ability of its infrastructure to provide the resources to meet those needs. His reforms were introduced at an unfortunate time, however, and his achievements were soon forgotten in the midst of an unpopular and unsuccessful war.

The purpose of this book is not to rehabilitate the reputation of Sandwich, a feat that has been accomplished in large measure in a number of scholarly works, most notably N.A.M. Rodger's *The Insatiable Earl* (1993). Rather, Wilkinson's aim is to explain the mitigating circumstances that should be taken into account in any evaluation of the performance of the navy and its senior managers from the cessation of the Seven Years' War in 1763 to the onset of war with France in 1778. His explanation lies chiefly in the quality and quantity of the ships of the line that the navy was able to produce and render fit for active service at any given time. By adopting a long-term perspective, Wilkinson demonstrates that the navy's stock of capital ships varied according to two key factors over which it could exercise little control: the incidence of war, and the climatic conditions that affected the nature of the timber with which the wooden walls were constructed. In essence, these factors set in motion two cycles of attrition and replen-

ishment, with conflict and peace respectively accelerating and slowing both the rate of loss and the naval shipbuilding and repair program, and long-term weather patterns conditioning the durability of ships. When the troughs of these “cycles of decay” coincided, the navy’s operational capabilities were impaired by a relative dearth of ships fit for service. It was Sandwich’s great misfortune that such a conjunction occurred in the early 1770s—as a consequence of the building programs of the 1750s and 1760s, and the adverse (i.e. comparatively warm) climatic conditions of the 1730s—just as Britain’s political difficulties in the American colonies were escalating.

In setting this central argument in its appropriate administrative, financial, and political contexts, as Daniel Baugh points out in his foreword (pp. vi–viii), Wilkinson adds depth and insight to the scholarly literature on the Georgian navy. His contribution is notably innovative in two respects. First, although he is no “environmental determinist” (p. 89), Wilkinson’s deployment of North Atlantic Oscillation data in relation to the durability of wooden-hulled ships demonstrates the significance of natural factors in the human historical process, an influence that has all too often been ignored by historians. Second, Wilkinson, albeit tentatively, perceives the development of the navy and its infrastructure as a “systemic” phenomenon (p. 8). From this perspective, the “largest industrial complex in the pre-industrial world” (p. 10) exhibited many of the features of large-scale enterprises of the industrial era. Accordingly, the production process was organized in functionally discrete departments headed by salaried managers, whose work was coordinated and monitored by administrators in a central office, and ultimately dependent on a remote decision-making process. This “incredibly complex and difficult institution” (p. 10) also faced many of the managerial challenges that confronted big business in a later era. In this respect, growing bureaucratic professionalism, its efforts to improve information flows, and its struggle to control the sources of its supplies suggest that the navy of the 1760s and 1770s was proactive in addressing organizational weaknesses. Against this, it was inhibited by networks based on patronage and nepotism rather than merit and knowledge, while its chief executive officers, including Sandwich, suffered from the “bounded rationality”—decision-making based on “circumstances as they saw them” (p. 7)—that necessarily constrains the efforts of even the most able of managers. It is to be hoped that Wilkinson pursues these environmental and business themes in future work on the eighteenth-century British Navy.

DAVID J. STARKEY
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STUART SEMMEL. *Napoleon and the British*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 354. \$40.00.

In March 1816, during one of his musings to the Comte de Las Cases on St. Helena, Napoleon Bonaparte outlined what he thought would have happened had he in-

vaded England in 1805 rather than turning his army east to meet the Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz. He believed that he would have been in London after four days and, received as a liberator like William of Orange, there he would have restored England’s rights and liberties. He would not have demanded war reparations, and the English would have been permitted to regenerate their advanced political system by their own efforts in their own citizens’ assembly. This is one of the many day dreams from St. Helena that people can believe if they so wish. What is interesting is how closely it mirrors many of the arguments made by liberals and radicals in early nineteenth-century Britain. Drawing out these arguments and contrasting them with the views of British loyalists constitute the subject matter of Stuart Semmel’s impeccably researched and well-crafted monograph.

In recent years several historians have set out to reassess the impact of the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars on the way in which the early nineteenth-century British understood themselves and the role of their nation. Semmel approaches the topic from a hitherto unexplored angle: namely, how Napoleon was perceived in the many different media—cartoons, paintings, broadsides, plays, political pamphlets and the press—by Britons both loyalist and radical, and with a variety of perspectives from the political to the religious. The British found it difficult to pin Napoleon down, particularly during the brief respite of the Peace of Amiens, when scores of visitors crossed the English Channel to glimpse the new society that had emerged out of the revolution and its youthful leader. And when war broke out again, the difficulty continued with a greater urgency. How were France and its new ruler to be understood? Loyalists had few doubts, although not necessarily identical views. Napoleon could be identified with the antichrist. He could be labelled as a usurper, while the alleged poisoning of sick soldiers at Jaffa and the kidnapping and execution of the Duc d’Engien singled him out as calculating, cruel, and murderous. Some radicals and liberals lost faith in a man who appeared eager to embrace the pomp of monarchy; but others continued to see him as a champion. Moreover, Napoleon’s behavior and the war that began in 1803 posed a range of complex questions. It was no longer a question of the Protestant isle standing firm against Bourbon Catholicism, or the atheism of the revolutionary sans-culottes. Napoleonic France was much more difficult to classify, and this raised important and unsettling questions about Britain’s place in the providential scheme of things that had been relatively clear to eighteenth-century patriots. At the same time, Napoleon’s seizure of power enabled some radicals to draw parallels with the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the Hanoverian succession in 1714. The whole issue of what constituted the sovereignty and the legitimacy of kings and emperors was thrown into question. William of Orange had been accepted by the people of England and so, too, had George I. In what manner was the French acceptance of Napoleon by plebiscite any dif-

ferent? Radicals queried whether, by opposing Napoleon and siding with the old monarchical order in Europe, British governments were rejecting the evolutionary pattern of their own monarchy and their own constitutional system. Napoleon's exile on St. Helena raised additional awkward questions. Here was a man who had been transported without trial. Was this not a flagrant contradiction of legal rights that freeborn Englishmen held dear?

These issues have been approached tangentially or largely skipped over by previous historians. Semmel rightly brings them to the foreground. In so doing he reinforces awareness of the ways in which late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Britons tried to understand their country and sought to encapsulate or explain its development. He also forces recognition of how such understandings were never static but were continually being rethought and debated. The unprecedented pressures and the duration of the war against Napoleon brought a new intensity to these debates. Perhaps Semmel might have dug a little more deeply into the plebeian perceptions of Napoleon. There seems to be some popular ballad literature such as, for example, *The Bonny Bunch of Roses*, that might be explored in this respect. But this might make a completely separate study, and there is an enormous amount to ponder and enjoy in Semmel's fine achievement.

CLIVE EMSLEY
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WILLIAM ANTHONY HAY. *The Whig Revival, 1808–1830*. (Studies in Modern History.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2005. Pp. xvi, 235. \$65.00.

In this volume the author promises “a major reassessment of British party politics in the first third of the nineteenth century.” This is familiar territory and, on the whole, conventionally treated. Its principal claim to originality consists in William Anthony Hay's attempt to analyze the links between the parliamentary Whig Party and Lord Brougham's efforts to broker deals with provincial interest groups. The author is anxious to claim for Brougham a place in Whig history comparable to that of Edmund Burke. While Burke had adumbrated the initial justification for party, Brougham extended the concept of party to relate to the political nation as a whole.

The narrative reveals few surprises. Hay accepts the now orthodox interpretations that party divisions did exist in the early nineteenth century, that party terminology was current, that party dominated in opposition if not in government but that independent persons and ideas still mattered (pp. 13–14). “Parties can be understood best as coalitions reflecting a spectrum of political opinion within agreed bounds rather than a more disciplined and homogeneous body” (p. 14). The author argues that by 1830 the Whigs had become a credible party of potential government. He contends that Brougham's appeal to “provincial merchants and manufacturers frustrated at their exclusion from influence

helped transform a faction of aristocratic, metropolitan orientated Foxites into a national party” (p. 2). This “ideological bond” shifted the old Foxite party from its obsessions with secret influence, “retrenchment, scandal and peace” and emphasized liberty and resistance to arbitrary power (p. 4). Hay provides a reliable account of the Whig Party's parliamentary experiences and, most interestingly, of its involvement with the press (pp. 43–52). His analysis of Brougham's contribution to the development of the Whig Party should be read by all students of the period.

However, this reviewer encountered a number of problems with Hay's treatment of his subject. First, his references to the provincial interests and opinion that came to sustain the Whig Party remain curiously ambiguous. We are variously referred to middle-class opinion and interest groups, to groups supporting parliamentary reform, to those who wanted “a voice in government policy” (p. 5) and sometimes to those who advocated the removal of nonconformist disabilities. They are sometimes described as “professional men” (p. 18), as “a type of Whig more at home among statistics and economic theories than the social whirl of London and the great country houses, and whose hagiology drew on Adam Smith rather than Algernon Sydney” (pp. 18–19), and as “local commercial interests” (p. 35), but who were they and where were they?

The second problem to some extent derives from the author's reluctance to plunge into geopolitical analysis. There is very little discussion of the size and structure of the Whig Party itself. Hay criticizes existing histories of the Whig Party that treat it “as part of another story rather than closely engaging the period on its own terms” (p. 8), but it is by no means clear that he does any better in this regard. Although the calculations of Roland Thorne are integrated within the narrative with reasonable efficiency, the author does not attempt an original analysis of his party, contenting himself with merely a few lines about the total numbers of MPs at each general election. Furthermore, Hay provides no lists of Whig constituencies, patrons, peers, or MPs. His accounts of successive general elections are seriously incomplete, concentrating on a single spectacular contest in each election (Liverpool in 1812; Westmorland in 1818, 1820, and 1826). Even more inexplicably, the book provides neither an intensive and detailed analysis of Whig electoral fortunes nor a discussion of Whig electoral organization. Consequently, it is difficult to follow the electoral fortunes of the party to whose history the book is supposedly devoted. These are regrettable omissions that detract from the value of this study of the Whig Party.

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AILEEN FYFE. *Science and Salvation: Evangelical Popular Science Publishing in Victorian Britain*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 325. \$25.00.

Historians have scarcely acknowledged, let alone sought to connect, that Victorian Britain was as remarkable for its evangelical revival as for its myriad achievements in science. In the latter historical narratives, allegedly knuckle-dragging evangelicals focused on scriptures and salvation and, at best, illuminate an Enlightenment project that left them behind. Not so Aileen Fyfe's new book. Taking its cue from Boyd Hilton's recognition in *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795–1865* (1988) that Victorian evangelicals lived, worked, and prayed within a theological framework that included science, the book scrutinizes the involvement in science publishing of the seriously evangelical Religious Tract Society (RTS). Focusing mainly on the mid-Victorian period, after evangelicalism had become a part of mainstream British religious life, Fyfe explores the RTS's concerted campaign to counter the popular appeal of such faith-threatening publications as the "People's Edition" of George Combe's *The Constitution of Man Considered in Relation to External Objects* (1835) and Robert Chambers's *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (1844). It was a campaign that, far from seeking to defend a literal interpretation of Genesis, entailed a careful crafting of a would-be alternative reading in which science was squared with salvation.

This was no easy task. RTS authors—shown here to be preponderantly financially perilous clergymen (especially Congregationalists) in their late forties—had to go beyond merely refashioning phrenology, natural history, geology, nebular astronomy, and so on to prove the existence of God and the wonders of his creation. Readers had to be lead to the cardinal evangelical message of Christ's self-sacrifice for the sins of others (the doctrine of atonement). Getting them there depended on setting the right religious tone and building up trust between the (usually anonymous) author and the reader by means of careful management of the narrative voice. In *British Fish and Fisheries*, issued by the RTS in 1849, a central difference with other contemporary publications on the same subject (including one by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge) was the substitution of "Christ the Redeemer" for "God the Creator" and, more subtly, the invocation of nature so as to prove not only the existence of God but also "his benevolence, which the reader had to accept in order to understand how Christ's death could atone for the sins of mankind" (p. 137).

Fyfe's primary concern is with the practical mechanics of RTS science publishing. She makes clear that the RTS was a commercial publishing operation like any other, and that hard-nosed business acumen, not gushing religiosity, was needed for it to compete with the outflow of cheap tracts and secular penny journals. For example, the society was no less keen to dispose of delinquent and dilatory editors than it was to adopt the latest printing technologies and marketing techniques. Thus the RTS, far from decrying the expansion of the

cheap press, "set out to do something about it" (p. 181), just as it did about the secular popularization of science.

Although historical detail on nineteenth-century science publishing has lost novelty as a result of James A. Secord's *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (2000), Fyfe's close study enables her to contribute significantly to the historical trend away from theologically based armchair debates over science and religion. For the RTS at least, the most obvious tension was not between science and religion, but "between the spiritual mission of the Society and the commercial world of publishing, or between the spiritual and temporal worlds" (p. 273). That said, however, this emphasis on the practicalities of religious faith cleaves a distinction with theory and things intellectual that seems anachronistic and artificial, no less than with some of the other dichotomies that Fyfe routinely deploys, such as those between "professional experts" in science and "amateurs," or between "scientific communities" and "popular audiences." Why, one wonders, should it be regarded as less professional to carve out a popular evangelical Christian science than an esoteric secular one, especially in a context that was overwhelmingly Christian and devout—a context, moreover, in which "scientists" were anyway gentlemen amateurs, not laboratory bench experts?

Fyfe's scrupulous attention to print runs, bindings, stereotyping, author disciplining, and so on serves also to obscure historical questions that may be more vital, such as who obtained RTS science publications, how they were actually read (or supposed to be), and with what conversionary effect? While she posits that "at least some working-class readers" were reached, and that the RTS's Monthly Series "must have been influential for being the cheapest, most widely distributed source of introductory treatises on the sciences . . . in the 1840s and 1850s" (pp. 270–271), her argument, she insists, is not affected by the answers to such questions, nor by the fact that "probably few" of the readers were converted to evangelicalism. But can a study that purports to revise our thinking on Victorian science and religion, on the relations between them, and on the neglected place of evangelicalism within that nexus really afford not to attend to such questions? One consequence here is that we never learn how Victorian evangelicals, or even the RTS, responded to Charles Darwin. Fyfe maintains that the society's pioneering efforts with natural knowledge made it easier for later Christian popular science writers to perform their task, but the claim is entirely unsupported, and, along with it, all other suggestions of continuity. Like attempting to run science and evangelicalism still further forward—to, say, the twenty-first century White House—more research is required. Not the least of this book's virtues is its empowering of that imperative so that the peculiar nature and significance of Western blends of science

and Christian practice might be all the better understood.

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D. W. BEBBINGTON. *The Mind of Gladstone: Religion, Homer, and Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 331. \$95.00.

This study of the roots and evolution of William Ewart Gladstone's Liberalism pays only passing attention to his stance on the salient issues in British politics usually at the base of such studies. Rather, it examines his more theoretical statements about the nature of the state, the church, and the underlying community. Many of these statements have lain buried among the massive Gladstone papers in the British Library and on the shelves of his library at Hawarden: early essays undertaken for his personal guidance, annotations in his books, sermons preached as head of his household. D. W. Bebbington takes seriously what Gladstone took seriously, whether, as in the religious writings, they shed light on his whole outlook or whether, as in the writings on Homer, they merely reflect convictions derived from other sources.

Gladstone's thinking about the church and in particular about the Church of England evolved alongside and sometimes ahead of the evolution of his thinking about the state. The longest and the most revealing part of Bebbington's study focuses on the evolution of Gladstone's religious thought, to which most historians have usually paid no more than a respectful nod. No historians will be surprised at Bebbington's assertion that service as a minister under Sir Robert Peel rendered Gladstone's early Toryism "mild and malleable" (p. 32). Less familiar is the impact during Peel's first ministry that the writing of Alexis de Tocqueville had on Gladstone, fostering his "growing awareness of the role of the people" (p. 33). But Bebbington's analysis of the way in which Gladstone's thinking about the Church of England evolved and liberalized his political thought should move the thinking even of church historians forward, to say nothing of its implications for political history.

Moving with graceful command across the sometimes difficult terrain of Anglican thought, Bebbington delineates the successive stages in Gladstone's thinking with persuasive clarity: from the evangelicalism of his upbringing, through the high churchmanship that he imbibed at Oxford University, into Tractarianism in reaction to Oxford's persecution of the Tractarians, and on after mid-century into an idiosyncratic kind of incarnationalist broad churchmanship that placed him, toward the end of his life, among the rising generation of Anglican clergy around Charles Gore. Although always a man of conviction, at no stage in this evolution was Gladstone among the extremists. And what he gained at each stage was a growing appreciation of liberty. Although Gladstone was among the most devout

of churchmen and epitomized the Christian in politics, he learned to appreciate liberty in religious thought even before he grasped its widening implications in politics. And nothing roused his indignation more than the denial of this liberty, whether by Oxford in the 1840s or by ultramontane Rome in the 1860s and 1870s. Bebbington points out that "it was in antagonism to Roman Catholic claims that Gladstone recognized freedom as essential to human welfare. Here was an ideological shift towards a principled assertion of the importance of liberty, the germ of what was to flower in Gladstonian Liberalism" (pp. 120–121).

Two other beliefs that Gladstone imbibed from his religious faith helped to shape his later Liberalism. One was his insistence on the fundamental importance of community. Gladstone is much loved among Thatcherite Conservatives for his insistence on the minimal state and reliance on individual self-help. He is revered among liberals of all stripes for his insistence on free trade as "the supreme agency transferring powers from the state to the people" (p. 262). But Gladstone had also insisted in an early memorandum that "Community is the very essence of the Church of Christ" (quoted on p. 76). Bebbington argues that Gladstone's ecclesiastical thought, like his political thought, remained based on communitarian principles.

Those principles began at mid-century to blend with his deepening sense of the importance of the incarnation, when the Word was made flesh and God took on human form. Gladstone now "exalted the human side of Christ . . . the incarnate Christ had imparted a new grandeur to humanity. Henceforward Gladstone made the dignity of the human race a fixed point in his thinking . . . A compassionate concern for those in adversity became . . . a central dimension of Gladstone's worldview" (p. 141). This line of thinking helped to shape his response to the oppression of the Bulgarians in 1876; and, more remarkably, it induced him in his final years to endorse policies to protect the physical well-being of the population, policies commonly associated with the New Liberalism of the turn of the century as it moved away from the economizing, individualistic Liberalism of the 1850s and 1860s with which the Grand Old Man continued to be identified.

PETER T. MARSH

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MARK CURTHOYS. *Governments, Labour, and the Law in Mid-Victorian Britain: The Trade Union Legislation of the 1870s*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 284. \$99.00.

This book's central focus is the mid-Victorian "official mind," or at least its dominant liberal version: the mental frameworks particularly of government ministers, their expert civil servants, and, to a lesser extent, members of Royal Commissions and other inquiries. Mark Curthoys explores how they sought to adapt labor law and its underpinning economic theory to the growing

strength, organization, and developing bargaining activities (particularly strikes) of trade unionism, eventually giving unions freedoms unparalleled in Europe. He also examines the "ideas and pressures" causing them to do so.

Although the book climaxes with the labor legislation of the 1870s—the Trade Union and Criminal Law Amendment Acts of 1871, and the Employers and Workmen and the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Acts of 1875—this is set within an extended and carefully analyzed account of developing opinion and legislation in the decades after the repeal of the Anti-Combination Laws in 1824–1825. The tone is determinedly analytic and detached, but the book has two, perhaps three, unsensational heroes: Henry Thring and Godfrey Lushington, successive expert legal advisers at the Home Office, and, more surprisingly, Robert Lowe, Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer and Home Secretary 1873–1874. Having long been hostile to unions and having fiercely opposed working-class enfranchisement in 1866–1867, after 1873 Lowe actively sought to prevent those now politically included from becoming dangerously alienated by what they increasingly perceived as the one-sided interpretation of justice so far as their unions were concerned. It was Lowe who devised the "final" settlement that the Conservatives enacted in 1875. Thring, Lushington, and Lowe were the strongest influences inside government not just on labor law developments after 1867 but also on the changes in political-economic theory that underpinned and intellectually legitimized those developments.

Never in the half-century after 1825 were the beneficial effects of freely interacting market forces outwardly doubted. However, official perceptions of the legitimate free players in this market expanded. At the start and in many respects up to the 1867 Royal Commission on Trade Unions under Sir William Erle, official opinion mostly viewed the labor market as peopled entirely by free-wheeling individuals, pursuing their own economic interests and making independent bargains with employers acting with similar atomism. Attitudes to trades unions were at best ambiguous: no longer actually illegal but having no legal status, and either incapable of effectively improving their members' interests, or actually degrading them through improper attempts at "protection" from market competition. Unions could endanger their members' freedoms by coercing them into strikes. Union activities, particularly strikes, were therefore to be restricted by the criminal law of conspiracy, in theory if less so in actual practice. By 1875, conceptions of the still-benign free market had become less atomistic. Government ministers (even Conservative ones), expert officials, and other legal theorists were rapidly coming to see unions (like employers' organizations) as self-interested collectivities, capable of rationally pursuing and advancing their members' interests by means that could legitimately include strikes and peaceful picketing.

Unlike its interventions in fields such as public health and factory regulation, government actually withdrew

from the labor market, taking criminal and "judge-made" law with it, except (it was thought) in cases of violent intimidation of nonstrikers. After 1875, unions supposedly could no longer be prosecuted collectively for actions that were legal if taken by individuals. Put simply, this was a shift from individual to collective *laissez-faire*, something Curthoys and others have seen as a sort of half way house on the journey to collectivism. This formulation of the free market, as Eugenio Biagini has demonstrated, was heartily endorsed by trade unions because they could benefit from it (see *Liberty, Retrenchment and Reform: Popular Liberalism in the Age of Gladstone* [1992]).

The forces contributing to this theoretical and legislative shift were manifold: changing judicial interpretation of the law in face of cases brought against unions for criminal conspiracy and union reactions to that opinion; social science-based evidence about the real as distinct from the theoretical workings of the labor market, and the clear sense that individual workers could never be equal players with employers; the more general shift (although Curthoys does not make this explicit) from purely deductive to evidence-based argument, manifest elsewhere in the increasing reliance by Victorian policy makers on blue books. Beyond this lay what we have come to call democratization even though contemporaries did not, more particularly the 1867 franchise extension to residentially stable working-class male householders. Although Curthoys regards the contemporary union view of the 1875 settlement as a "workers' victory" as a myth and wants to emphasize the intellectual character of official mental change, it is clear that assumptions and fears about the likely intentions of working-class voters were important parts of the legislative calculus for politicians rapidly learning the craft of appeasing small groups. Since these politicians and officials were operating near the start of democratization, their calculations were not just about how workers might vote but also about the damage, even the destruction, they might bring to the political and economic systems if they became "dangerously" alienated by perceiving the law to be biased against them. Overall, Curthoys has produced a valuable and carefully nuanced contribution to labor history, to the history of labor law, and to our sense of the interactions between developing understandings of political economy and advancing democracy.

JOHN GARRARD

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ELEANOR GORDON and GWYNETH NAIR. *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. 294. \$45.00.

Based as it is on the detailed reconstruction of the families living in two class estates (comprising twelve streets), this book provides an engaging and very detailed picture of middle-class life in Glasgow in the second half of the nineteenth century. It stresses the economic and occupational diversity in a class in which the

amount left in wills varied staggeringly between the ship owner who left £371,000 and the clothier, doctor, or "wright and builder," each of whom left less than £1,400. Its detailed reconstitution of family life also produces a clear and unexpected picture of how middle-class families were made up, with a relatively small number of male headed nuclear family units (half of the households being considered in 1851 and just over a third in 1891). In place of this familial bourgeois family, one has a picture in which there are far more female headed households than one might have expected (around twelve percent in 1851 and twenty-one percent forty years later). Following the patterns established by Stephen Ruggles and Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair point to the prevalence of extended families in this period and stress that, while extended families may have been as common among the middle as the working classes, the actual constitution of extended families was clearly affected by class. Thus the extended network found in middle-class families consisted of siblings rather more often than of aged parents, and the siblings most often found in these extended families were unmarried sisters.

In their detailed picture of middle-class family life, Gordon and Nair pay a great deal of attention to the basis and the nature of marriage, stressing the ongoing popularity of marriage despite a vigorous debate about its value and problems. They pay particular attention to the ways in which economic interests and financial prudence combined with sentiment in many marriages, insisting that marriage was rarely forged solely on the basis of love, nor was it loveless and entirely mercenary. Premarital sex was experienced by far more of their sample than one might have expected, supporting their idea of mutual attraction as important even in prudent marriages. In some cases, there were spectacular marital failures; they devote a great deal of their chapter on marriage to the celebrated and notorious mismatch "between Madeleine Smith and Emile L'Angelier which resulted in the murder of Emile by his disenchanted wife."

The combination of broad demographic patterns and detailed case studies that is evident in the discussion of marriage is evident also in the treatment of women's economic and financial activities, their domestic tasks and responsibilities, and their broad social activities, incorporating both the role of hostess and family manager and a wider role incorporating social duties and pastimes. The lives and often the paid work of single middle-class women receive particular attention.

While the detailed picture of middle-class life, or at least that of this small sample, is lined with great clarity, some questions arise about the broader framework of the book and about the central argument that it makes. What is most valuable in this book is its empirical detail, which is combined with a very coherent sense of the middle class and a series of individual narratives that confirm, or occasionally disrupt, the dominant picture. But the detail is framed in a less than helpful way. The key argument that seems to underpin the book is di-

rected toward undermining the separate spheres thesis that we are told "has become the dominant historical paradigm for understanding the nineteenth century." This thesis has been the subject of critical discussion within Victorian historical writing for quite some time, and even those who still support it in some form have shown how very complicated and unstable were the respective "spheres" that men and women supposedly occupied. Some of the arguments advanced here to support the idea that women were closely involved in the public sphere seem questionable: a whole array of social activities undertaken outside the home, but within the broad framework of family life, are seen here as "public," while they could just as well be seen as demonstrating both the complexity and the importance of particular notions of "private." But the emphasis on rejecting the notion of "separate spheres," almost as if it has not already been done by others, is ultimately too limited a framework to hold together the wonderful empirical detail that is presented. It detracts from the depiction of middle-class life and gives the book a slightly carping quality that serves to minimize its very considerable merits.

BARBARA CAINE
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NADJA DURBACH. *Bodily Matters: The Anti-Vaccination Movement in England, 1853-1907*. (Radical Perspectives.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 276. \$22.95.

Once viewed as symptomatic of lay ignorance, irrationality, and civic irresponsibility, nineteenth-century anti-vaccination movements are now often seen as genuine expressions of a nonelite culture of the body, as righteous protest against unjust administration as well as general disenfranchisement, and as a remarkable political achievement of the powerless, with women playing a significant role. In this book, Nadja Durbach sympathetically surveys the medical and political culture of the long-lived and remarkably successful anti-vaccination campaign in England. There coercion came late (1853) and was less ruthlessly enforced than in most of Europe. It confronted a constitutional tradition emphasizing liberty of the subject as well as an entrenched philosophy of minimalist government. In part, the movement was based in such principled concerns, but for many of its partisans experience with the vaccination programs of a poor-law state medicine bureaucracy that seemed both insensitive and dangerously incompetent was more immediate. State vaccinators utilized an arm-to-arm approach and often paid little attention to the health of the infants involved. The arguments in the movement's many periodicals, not only the long-lived *Vaccination Inquirer* but also the wonderfully titled *Individualist* and the *Personal Rights Journal*, reflected a spectrum of concern: some were opposed to vaccination per se, some merely to compulsion, while some focused on incompetency and unfair enforcement (the poor were treated especially harshly). During its

heyday the movement dominated local government in towns such as Keighley and Leicester and was crucial in the 1898 Reading by-election. After 1907, when parliament allowed conscientiously objecting parents to opt out, the movement's incoherence was exposed as it divided over the adequacy of that victory. It did, however, influence subsequent public health policy, and, Durbach argues, it persists as a mode of public medical engagement—evident in the recent concern about MMR vaccination.

Drawing on periodicals and pamphlets, Durbach treats the movement mainly in terms of its rhetoric. The bulk of the book examines representations: of women and men as mothers and fathers, of health and disease, of the borders of the body and its vulnerabilities (including its species and racial integrity), of matter and spirit (and germ), of the nature of purity and the power of blood. At stake was the place of smallpox in the moral economy of the universe. Durbach sees these representations as a "medical cosmology" of "beliefs" and "popular understandings" (p. 4). Given the variety within the movement, "belief" overstates; one might better imagine a tool kit of horrific images, bits of righteous narrative and plausible inference, which writers (including opportunistic journalists and a group of defiantly unorthodox theorists who found a market niche for contrarian medicine) repeatedly reweave on the principle of "leave no trope unused." The flexibility of the concepts is remarkable; so, too, the ingenuity with which writers turned scientific authority (e.g. the new bacteriology) to their own ends.

It is as a study of the incorporation of biomedical concepts into political language that this book is richest (though much of that language was not specific to smallpox, to England, or to the period). The focus has costs, however, in contextualization. Durbach gives only passing attention to the actual administration of the vaccination programs, nor does she treat the pro-vaccinationist position or consider the movement in light of changing smallpox incidence. This makes it hard to judge how far the movement was part of a dialogue and how imminent the risk of not vaccinating was seen to be. She also steers clear of the statistical side of the debate on the grounds that Victorian practices could not sustain the conclusions partisans drew from them. That may be so, but epidemiology, however primitive, was a prominent medium of justification, and in the case of the eminent epidemiologist Charles Creighton, in conversion as well.

Attention to such matters is crucial if we are to avoid exoticizing the anti-vaccination movement, for it is not clear how far its marginalization was imposed or elected. While we are now better able to see vaccination programs as reflecting a stodgy state medical establishment, which acquiesced in quick and dirty vaccination on the grounds that its members were underpaid for the service, we must also recognize how far vaccination was a magnet for political and cultural martyrdom. Vaccination opponents, at least the more literary, were often on the front lines of other anti-establishment causes.

They were spiritualists, vegetarians, anti-vivisectionists, suffragists. What linked these causes and underwrote the mix of reform and paranoid antinomianism is not clear, but the possibility must be kept in mind that vaccination opposition was, at some level, a proxy for much else. What stands out in Durbach's texts are anger, alienation, and wholesale distrust of authority.

Fuller treatment of social composition and local organization is needed. An artisanal aristocracy was prominent in the movement, but its geographic unevenness suggests that it was more community than class based. While it is tempting to see the distribution of anti-vaccinationism as a map of bad practice or unusually odious poor law administration, those links to matters distant from welfare (e.g. Keighley was also a center of plebian spiritualism) suggest that this would be too simple. Fascinating as this book is, much more is needed to produce a socially grounded cultural history of anti-vaccinationism. In the meantime, Durbach's book is best read in conjunction with Peter Baldwin's long chapter on European vaccination programs (in *Contagion and the State in Europe, 1830–1930* [1999]).

CHRISTOPHER HAMLIN
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PETER BARHAM. *Forgotten Lunatics of the Great War*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 451. \$45.00.

The medical encounter with "shell shock" during and after World War I is commonly seen as marking an epoch in the history of psychiatry, providing a site for the articulation of a range of theories and practices that departed from Victorian psychiatric orthodoxy by privileging mind over body and therapy over containment. But as Peter Barham observes in the opening pages of this superb new study of the psychiatric fall-out of the war, this view is based on a distinctly one-sided choice of historical sources. Practically everything that has been written to date on the personal, medical, and administrative history of shell shock concentrates on the experiences of shell-shocked officers and on the institutions that treated them. Of the many ordinary soldiers who suffered mental and emotional damage from serving in the war, we have heard next to nothing. There is a deep irony here. It was widely supposed among medical authorities of the time that while shell-shocked officers typically gave voice to their distress through the symptoms of neurasthenia, common soldiers more often descended into a sullen psychotic silence. By focusing on the officer class while neglecting the experiences of ordinary Tommies, historians have tended unwittingly to reinforce that diagnosis. But as this book makes clear, to do so is to perpetuate a profound historical injustice.

Barham is the first person to look in any detail at how the British authorities treated the many common soldiers who suffered mental breakdowns during the course of the war. The great majority of these men found themselves discharged, sooner or later, into ci-

vilian asylums. Essentially poor law institutions, the asylums were founded on the assumption that the pauper lunatics who ended up there did so by dint of congenital mental or moral weakness and were therefore incapable of improvement; the best that could be done, for their own good and that of society, was to strip them of the rights normally accorded to citizens and lock them away indefinitely. Widespread public outrage that men who had enlisted in the service of their country should be subjected to the same pauperizing regime led, in the long run, only to minimal concessions. From 1916, mentally disturbed soldiers sent to the civil asylums were classified as "service patients" and granted special privileges that supposedly distinguished them from pauper lunatics. Such distinctions meant little in practice, however. Like the pauper lunatics they were housed with, service patients were generally treated as hopeless cases. Admission to the asylum was often a one-way journey, and many remained there until their deaths.

The Ministry of Pensions only reinforced this prejudicial treatment. Mentally disabled soldiers faced a grueling round of inspections and tribunals if they were to have any chance of satisfying the ministry that their debility was due to war service rather than their own innate weakness. Short-term recovery could result in permanent cancellation of a pension, leaving old soldiers once again with no recourse but to the poor law if their condition subsequently deteriorated. Service patients, unlike other disabled soldiers, found the cost of their maintenance deducted from their pensions. Following World War II, when service patients became entitled to new state benefits, government officials declined to inform them, deeming it "undesirable to send a leaflet to a pensioner in a mental hospital" (p. 303).

Given the discrimination they faced, it is striking how much resilience and determination many of the mental casualties of the war displayed in fighting for a modicum of justice. Against the backdrop of institutional history, Barham counterposes a rich skein of stories about the individuals who found themselves on the receiving end of the system. While many of those stories testify to the eventual success of the asylum and the pensions authorities in crushing any hope of independent life, others tell of men who succeeded—against the odds and usually with the assistance of family, friends, and other advocates—in reclaiming something of a life for themselves outside the asylum. Such stories give the lie to the image of the inarticulate and despondent war psychotic that the psychiatric services themselves have bequeathed us. Indeed, what becomes clear is just how much institutional effort went into suppressing the voices of those the authorities decided should be written out of society.

Arguably, Barham's greatest achievement is to have recovered so many of these voices and woven them back into a moving narrative of lives damaged, first by the demands of military service, then a second time by the machinations of a system whose overriding concern was to deny the damage that had been done in the first

place. Barham's book stands as a memorial to these forgotten men. It also serves as a reminder that historians have a duty to remember those that posterity might have preferred to forget. It is chastening to realize just how long we have neglected that duty in the case of Britain's forgotten lunatics.

STEVE STURDY
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MATTHEW GRIMLEY. *Citizenship, Community, and the Church of England: Liberal Anglican Theories of the State between the Wars*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 257. \$95.00.

In contrast to the considerable scholarly attention lavished on English religion in the Victorian era, the twentieth century has received comparatively little attention. This situation is beginning to change, however, and this pioneering monograph makes an important contribution to the process.

Matthew Grimley's focus is on William Temple, successively archbishop of York and of Canterbury, and two leading lay Anglican thinkers, the academics Ernest Barker and A. D. Lindsay. Other figures who receive significant attention include the philosopher Bernard Bosanquet, the political theorist Neville Figgis, the "gloomy dean" Ralph Inge, the statesman Stanley Baldwin (prime minister 1923, 1924–1929, 1935–1937), and the maverick bishop of Durham Hensley Henson. The first two substantive chapters provide an overview of liberal Anglican ideas of the state since the early Victorian period and then move on to explore the impact of idealist and pluralist philosophies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. There is useful material here, but at times the exposition is somewhat repetitive and rambling.

The subsequent chapters more than remedy the deficiencies of the early part of the book. Grimley offers an incisive analysis of three particular phases in inter-war church-state relations: the General Strike of 1926, the Prayer Book crisis of 1927–1928, and the evolution of national religion in the 1930s against the backdrop of unemployment, the abdication of Edward VIII, and the advance of Nazism in Germany. The final chapter discusses World War II and its aftermath, offering interesting reflections on the more recent past.

Grimley argues strongly for regarding the Church of England as playing a more central role in national life in this period than has hitherto been supposed. The book is especially interesting in placing Baldwin within a framework that portrays this dominant political figure as a committed Christian statesman, who was in some respects more effective in representing the church's interests than the bishops themselves. Grimley concedes that the interventions of church leaders in the General Strike were misjudged and ineffective, while the Prayer Book dispute, despite its parliamentary dimensions, was primarily perceived as an internal Anglican matter that did not engage the interest of the nation as a whole.

It did however demonstrate that there was now very little pressure for disestablishment, even from Nonconformists. The 1930s are important to the argument. It was in this decade, Grimley maintains, that the church's positive response to unemployment, its role in the diffuse but powerful ritual and sentiment surrounding the monarchy, and its significance as a cornerstone of "Christian civilization" in the face of resurgent neo-paganism on the continent enabled liberal Anglicanism to recover a central role in national life.

The book is a stimulating one, but at times Grimley's conclusions carry him rather further than his evidence will bear. His work is therefore better regarded as setting an agenda for further research in an understudied field than as presenting definitive answers. Two particular issues are worth highlighting. First, this is very much a "top down" view of the role of the Church of England, presented through the eyes of a few key leaders and thinkers. It needs to be set against other research—such as Jeffrey Cox's important monograph *The English Churches in a Secular Society: Lambeth 1870–1930* (1982)—on the church's role at the grass roots, in the parishes and in local politics and cultural and civic life. Second, in asserting the importance of the monarchy and civil religion for understanding the place of the church in this period Grimley makes a crucial and hitherto neglected point. That too, however, will need to be developed by more research, for example on the dynamics of state occasions such as the Silver Jubilee of 1935 and the coronation of 1937, and on the respective roles of church and monarchy in World War II.

There are some minor but irritating technical faults, for example in the citation of Henson's unpublished journals as if they were a printed source, and in a misattribution of authorship in p. 214, n. 43. The choice of dustjacket illustration is a strange (and unexplained) one, as it lacks any obvious relevance to the content of the book. Nevertheless, despite these defects, this is a thoroughly worthwhile study, which merits close attention from historians of British politics as well as those of religion. It also provides significant food for thought on the similarities and contrasts between the roles of religion in British and American public life.

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DENISE TURREL, *Le Blanc de France: La construction des signes identitaires pendant les guerres de religion (1562–1629)*. (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, number 396.) Geneva: Librairie Droz. 2005. Pp. 256.

Denise Turrel's book is yet another worthy study that underscores the sophistication of early modern symbolology. The author examines the shifting usage and meaning of the color white over the course of the French Wars of Religion. Specifically, Turrel is fascinated by the emergence of the white scarf as emblematic of the seventeenth-century French monarchy and nation. As she points out in her introduction, the white scarf was the well-recognized symbol of French military authority

on the battlefields of seventeenth-century Europe. However, its origins lay in Huguenot resistance to royal authority during the earliest days of the French civil wars. The thrust of this clear and well-researched study is to understand the transformation of the usage of the color white between 1562 and 1629, and in doing so the transformation of the French nation in the hands of its first Bourbon ruler, the erstwhile Protestant Henry of Navarre. Contemporary memoirs and histories written from a variety of political perspectives as well as visual representations (paintings, engravings, tapestries) of the key figures and events of the Wars of Religion provide the bulk of Turrel's source base.

Turrel divides her monograph into three parts. In part one, she looks closely at the usage of white on the part of the Huguenots throughout the Wars of Religion. On June 9, 1562, the army of the prince of Condé met the forces of the Guise family uniformly dressed in white tunics. The all-white façade of the Huguenot forces visually argued for the purity of the Calvinist faith and the political and spiritual unity of its French adherents. White had long been a symbol of purity in the Christian faith and had appeared in the form of crosses on the tunics of European crusaders in earlier centuries. The white garb worn by the entire Huguenot army was nevertheless a shocking reinvention of the traditional attire of French combatants. As Turrel points out, prior to this battle, French soldiers wore the livery of their noble leader over their armor. Six colors formed the base of the heraldic spectrum: white, yellow, red, green, blue, and black. Variety in color thus was one marker of medieval and early modern warfare. For Catholic noble leaders such as the duke of Guise, the homogenous look of the Huguenot army undermined the chivalric nature of the battle and along with it, noble status and authority. Huguenot forces looked nude, and thus, socially base.

Despite much Catholic mockery, the color white became a powerful symbol of the Protestant cause in subsequent years. By the 1570s, the white tunic gave way to the white scarf worn by Protestant nobles. Henry III himself even adopted the white scarf in 1589 after being rescued by Protestant forces. It was from this point on, Turrel argues, that we find the white scarf entering into royal iconography. Turrel suggests that it was precisely because of its emotional and psychological power over Huguenots and Catholics alike that the white scarf ultimately became such a successful symbol of the French nation. After all, as Turrel shows, many symbols came and went during the Wars of Religion without laying deep roots in the French imagination. Members of the Catholic League, for example, sported a variety of different emblems including the cross and different colored scarves (green, red, and black). For Turrel, the very variety of colors and emblems used by members of the League underscore the factionalized nature of the League alliance, and thus its inability to establish itself as a permanent political authority.

Turrel uses her sources imaginatively and effectively, although one could wish she had investigated more in-

tensively the complex web of religious meanings associated with the color white. As Turrel herself points out, French men and women of the sixteenth century were sophisticated readers of religious and political symbols. Huguenot adoption of a color associated with crusading must have raised the hackles of many a Catholic. Where Turrel makes a real contribution is to the study of early modern political ritual and, along with it, the construction of Bourbon absolutism. Her fascinating study dovetails nicely with recent scholarship on the reign of Henry of Navarre that underscores his political genius. Engravings and paintings from his reign show the white scarf emerging as the symbol of a loyalist French aristocracy, a changing conception that reflects Navarre's concern about consolidating royal authority after several decades of civil warfare. Navarre himself continued to wear the white scarf after his ascent to the French throne, reinventing this once wholly Protestant insignia as a proud symbol of a peaceful and united French nation. Under his skilful manipulation of images, the Huguenot and Catholic alike found something to support in their new monarch.

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KATHERINE CRAWFORD, *Perilous Performances: Gender and Regency in Early Modern France*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 145.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 297. \$49.95.

During the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, France was transformed from a medieval kingdom to a nation-state under the Valois and Bourbon dynasties. Clearly, the fact that both of these dynasties had to rely on female regents for significant periods played some role in how the French nation-state was created, but until Katherine Crawford's new book, the impact of regency on state development was largely overlooked. Crawford attempts to fill this gap by examining how the female regents from the mid-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries presented their claims to authority in gendered terms, as well as the ramifications of those terms when a male regent came to power in the eighteenth century, and during the revolution later in that century.

Crawford has structured her work around Judith Butler's argument that gender is performative and thus contends that female regents, starting with Catherine de Medici, deliberately chose to highlight specific aspects of normative female behavior to support their claims to serve as regent for their minor sons, using carefully crafted images to present their performances to the French people. Unlike earlier female regents, she argues, it was the play on the dual role of king's widow and king's mother that marked a significant shift in regency claims after 1560. Key to this is the assertion that these female regents crafted public performances of gender roles that had been carefully redefined to allow these women to exceed gender norms, the "perilous performances" of the title. Crawford argues that first Catherine, then later female regents, used the tropes of

the good mother and devoted widow to present themselves as the most qualified and least threatening choice to rule during their sons' minorities. This allowed the queen-mother to check the ambitions of those male relatives closest to the king, while the emphasis on maternal devotion to maintaining the son's patrimony offset fears of female rule. As a result, however, regency itself came to be seen in gendered terms, which "both enabled and circumscribed political innovation" (p. 4). Crawford's goal, however, is not to reevaluate the traditional political history of early modern France by plugging women into the narrative but "to examine why categories of definition render the operations of gender invisible" by scrutinizing how regents played on gender stereotypes to claim a political role otherwise denied to women (p. 5).

Crawford's view of regency as performative is intriguing, and her goal of elucidating the ways in which the many regencies in early modern France shaped the development of the nation-state is a welcome first step in connecting the growing work on gender to the political history of the period. Certainly the recognition that female regents understood the political ramifications of their actions and carefully designed a political rhetoric to support those actions, and that each regent built on the work of earlier ones, is a welcome approach. However, there is a curious slippage here between Crawford's analysis of the regents' decisions, particularly their use of the *lit de justice*, and the larger work of state formation. Basically, this is a book about the actions of four specific regents, and how the gendered construction of regency developed by Catherine de Medici, Marie de Medici, and Anne of Austria limited the options of Philippe d'Orleans when he became the first male regent in centuries. While Crawford considers the reactions of contemporaries to these regents' claims to authority and their political actions, she does so in terms of specific events rather than the wider political context, and there is little explicit discussion of the connections between regency and the mechanisms of change in state organization and administration until the book's conclusion.

Crawford's discussion of gender as performative is problematic at times, as she seems to accept the regents' "performances" as the only ones possible, which undermines the argument that they deliberately chose to portray themselves in specific ways. The repeated assertion that interpretations of the Salic Law barred women from any overt political role until Catherine's regency also makes Crawford's position weaker than it could have been had she considered the actions of other powerful women. Also, a clearer explanation of her methodology might have helped delineate how much of the women's performances were dictated by cultural norms and how much was deliberate. Small errors of dating and minor mistakes regarding other political players, such as calling Navarre Antoine de Bourbon's patrimony, might be confusing to nonspecialists.

Despite these small flaws, however, Crawford has written a significant book that should move both the

political and the gender history of early modern France in important new directions. She is right to assert that female regents were not just political actors who happened to be women, and that how these women perceived and presented themselves has to be taken into account in any examination of the rise of the French nation-state.

BARBARA STEPHENSON
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MITA CHOUDHURY. *Convents and Nuns in Eighteenth-Century French Politics and Culture*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 234. \$42.50.

Mita Choudhury's book examines textual images associated with women's religious orders and explains why they held such fascination for readers in the period 1730–1794. Choudhury draws on myriad sources—legal, political, and literary, many of them hitherto unknown—and supplements the well-known story about the dwindling fortunes of the male clergy with an account of their female counterparts. Her history holds some discoveries, especially as regards the disparity between stereotype and lived experience.

Chapter one describes how state power and religious authority organized convent life. A paradox emerges: a microcosm of French society, the convent operated on a corporate structure based on privilege, whereas church doctrine stipulated that “all nuns are equal before God” (pp. 20–21). The resulting conflicts inspired Denis Diderot's *La Religieuse* (written 1760, published 1796). Although Diderot's novel is best known for its themes of sadism, sapphism, and religious imprisonment, Choudhury illuminates its political critique of illegitimate government. She interprets Diderot's portrayal of complicity among the family, state, and church authorities who hold the heroine captive as an attack against the Old Regime itself.

Choudhury next addresses an example of civil disobedience in the convent. The papal bull *Unigenitus*, which condemned Jansenism, motivated numerous nuns to acts of resistance in the years 1730–1753. In an interesting twist on current theories of citizenship, which situate its origins in the French Revolution, Choudhury shows that the nuns' lawyers defended them as “citizens with rights,” rights that must be respected even by superiors (p. 69). Other insights into Old Regime legal discourse follow in chapter three, on trials involving mother superiors in the 1760s. The legal discourse gradually shifted focus, from corrupt individuals to evil institutions, with worrisome implications for the powers that be.

Chapter four debunks popular fears of the *vocation forcée*. Literature abounds in tales of girls suffering at the hands of despotic nuns and parents, yet such cases were exceedingly rare. Indeed, argues Choudhury, such imagery derives not from real-life experience but rather from the realm of imagination, where people harbored hopes for a new kind of family life. Chapter five summarizes the history of educational theory and childrear-

ing from 1740 to 1789, highlighting the ideal of “natural,” hands-on mothering. What a contrast from the chapter's second half, which surveys the imagery of despicable, lascivious *mères supérieures* that dominated pornography and libertinage.

For its engagement with the relationship between texts and political events, chapter six, on the period 1789–1794, exemplifies the book's goals. Choudhury shows how nuns initially defended their work in public speeches and pamphlets and benefited from the spirit of cooperation that marked the early phases of the revolution. But the situation went downhill in 1791. As Choudhury demonstrates, the April 1791 riots turned public opinion firmly against the religious and spawned the image of nuns as devious counterrevolutionaries. Religious women thus came to represent the very crimes they had earlier opposed, such as the forced choice between spirituality and civism.

This analysis of political speeches and religious polemic is fascinating. But for a book devoted to textuality, it has some weaknesses. While very strong in historiographical method, the author occasionally neglects crucial methodological principles of literary study (i.e. genre, historical context, reception, authorial agency). Certain lacunae are glaring. The spiritual autobiography genre was virtually dominated by women religious in the period 1640–1704 (see Nicholas Paige, *Being Interior: Autobiography and the Conditions of Modernity in Seventeenth-Century France* [2001]). Surely this tradition is significant to Choudhury's trajectory, yet it is missing from her book, as is the gothic. From 1760 to 1830, the gothic (or *roman noir*) was the anticlerical genre par excellence, and it did more damage to the image of religious orders than any other European cultural form.

Furthermore, although Choudhury quotes extensively from texts written by nuns, her narrative keeps us at arms length from their lived experience. These women's existence—the austerity and pomp, mental rigor, and physical suffering—is a subject of great interest. One wishes Choudhury's narrative had concentrated more on lived detail. Such attention may have allowed her to transcend the binary categories that box in her conclusions. Nevertheless, this book establishes Choudhury firmly in the rising generation of eighteenth-century scholars. Her skills of archival research and historical analysis allow for some intriguing insights into eighteenth-century political culture.

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HELEN HARDEN CHENUT. *The Fabric of Gender: Working-Class Culture in Third Republic France*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 436. \$60.00.

Writing the history of the working class has fallen out of favor, in part because of the post-1989 demise of European communism and the decline of labor movements throughout the West. Some historians have even

questioned the very concept of class, reducing it to a product of discourses rather than a reflection of the modes of production. Helen Harden Chenut returns our attention to the centrality of working-class experience to understanding broader issues of cultural, political, and economic history. Her meticulously researched study of the textile city of Troyes during the Third Republic (1870–1940) analyzes the practices of an ambitious class of manufacturers and of a vibrant working class of women and men in the knitted goods industry that dominated the region. Troyes produced a militant community of workers that partook in several series of prolonged strikes. Their militancy persisted in the interwar period despite divisions among socialists and trade unionists and the challenges of a depression economy that crippled the labor movement elsewhere. The purpose of this book is to examine the multiple sites of experience that produced working-class identity, and to analyze the component of gender within it.

Gender, indeed, shaped the knitting goods industry. Modernization occurred slowly, relatively late, and in a nonlinear fashion. Industrial expansion was amoeba-like, pulsating out to rural domestic production, then concentrating in urban, large-scale factories, and then again expanding further through domestic manufacture. Over the course of this period, the industry became increasingly feminized; by the 1930s, fifty-eight percent of its labor force was female. One of Chenut's most interesting findings is that the needs of female workers helped determine the mode of expansion in this industry. Although certain stages of production became mechanized, manufacturers retained traditional domestic outwork so that women could combine wage earning with household responsibilities. Women remained employed throughout their lives, alternating outwork with factory labor. Work was also strictly defined according to gender; skilled men tended mechanized knitting machines while women performed preparatory and finishing tasks, most of which were deemed unskilled and garnered low pay. Apart from domestic artisan workshops, men and women performed their respective tasks separately. High rates of female employment led to exceptionally low birth rates in the region, as well as exceptionally high death rates among young women textile workers, mostly from tuberculosis.

To investigate how worker identity formed, Chenut looks at the multiple sites of "gendered experience" within and outside the workplace, in leisure, associations, and in material culture. Consumption of mass-produced goods, made possible through consumer cooperatives, was a primary element of this culture. Instead of trying to emulate the bourgeoisie—as socialist contemporaries feared and some historians have suggested—workers developed a style of their own, particularly in the clothing they wore, as a marker that deliberately distinguished themselves from the bourgeoisie. Apart from traditional archival sources for labor and working-class history, Chenut's evidence comes from interviews with residents born between 1890 and

1911, photographs, and inventories of possessions after death that provide richly detailed examples of how workers constructed their own identity. Her argument that consumption played an important role in this process is compelling and vivid; less clear are the grounds on which men and women shared a working-class identity. Although relegated to different jobs in a segregated workplace, men and women, for example, appear comfortably integrated in the photos at the factory gates. And yet, despite women's participation in strikes and later, labor unions, their issues as workers failed to be addressed. Chenut argues convincingly that men failed to incorporate women in their political struggles because they lacked the vote and had no political clout. But this failure also suggests that "worker identity" remained male despite common participation in a counterculture.

Throughout this period, but especially during the depression, everyone recognized the need for women to work—and yet both manufacturers and male labor unionists continued to identify women's primary roles as wife and mother. They did so at a time when women's work, male unemployment, and low birth rates were subjects of intense public debate. Chenut concludes her book with the intriguing and important question: who "in this historical context was defining *woman*?" (p. 399), noting the competition between feminists and socialists (not to mention pronatalists) on that ground. How fruitful it would have been if she could have somehow extracted from interviewees subjective definitions about what it meant to be a woman, especially given that these particular women worked all their lives and had very few children. Were they divided within themselves about their work and "female" identities?

This nuanced and complex book shows in remarkable ways the manner in which gender infused worker identity, class conflict, and even class cooperation. Troyes represents a microcosm of the same sorts of issues being played out at the national level, which makes this study a rich and indispensable contribution to our understanding of Third Republic France and its legacies.

ELINOR ACCAMPO

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ALICE GARNER. *A Shifting Shore: Locals, Outsiders, and the Transformation of a French Fishing Town, 1823–2000*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. 286. \$34.95.

Alice Garner has written a theoretically informed case study of a dramatic landscape. Her meticulous research will interest scholars of environmental history, geography, and tourism studies. This book examines the Basen d'Arcachon, a bay thirty-seven miles from the city of Bordeaux. Subject to the Atlantic Ocean's tidal pull, the bay can range in area from fifteen to sixty square miles, leaving around its waters a constantly evolving environment. Garner's narrative emphasizes how fishermen and women, canal builders, and resort developers have struggled against each other and against nat-

ural forces that often defied human ambitions. Leaving the twentieth century to a brief epilogue, Garner concludes the heart of her story in the 1890s. By then, she argues, tourism developers had won the day, solidifying their hold on the bay's beaches and marginalizing the older fishing community.

For her theoretical framing, Garner emphasizes the contrast between representations of space (especially through maps, photographs, and travel narratives) and "lived space," a term used to refer to bodily experiences rooted in environment. Garner begins in the 1820s and 1830s, when engineers and canal builders hoped to "improve" the region's marshy salt pastures, which appeared to outsiders as desert-like wastelands. As Garner astutely observes, these condescending views shared much with European colonial ideology and overlooked how the salt pastures provided essential grazing lands and fertilizer for local farmers. Garner then details how lawyers and state officials gradually weakened the land usage claims of local shepherds and farmers and opened the door for bourgeois property development. Invoking the concept of lived space, Garner stresses that two-dimensional maps, read at desks in Bordeaux or Paris, failed to convey the experiences of shepherds and farmers on these lands. Cartography instead reinforced the colonizing fantasy of empty landscapes begging for progress. The false sense of mastery conveyed by maps also led to ambitious, but ultimately fruitless, plans to build a deeper channel connecting the bay to the ocean, which would have allowed the region to become a larger commercial port.

Garner turns to a new set of concerns with the 1840s, when development schemes shifted from commerce to resort construction. Medicine had much to do with the change. Convinced that maritime life made fishermen unusually robust, doctors began prescribing seaside cures for well-heeled patients. Aided by the creation of a rail line to Bordeaux in 1841, new health resorts mushroomed. Of course, not everyone had the money or patience to follow doctors' detailed regimens, and soon the beaches filled with recreational tourists boldly bathing without a doctor's supervision. The rise of tourism in turn brought challenges for the local fishing community. To make the beach a site for unobstructed recuperation and recreation, tourism promoters plotted to prohibit fishermen and women from using prime sandy locations to repair their boats and dry their nets. Yet, in what Garner describes as "the essential paradox" of Arcachon's tourism development, tourists, travel writers, and postcard collectors still wanted to gaze upon these workers and sailors (p. 113). An especially stimulating chapter on postcards shows how photographers and card collectors framed local fish and oyster workers through a nostalgic lens that erroneously depicted their activities as frozen in time while simultaneously representing the beaches as an uncontested site devoted to leisure rather than work.

In tracing this transition from medicinal to recreational beach cultures and in detailing the marginalization of a small-scale fishing community, Garner

shows that nineteenth-century Arcachon generally conforms to the models of British and French seaside development previously traced by historians such as Jean-Didier Urbain, Alain Corbin, and John K. Walton. In terms of historiographic contributions, Garner stresses the novelty of her attempts at depicting the agency of the fishing community. Given the absence of documents created by these mostly illiterate workers, this is an ambitious task. Although the book still largely presents the region as viewed by elites, Garner succeeds in reviving some of the economic pressures, emotions, and cultural rituals shared by the men and women who worked Arcachon's waters. Thanks to Garner's skillful reading of sources, events such as a deadly 1836 storm provide glimpses into a community struggling to maintain its independence and resolve. Avoiding oversimplification, Garner also notes that, while some fishermen and women fought to preserve the beach as a site for fishing work, others quickly took to selling oysters directly to bathers. Perhaps the only area of research deserving deeper attention is municipal politics, which could shed further light on why the fishing community proved unable to resist its increasing marginality in local affairs.

In sum, this book succeeds in its goal of crafting an engaging local history. Moreover, Garner's ability to connect local details to broader conceptions of lived space allows the book to transcend regional French history and address issues faced by coastal communities and resort towns across the world.

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TIMOTHY BAYCROFT. *Culture, Identity and Nationalism: French Flanders in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. (Royal Historical Society Studies in History New Series, number 39.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2004. Pp. x, 233. \$75.00.

In 1976, Eugen Weber published his path-breaking *Peasants Into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France*, which charted the integration of the far-flung rural regions into the French nation-state between 1870 and 1914. Since then, legions of historians, while admiring the dazzling breadth of Weber's scholarship, have taken issue with his general argument concerning both the "colonization" of rural France by the center and the process by which identities came to be formed at the periphery. Timothy Baycroft's study of Westhoek, or French Flanders, a region on France's border with Belgium, represents one of the most recent contributions to this ongoing debate, which ironically returns to Weber's original conclusions, even though Baycroft places his own work in the context of the now considerable historical literature on nation formation that has been published since that time.

How and to what extent did the predominantly Flemish-speaking populations of Westhoek become "French," and by what means did this process of acculturation or assimilation occur? How does one ac-

count for the weakness of Flemish regionalism in this borderland region? Baycroft attempts to provide answers to these questions through a carefully researched cultural, political, and social history of Westhoek from the early Third Republic to World War II and beyond. He explores the distinctive features of Westhoek society, which was devoutly Catholic, rural, and politically conservative. He examines the nature of national and regional politics; the attempts of the French state to integrate Flemish Westhoek into republican culture; the role of the Catholic Church in Flemish society; the labor movement; and the limited appeal of the Flemish regional movement, in contrast to its popularity with Flemish populations across the border in Belgium. He concludes, following in the footsteps of modernization theorists, that, pace Weber, roads, jobs, military service, newspapers, sports clubs, "culture contact," and communications contributed to the assimilation of this region into the nation state. The originality of his work is that he places the completion of this process in a much later period, following World War II. While Baycroft suggests that Flanders shared much in common with rural Lower Brittany, the process of nation formation was very different, especially in terms of the church failing to play an integrative role.

Baycroft's study is solidly based on research in the departmental archives of the Nord and the Education and Religious Affairs series of the National Archives, although one wonders why he did not examine police reports (series F7). He also has a firm grasp on the existing historical literature, though there are some serious lacunae, such as the innovative work of Stéphane Gerson, who has explored in a nuanced way the nature of local culture and memories in the very regions explored here. Baycroft presents "assimilation" and "acculturation" as givens, without explaining what he understands by them. Moreover, his conception of politics in which the political spectrum is divided into the binary categories of left and right, with only slight lip service paid to center, simplifies the complicated landscape of regional France, especially in a region where Christian Democracy was such an important force. Baycroft suggests that the Catholic Church had little impact on defending regional identities and that the presence of a socialist labor movement and industrialized urban areas worked against regionalist politics, but he does not fully explain why this is so. Perhaps clerical structures in Flemish Flanders were different from those in Brittany. Did the church not recruit from local populations, and was the clergy not as autonomous as it was, for example, in Finistère? Baycroft focuses on the *longue durée* in his study of Westhoek, but it is surprising that more attention is not given to the Second Empire's politics of anticlericalism, which might explain the relatively weak hold that the clergy had on the local population after a period of time—although the ceremonial and festive character of Flemish Catholicism might also account for it. The word "anticlerical" first appeared in administrative correspondence sent from the Nord (in French Flanders), in which the prefect talked of an "an-

ticlerical reaction" in 1852. This was also a region in which there were many highly publicized cases of conversions to Catholicism and "clerical abductions," which resulted in a turning of the tide against the church during the Second Empire, long before the Third Republic. Surely this would have contributed to hostility toward priests and religious orders and to the loosening of their hold on parishioners.

Baycroft points to an interesting conundrum. Regionalist sentiment was relatively weak in French Flanders, while it was far more significant in Belgium. Although this is not the central focus of Baycroft's study, it might have been worthwhile to expand his comparative horizon to interesting parallel cases in French and Spanish Catalan-speaking regions, or to other borderland regions of France. Finally, as Baycroft himself suggests, in 2005 the populations of Westhoek might find some very material reasons to reverse their allegiances and to reclaim their regional and local identities in terms of broader policies of the European Union.

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L. P. HARVEY. *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 448. \$40.00.

L. P. Harvey has studied the history and literature of Muslim communities in the Iberian Peninsula for more than half a century. His *Islamic Spain, 1250–1500* (1990) surveyed the history of Muslim communities in Islamic polities (such as Granada) as well as those living under Christian rule (called Mudéjares). Its last chapter chronicled the age, beginning with the conquest of Granada, in which Iberia's Muslims became "All Mudéjars Now." That period did not last long. In 1500, only eight years after the conquest of Granada, a rebellion in that city moved Christian authorities to initiate a series of more or less forced conversions, and a new religious class was born: the Moriscos (as they came to be known), converts to Christianity from Islam. By 1526, all the Muslims of Spain had been converted through a series of campaigns more military than evangelizing. Many, however, continued to consider themselves Muslim, and to practice their religion clandestinely as best they could. From 1526 until the expulsion of all the Moriscos in 1611–1614, Islam survived in Spain only as a crypto-religion. From Mudéjar, to Morisco, to exile: it is this history of Islam that L. P. Harvey synthesizes here.

The author's own more specialized research has focused on the literary culture of these communities, and it is on this subject that the book is at its strongest. Complex questions about the spoken and written languages of Muslim communities in Spain are treated with a clarity that will appeal to the general historian (though I doubt that they will grasp the meaning of linguistic distinctions like "emphatic/nonemphatic" as "instinctively" as he claims on p. 127), and a sophistication that will attract specialists from Arabists to socio-linguists.

The book also provides a useful survey of the literary genres of Spanish Islam, and describes the surviving evidence for each. It seems, for example, that Qur'ānic texts often circulated among Moriscos in highly abbreviated form, with only certain suras and verses included. Most genres and texts are given only summary descriptions, but two texts in particular are singled out for extensive treatments of their own. The first are the writings of the anonymous "young man from Arevalo," who produced a fascinating narrative of his travel throughout Morisco Spain as well as a number of anthologies of Islamic texts to aid his coreligionists in their devotions. The second are the "Lead Books of Sacromonte," a set of Arabic-inscribed disks discovered in Granada in the 1590s, purporting to be sacred Christian texts written under the Emperor Nero in the first century A.D. These texts, enthusiastically authenticated by the Granadan religious authorities, accord Arabs, Arabic, and the Prophet Muhammad an important place in Christian soteriology and were almost certainly forged by Moriscos hoping to redefine the relationship of Christianity and Islam.

Both collections have been the focus of the author's interest for many years, and the pages he devotes to them are in every sense a contribution to current research (though one misses reference to some of the more recent literature). Much of the rest of the book, on the other hand, delivers just what it promises: "a new synthesis for English-speaking readers." This synthesis consists largely of political history, and consequently political and literary voices sometimes seem to alternate in the book's pages without always taking heed of the other.

A less trivial dissonance in the book is produced by the tension between two of the author's commitments. On the one hand, he believes that the Moriscos were all "Muslims in their hearts" (e.g. p. 270) and he takes the "Islamicness" of their faith and practice more or less for granted. On the other hand, he is well aware that much of the political, institutional, and cultural infrastructure of Islam was not available to the Moriscos, and that moreover some of the Islamic texts that they did have access to were saturated by their Christian context (the "young man of Arevalo," for example, quotes extensively from Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*, but attributes the material to Muslim authors).

Harvey recognizes that the Moriscos were not "sealed off" from the surrounding Christian culture, and he sometimes coins terms such as "entryism" (instead of syncretism) to characterize their borrowings (p. 268). Yet he remains largely uninterested in how this cultural process might have contributed to the formation of what Clifford Geertz, Dale Eickelman, or Kathryn Miller might call Morisco "local Islams." Nor does he ask what the shape of these Morisco Islams owes to engagements with its Christian "others." Work on Conversos (converts from Judaism and their descendants) has struggled for generations to move beyond an "inquisitorial" or genealogical methodology that attempts to detect "Jewishness" in descendants of converts (a

methodology more or less advocated by Harvey on page 202), and toward questions about the interplay between Old Christian attitudes toward converts from Judaism and the development of convert "Jewish" identities. Work on Moriscos has begun to ask similar questions, but Harvey clearly prefers his Muslims doggedly undialectical. This strong allegiance to the simple "Muslimness" of his subjects may make his "new synthesis" a little old fashioned, but it is also what makes it so moving.

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I. S. RÉVAH. *Uriel da Costa et les Marranes de Porto: Cours au Collège de France, 1966-1972*. Edited by CARSTEN L. WILKE. Paris and Lisbon: Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian. 2004. Pp. 601.

The appearance of this book unlocks the door to the workshop of an exemplary scholar, whose work remains important three decades after his death. From the early 1960s until 1972, I. S. Révah explored the Portuguese archives with relentless dedication, searching for sources that might throw light on the career of the seventeenth-century "heretic" Gabriel (Uriel) da Costa both in his native Portugal and, later, in Hamburg and Amsterdam.

Da Costa has long drawn the attention of scholars because of his intellectual odyssey, which led him from Catholicism to (in succession) "marranism" (crypto-Judaism in Iberian lands), Jewish orthodoxy, Jewish heterodoxy, and, finally, deism. His unprecedented journey has intrigued scholars because of what it may reveal about the origins of early modern skepticism and, more broadly, "modernity." Prior to Révah's work, however, the sole source for interpreting this journey was Da Costa's own account of his life, written shortly before his suicide in 1640 and preserved in a possibly corrupted form by the late seventeenth-century Protestant theologian Philip van Limborch. In the absence of other evidence, scholars made use of this account to support a view of Da Costa's career that was largely Da Costa's own construction, and/or reflected their own preconceptions and ideological biases. The image of Da Costa that emerged was that of a lonely intellectual, indifferent to ancestral ties and consistent in his battle against intolerance (whether the intolerance of the Portuguese Inquisition or that of the enforcers of Jewish orthodoxy in Amsterdam).

Révah shows that Da Costa's career was less linear and less independent than his own account would have us believe. He was not engaged in a battle against intolerance; he was searching for a path to salvation. Like many other religious seekers of his time, he resolved theological doubts by embracing a new belief system (in his case, crypto-Judaism), only to have those doubts resurface with renewed force. What led him to "judaize" was not the pure exercise of reason combined with biblical study, as he would have us believe. At the time of his crisis of conscience around 1600, Révah demon-

strates, he had three maternal relatives living as Jews in Italy, and an uncle who was an active member of the Jewish community of Amsterdam. Moreover, Révah unearthed inquisitorial testimony given by family members after Da Costa left the peninsula, testimony revealing that among the judaizing ceremonies Da Costa taught family members (and presumably practiced on his own) were postbiblical rabbinic practices he could not have derived independently by reading the Bible. Such practices could thus not have come as a complete surprise to him, as he would have us believe, after he joined a Jewish community in Hamburg.

In the years since Révah carried out his pioneering research, scholars have greatly enriched our knowledge of Da Costa's northern European milieu, integrating him more realistically into his historical context. But for understanding Da Costa in the Portuguese milieu in which he was born and grew to maturity, Révah's work remains unique. Until now, this work has been available as a series of articles in which Révah laid out his conclusions. The present volume fleshes out those articles with Révah's painstakingly mined evidence, drawn from inquisitorial dossiers, parish records, and notarial deeds.

The volume owes much to its editor, Carsten Wilke. Révah's findings were set down in lecture notes composed between 1961 and 1972, with careful citations of archival sources. In his introduction, Wilke explains how he selected and arranged these notes to produce a book. (The book's value has been enhanced by Wilke's conversion of Révah's archival citations, now outmoded, to the current system of the Lisbon archives.) We are first offered an overview of the progress of Révah's thinking on Da Costa's career, then a presentation of Révah's concrete findings on Da Costa's Portuguese background—findings that have not been advanced significantly by subsequent scholarship. It should be added that the value of Révah's data extends beyond the issue of Da Costa's intellectual development. By tracing the social, economic, demographic, and religious vicissitudes of a single ramified Portuguese New Christian family over five to six generations, the book offers an unparalleled case study of crypto-Jewish life, with its continuities and discontinuities.

The book remains, however, a work for the specialist. Scholars in the field will appreciate Révah's detective skills and persuasiveness in building his case. His evidence will bring to mind wider patterns and raise important questions. However, the book itself does not address these issues. Few readers will have the patience to follow the lengthy reconstruction of Da Costa's genealogy, peppered with miscellaneous information gleaned from the records. The book's value for a wider audience will become evident only when its material is integrated into future scholarship on early modern Portugal and on paths of belief and skepticism in pre-Enlightenment Europe.

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BRUNO LÉAL. *La crosse et le bâton: Visites pastorales et recherche des pêcheurs publics dans le diocèse d'Algarve, 1630-1750*. (Publications du Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian.) Lisbon and Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian. 2004. Pp. 595.

A traditional French doctoral thesis from its obligatory geographical introduction to its seven appendixes, Bruno Léal's monograph illustrates the most common flaw of the genre: a stultifying overload of detail from a remote region, presented within conventional interpretive parameters, completely submerges a small amount of useful information.

At Portugal's southern tip—*no fim de Europa*, in an apt eighteenth-century description—the Algarve, now bustling with new and inexpensive beachfront resorts, was small, remote, and isolated during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The region formed a single, smallish diocese containing sixty-eight parishes, with no significant port cities along its lengthy coastline to balance its largely subsistence rural economy. By tirelessly mining its unindexed episcopal records and exploring documents from its most remote parishes, Léal has uncovered vast amounts of information concerning its numerous episcopal visitations, in an era when Portugal expected its bishops not only to inspect their turf frequently and carefully but also to discover and punish those who transgressed essential Tridentine norms. Ultimately, Léal found interrogations from almost five thousand witnesses who made accusations against about six thousand "notorious" public sinners between 1630 and 1750; in all, he has located evidence from 1,422 parish inspections among probably 1,800–2,000 conducted during this period.

But this mass of historical evidence yields a relatively low level of useful information, little of it surprising. The witnesses selected were overwhelmingly men (eighty-five percent; p. 264), while over half of the sinners they identified were women (fifty-two percent; p. 332). A poor region, the Algarve probably had a small slave population, despite its proximity to Africa; Africans (*gens de couleur* in Léal's sources) made only sixty-six of his 11,367 recorded accusations (p. 341) but comprised 452 (13.6%) of those denounced (p. 333). The diocesan clergy (whose participation Léal considers relatively discreet) recorded 770 accusations, mostly against laymen, while the laity made 1,063 accusations (9.3% of the total) against clerics (p. 340).

Illicit magic, a topic well-studied recently in Portugal by Francisco Bethencourt and J.-P. Paiva, similarly offers few surprises (pp. 471–486). A total of 114 people (two percent of the total), all but eight of them women, were denounced in thirty-eight of the parishes over 120 years. Most were *benzeideros*, healers employing "superstitious" practices, or "white" witches who found lost objects and performed love magic. In the most spectacular accusation, in 1631 a woman accidentally killed a man she was attempting to seduce by having him drink some of her menstrual blood (p. 486); it was

considered a case of involuntary manslaughter, rather than fatal attraction.

If the bishop's crozier was indeed visible throughout his diocese at relatively frequent intervals, his stick (the other half of Léal's title) resembles a twig. After five hundred pages, one finally learns (pp. 506–509) that this mass of denunciations ultimately provoked relatively mild punishments. Among 3,207 public sinners, most of them accused of sexual misconduct, only eight percent were fined at least 2,000 reis (approximately the price of a suckling pig), while about one-fourth received no punishment whatsoever and almost half were fined less than 1,000 reis. Only fifty-three public sinners were imprisoned, usually for less than a week, and forty-two were banished, usually to a neighboring parish for a year.

However, Léal's picture of mild ecclesiastical surveillance completely overlooks the Portuguese Inquisition. Throughout this period, agents of the Holy Office worked in the Algarve, which belonged to the Evora tribunal; and if they investigated and arrested only a tiny fraction of the sinners unearthed by episcopal visitations, they monopolized all truly serious matters, such as Judaizers, sodomites, or the most dangerous *bruxas*. Only half the story is told here.

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SUSANA TRUCHUELO GARCÍA. *Gipuzkoa y el poder real en la Alta Edad Moderna*. (Ikerlanak/Gipuzkoako Artxibo Orokorra=Estudios/Archivo General de Gipuzkoa, number 7.) Donostia-San Sebastián: Diputación Foral de Gipuzkoa. 2004. Pp. 714.

In 1696, the Castilian King Charles II authorized the printing of a compilation of the charters (*fueros*), privileges, customs, laws, and exemptions of the Province of Guipuzkoa (Guipúzcoa). For many people in the province, this collection established a "constitution" that defined who they were as citizens within the domains of the Crown of Castile and the global Hispanic monarchy. Guipuzkoa forms part of the Basque region of modern Spain. In the nineteenth century, when Spanish Liberals attempted to create a new country of "Spain" on the basis of a written constitution applied homogeneously throughout its territory, many in Guipuzkoa and other provinces constituted earlier on the basis of their charters and customs felt that their rights were being destroyed. The first of three nineteenth-century civil wars broke out. Although in a different context, the conflict over the special character of some of Spain's regions also contributed to the civil war of 1936–1939, which destroyed the Second Republic, and the drafters of the Spanish constitution of 1978 sought to craft a framework that would permit substantial regional autonomy for the Basque region and Catalunya. Beyond this familiar Spanish case, the theme of integrating regions of distinct heritage into larger countries retains its importance because the problem surfaces in the modern his-

stories of so many places around the world (for example, Indonesia and Sri Lanka).

In her excellent book, Susana Truchuelo García tells the missing part of this Spanish story. She exposes in fascinating detail how the content of the 1696 compilation was defined through a series of complex conflicts since about 1550 between various officials in Guipuzkoa and the Castilian royal government, which from 1561 was usually based in Madrid. She acknowledges the influence on her approach of Otto Brunner's work, in particular, *Land and Lordship: Structures of Governance in Medieval Austria* (1992 [German, 1939]; she uses the Italian edition of 1983). Truchuelo García follows Brunner in rejecting as anachronistic the application to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of the modern analytical concepts of "state" and "society," preferring to focus instead on the way a territory became defined through the emergence of a unitary government sustaining a common body of law.

Truchuelo García exposes the dynamic interactions between the crown and various provincial officials and bodies by concentrating on three well-chosen subjects: military recruitment and organization, fiscal demands, and commercial control. The almost continuous wars of the Hispanic monarchy in the period integrated these subjects, and in the fourth part of her book, Truchuelo García shows how provincial bodies, and particularly the Diputación, increasingly became the most effective ones in shaping Guipuzkoa's special status in the face of the crown's insatiable demands. The Diputación emerged when the assembly of municipal representatives delegated a group of its members to implement the body's decisions when it was no longer in session. Through continuous negotiation, often facilitated by natives of Guipuzkoa serving the crown in Madrid, the crown developed a discourse about providing grants to the province as rewards for "services," of men, money, and the control of smuggling, and provincial leaders shaped a discourse about the provision of these "services" as part of a pact or contractual arrangement in exchange for royal recognition and protection of Guipuzkoa's claimed customs, exemptions, laws, and privileges. More heat than light often characterized this negotiation process, especially during the first half of the reign of King Philip IV (1621–1665) when the government was lead by the royal favorite, the count-duke of Olivares (to 1643), but hostility did not produce major rebellions as occurred in some non-Castilian domains of the monarchy, such as Catalunya and Portugal.

As Tamar Herzog makes clear in *Defining Nations: Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America* (2003), an individual's identification with his or her municipality served as the foundation of citizenship in the American and European domains of the Crown of Castile. Therefore, it required a somewhat unusual degree of institutional integration of Guipuzkoa's more important towns for a common identity with the province to have developed. Truchuelo García tells the story of this difficult integration in her earlier work *La representación de las corporaciones lo-*

cales guipuzcoanas en el entramado político provincial (siglos XVI-XVII) (1997), but the book under review provides sufficient detail about the differences between inland and coastal towns and between the larger and smaller municipalities for the reader to grasp how the crown's demands on the territory brought together different local leadership groups within the context of provincial institutions.

This fine book is essential reading for anyone who deals with Spanish history during the first global age, and it should form a fundamental part of the critical bibliography on the establishment of coherent territorial identities within larger polities in an era before the rise of modern nationalism.

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HELEN NADER, editor. *Power and Gender in Renaissance Spain: Eight Women of the Mendoza Family, 1450–1650*. (Hispanisms.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2004. Pp. x, 208. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$21.95.

"I have been one of the worst offenders. More than twenty years ago, I published a book on the Mendoza family as leaders in the development of the Renaissance in Spain [*The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350–1550* (1979)]," but "assuming that all decisions were taken by men, I disregarded documents by or about women" (p. 18). With this disarming confession, Helen Nader introduces a well-orchestrated revisitation of her subject, the fruit of a collaborative program of research, dating back to the mid-1990s, examining the agency of the Mendoza women. If the Mendozas were not self-evidently the "most noble family" (p. 2) in Spain—the assertion is implicitly challenged by the contributor who suggests that this accolade belongs to the dukes of Medinaceli (p. 113)—they had certainly risen to wholly exceptional prominence through their loyalty to the Trastámara dynasty. While the relative lack of attention given to female members of the lineage is explained in part by the nature of the written record, as Ronald Surtz laments in a resourceful essay "In Search of Juana de Mendoza" (pp. 48–70), there is sometimes a veritable surfeit of material. (Stephanie Fink De Backer suggests that further scrutiny of the notarial archives in Toledo might shed more light on María Pacheco and her role in development of the *comunero* revolt; p. 79.) Medieval scholars of the Castilian nobility can only envy the availability of the autobiography, poems, and one hundred letters bequeathed by Luisa de Carvajal (subject of Anne Cruz's chapter, "Willing Desire," pp. 177–193). As Nader herself indicates, there is material enough to have allowed a thorough reconsideration of the researchers' initial premises as to the invulnerability of the patriarchal system and the absolute marginalization of women to (and within) the domestic sphere. All the Mendoza women, she affirms, received an excellent education; half engaged in political activity; two of the eight rejected both the altar and the veil to establish their own households.

All, she claims, made decisions "with the support and encouragement of the men in their families and the entire society" (p. 19).

The editor's introduction eschews any view of women's agency as proto-feminist or subversive, although rather little theoretical context is provided for the claim. One might object that this flattens out the implications of Helen Reed's compelling study of Ana de Mendoza, the princess of Éboli ("Mother Love in the Renaissance," pp. 152–176), the consequences of whose stubborn resistance to the ultimate figure in the Spanish patriarchal system, Philip II, "reached beyond the grave. Her partial success depended on highly developed abilities of limited powers that were, in part, gendered" (p. 169). Similarly, one notes Fink De Backer's perception of María Pacheco as heroic "Rebel With a Cause" (pp. 71–92). "A precursor and perhaps prototype of the golden age's *mujer varonil* (manly woman), María usurped the responsibilities of commander and avenger, thereby challenging male responsibilities for maintaining a gendered social order" (p. 83). Nader's response—that even this most radical of Mendoza women was leading a fundamentally conservative rebellion, seeking to restore the traditional privileges of the Castilian aristocracy—by no means deflates the possibility of gender subversion. Her own strikingly optimistic vision of female agency rests instead on a conviction that whatever prescriptive norms might be conveyed in misogynistic theatrical works or manuals of conduct written, Spanish women "lived in a dual system, one in which patriarchy coexisted with matriarchy. Women exercised uncontested agency, because matriarchy filled a need that could not be satisfied by a strict application of written law or by the precepts of patriarchy" (p. 3). This feminine agency derived in large part, she argues, from inheritance rights and property law, in particular from the system of partible inheritance that meant equitable inheritance for all legitimate children. Just as the wife's dowry comprised the majority of a married couple's capital assets, so wives assumed a crucial role in managing estates—especially, as Mary Elizabeth Perry has also argued in *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (1990), in the wake of male emigration to the Americas. This line of argument receives full support in Surtz's reconstruction of Juana de Mendoza's role as overseer of the private space of her household, and Fink De Backer's depiction of María Pacheco, already in her late teens "a highly capable young woman trusted to manage the enterprises of her new family" (p. 78). Equally, for Grace Coolidge ("Choosing Her Own Buttons," pp. 132–151), Magdalena de Bobadilla showed a precocious understanding of estate finances, suing her guardian for mismanagement as soon as she came of age. Many of the contributors to this volume also underline the intellectual sophistication and education of these aristocratic women. The paradigmatic case is María de Mendoza y de la Cerda, whose intense (if platonic) relationship with her professor of classical languages is documented by María del Carmen Vaquero Serrano ("Books in the

Sewing Basket," pp. 93–112). Her household was "a sort of gynaeceum," we are told (pp. 103, 105), echoing Surtz's description of the Isabelline court (p. 52).

"The debate continues" (p. 21) on whether what is true in terms of patriarchy for the Castilian aristocracy also holds for women of lower economic status. Class is in fact an integral factor in Cruz's analysis of Luisa de Carvajal, and several of the essays would surely have benefitted from deeper grounding in the recent historiography of the medieval and early modern Castilian nobility. Yet an overreliance on (male) prescriptive literature and the law, Nader argues, has entirely distorted the historical reality of female agency in elite circles. It is not clear that the evidence is invariably amenable to such optimism. If Surtz's presumption that Juana de Mendoza did not understand the language of the Mass (p. 56) undercuts the claim that Spanish noblewomen were uniformly proficient in Latin, the first paragraph of Cristian Berco's "Juana Pimentel, the Mendoza Family and the Crown" (pp. 27–47) seemingly presents a challenge in relation to female property rights. "Except for María Pacheco . . . restrictions of the amount of land women inherited truncated the political possibilities for the driven women of the family" (p. 27). Juana Pimentel played no apparent role in the accumulation of lands by her ill-fated husband Álvaro de Luna, becoming (extremely) assertive and entrepreneurial only as a widow. Even for highborn widows, María Pilar Manero Sorolla ("On the Margins of the Mendozas," pp. 113–131), patriarchal society "laid down the ground rules of conduct" (p. 116). Similar phrases recur frequently: Magdalena de Bobadilla, for instance, shaped her own life "within the boundaries of a patriarchal society" (p. 133). The notion of uncontested male consent to female self-assertion is problematic, facing particularly severe challenges in the case of Luisa de Carvajal, sadistically abused by her uncle in the name of penitence and discipline. Internalizing notions of imposing masculine authority in her own poetry, Luisa would, finally, help to enrich the "notoriously misogynist Jesuit hierarchy" (pp. 188–189). The debate will surely continue here, too. The contributors to this enlightening and highly readable volume are to be commended warmly for their work in catalyzing the discussion.

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DONALD J. HARRELD. *High Germans in the Low Countries: German Merchants and Commerce in Golden Age Antwerp*. (The Northern World, number 14.) Boston: Brill. 2004. Pp. x, 214. \$112.00.

It is a rubenesque world, judging from museum exhibits and the art market, in which the art of Peter Paul Rubens seems ubiquitous. And yet Rubens has become detached from his historical context, due to the pronounced neglect of the history of his native city, Antwerp, especially during its so-called Golden Age, ca. 1485–1585. Apart from the magisterial doctoral thesis

of Herman van der Wee published in 1963, very little scholarship has appeared about the city's history in any language. Only recently has a cadre of young historians on both sides of the Atlantic begun to renew the historical study of early modern Antwerp.

Donald J. Harreld belongs firmly to this modernist group, and he devotes this book to a straightforward question: what role did German trade in general, and that with interior Germany in particular, play in making sixteenth-century Antwerp Europe's great commercial entrepôt? That Germans played a significant role in Antwerp's rise and dominance has long been known; they formed one of the crucial trade groups, bringing metals, cheap textiles, and other products to Antwerp and exchanging them for products of the New World. But there has not been a monographic study of the community of German merchants in the city, with an analysis of the specifics of their trade, either in composition or geographical reach.

One reason for this lacuna is the considerable technical difficulty involved in writing such a history: Antwerp archives are fragmentary and scattered, and virtually nothing survives from the German merchant community itself. This forced Harreld to do research in a disparate array of sources and to rely heavily on tax registers that span only the years 1543–1545, supplemented by commercial contracts recorded with the municipal authorities. Despite the limitation imposed by the sources, a fairly clear picture emerges of a large and energetic merchant community at the heart of the Antwerp market.

The first of the book's two sections is devoted to commercial institutions, with general chapters on the economic history of Antwerp and its various foreign merchant communities, concluding with a chapter devoted to the German merchant and immigrant community. Part two shifts focus to the commercial networks, and the workings and geography of German trade. Like Bruges before it, Antwerp owed much of its commercial vitality to the presence of foreign merchants from all over Europe. However, Harreld argues that Antwerp did not simply continue Bruges's initiatives in an unbroken line; instead the city was more purely a point of convergence of trading routes stretching from the Americas, resulting in commodity exchange and transshipment into regions untouched by the Bruges market, especially upper Germany. Thus foreign trade and exchange—institutionalized in the Antwerp Bourse—defined the Antwerp market to a much greater degree than Bruges.

Given their importance, just who were these German merchants? It is difficult to say. Unlike other foreign merchant groups, only Hanseatic merchants (who were not all ethnic Germans) held a charter of privileges from the duke of Brabant. Germans from upper Germany, notably those from Augsburg and Nuremberg, did not, indicating perhaps an absence of communal identity. The apparent heterogeneity of the German community brings out one of the book's weaknesses, because although the declared subject is the Antwerp-

based merchants from upper Germany, Harreld also includes discussions of Cologne merchants, Hanse merchants, and others. These groups in fact had little in common, and Harreld admits that merchants from the inner German regions behaved more like Italian merchant communities.

Part two is the book's strongest, providing an analysis of the trading network controlled by the merchants of upper Germany as well as the products it exchanged and distributed. Harreld rightly points out the relative neglect by historians of land-based commercial networks. These became extremely important in mid-sixteenth-century Europe, and they were dominated by German merchants and German haulers equipped with the Hessian wagon, a technological advance of the first importance in the history of European transport. Along roads that linked Antwerp to Augsburg, Augsburg to Hamburg, and the strings of towns and cities in between, flowed the wealth of the Americas, English cloth, and, in return, the metals, cloth, and a miscellanea of other goods of the inland German economy. The bulk of the trade went to five cities: Augsburg, Nuremberg, Leipzig, Frankfurt, and Cologne, and the preponderant role in directing and financing this trade was played by the great south German family firms of Fugger, Walser, and Hochstetter.

Harreld casts considerable light on what has been a dark corner of the economic history of Antwerp. In so doing, he has underlined the need for a new monograph on the economic and social history of the city from its origins in the Bruges trading network of the late Middle Ages, through its "Golden Age" and into the age of Rubens and beyond. Only then will Rubens regain his context.

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NICHOLAS THOMPSON. *Eucharistic Sacrifice and Patristic Tradition in the Theology of Martin Bucer, 1534–1546*. (Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, number 119.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. xv, 315. \$147.00.

In the sixteenth century, religious polemicists divided the world between the one "true Church"—their own—and all others, between light and darkness. Then, as now, such a construction left no room for those who sought to build bridges, to find common ground. The polemical construction has proven stunningly durable: to this day, Western Christendom is more often divided between "Protestantism" and "Catholicism," than, say, between "fundamentalism" and "humanism"—a division that cuts across the older division.

Among sixteenth-century theologians, perhaps none has suffered more from the polemical construction of Christianity than Martin Bucer. As Nicholas Thompson points out in his introduction, Bucer "was accused, both then and subsequently, of masking genuine differences with vague and misleading formulae; of seeking unity at any cost; of letting personal relationships dull his theological acuity; of subordinating doctrinal concerns to

moral or political ones" (p. 6). Thompson's purpose "is simply to describe and analyze the way in which Bucer and his adversaries made use of a common Eucharistic tradition both in the religious colloquies and in their immediate aftermath" (p. 14).

In that sentence is captured both the explicit purpose of the book—to find "a common Eucharistic tradition"—and a contradiction at its heart. That contradiction is there to the end, when Thompson asserts that "the common ground that renders problematic any attempt to present 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' as self-contained and self-evidently contradictory categories" (p. 287). Even as he is seeking to establish common ground, Thompson continues to deploy a bipolar model of Western Christendom that divides sixteenth-century Central and Western European Christians between "Catholic" and "Protestant"—a model forged polemically in exactly the period he is covering.

The tension, between his intent and his analytic categories, is at play throughout the book. It is there in the close readings that Thompson offers around the theme of sacrifice in the Eucharist: the different understandings of what Jesus did at the last supper, what was done in the Mass; Bucer's particular understanding of the relationship between Jewish sacrifice and Christian worship. Even as he articulates the opposition between "Catholics" and "Protestants" in terms of an opposition between "Scripture" and "Tradition," he argues that "Protestants" drew on patristic texts, rejecting Irena Backus's characterization of that borrowing as "neutrealisation" and "appropriation" for what he calls "a sense of historical relativity" that both "Catholics" and "Protestants" shared (p. 279): liturgical formulae as well as doctrine were historically sensitive, if not fully contingent. Thompson's readings of a number of texts on the Eucharist enrich our understanding of those texts: their references, their sources, their intended readers, and certain dimensions of their contexts. He brings forward the voices of Georg Witzel and Johannes Gropper, "irenic Catholics" in his characterization.

The very chronological structuring of the book, which moves from "early debates" on the sacrifice of the Mass and Bucer's own writings from the 1520s, through "the era of Colloquies" (1539–1541) to Bucer's *Constans defensio* (1543) and *De vera et falsa caenae dominicae administratione* (1546) is itself in tension with that division that acquired its definition within sixteenth-century polemics and to this day some hold to be transient. At the same time, that chronological structuring enables Thompson to illumine shifts in Bucer's articulations of his understandings of "sacrifice," as well as of the nature and purpose of liturgy within the community of the faithful. Thompson, rightly, I think, emphasizes Bucer's commitment to the commandment to love one's neighbor as the key to much of his thinking on the question of the purpose and nature of worship, and he implies that that ethic helps to explain formulations and positions that have been characterized as "diplomatic" or "political"—also an important contribution to our understanding of Bucer.

Constructing the first half of the sixteenth century as divided between "Catholics" and "Protestants" is at odds with Thompson's careful illumination of individual theologians' deployment of scriptural and patristic authorities, his chronology of tentative hopes, and his depiction of contests for "ownership" (p. 225) of those authorities. It also leads Thompson to accept polemical caricatures, in particular of the canon, deployed in the battle for souls. The canon of the Mass is "prayers and gestures used in every celebration of the Mass," and also an "essential" "accidental," following Henry von Langenstein's distinctions (p. 17). It does not, according to Thompson, center on the very same words of institution that Martin Luther foregrounded, nor are the moments of transubstantiation anchored to those words.

This is a rich book in many ways. It adopts, however, categories and characterizations that then and now did and do violence, not only to the thinking of theologians whom we have come to call "Catholic" but also to those, such as Bucer, who continued to seek dialogue, as Thompson shows, in the midst of fragmentation and polarization.

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DAVID MAYES. *Communal Christianity: The Life and Loss of a Peasant Vision in Early Modern Germany*. (Studies in Central European History, number 35.) Boston: Brill. 2004. Pp. ix, 369. \$150.00.

David Mayes's book traces the religious and political history of rural communities (*Gemeinden*) in upper Hesse in the early modern period (ca. 1550–1730), integrating and modifying the communalism thesis of Peter Blickle and the confessionalization model advanced by Heinz Schilling and others. Based on his examination of the interactions of Hessian *Gemeinden* with higher authorities, Mayes depicts communities that assiduously cultivated a Christian identity and the structures to support it, from church buildings and cemeteries to diligent, learned, and pious pastors and teachers. These were rural communities that sought on their own initiative to extend moral discipline and were more likely to complain that a pastor was remiss in teaching the catechism than to be criticized by ecclesiastical visitors for their failure to learn it.

The religious interests of these communities were not, however, identical with those of the confessional state, although they might be coincident and were rarely (at least before 1648) in open conflict. Unlike the Hessian landgraves (or the urban community in Marburg), upper Hessian rural communities did not construe their religion in confessional terms. Rather than thinking of themselves as Lutherans or Calvinists, they regarded themselves simply as "Christian." Mayes regards the religion of the *Gemeinden*, dubbed "communal Christianity," as a distinct and viable alternative to

confessional religion throughout much of the early modern period.

A key illustration of Mayes's thesis is the different reaction of urban and rural communities to the introduction of Calvinism by Landgraf Moritz in 1605. Whereas the populace of Marburg, self-identified as Lutheran, withstood the religious change with open protest and passive resistance that continued until the restoration of Lutheranism in 1624, the surrounding rural communities accepted the transition without protest. In part, the rural *Gemeinden* were not interested in the issues of confessional theology; in part, Mayes argues, the Calvinist polity, with its greater emphasis on the role of the local congregation and its officials, was more congenial to the communal interests that they did hold and continued to hold regardless of the confessional changes of their rulers.

Communal Christianity, on Mayes's account, survived and thrived in these communities past 1624 and into the latter seventeenth century. The decisive change leading to its decline, however, took place in 1648, when the Peace of Westphalia gave legal recognition to the Reformed confession within the Holy Roman Empire and made possible, under certain circumstances, the formation of multiple religious communities in the same location. Upper Hesse passed into Calvinist rule again, but with the proviso that the Lutheran ecclesiastical system restored in 1624 be retained. Now Calvinist officials administered rural communities that had their own Lutheran pastors; gradually, the Calvinists, with the support of the landgrave, established small Reformed congregations alongside the Lutheran one. Hitherto, there had been a single political-religious community (*Gemeinde*), the only possibility allowed under the 1555 Peace of Augsburg. Now there were two congregations (*Gemeinden*) competing for support. Under these circumstances, the great majority of the rural population came to identify itself as Lutheran over against the Calvinist officials and the congregations formed around them. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Lutheran rural Hessian communities reacted to perceived Calvinist impositions much as the urban population of Marburg had a century before.

Mayes thus argues that the confessionalization of rural Hesse came much later than is usually supposed, not beginning until after the Thirty Years' War and not completed until the eighteenth century. Confessional conflict was sharpened in rural areas at a time when urban populations had adopted a more irenic tone.

Mayes's study is based on first-rate archival work, and he and his publisher are generous in supplying quotations from his sources in the notes. Some of these, however, raise questions about Mayes's thesis that rural communities were aconfessional. In 1624, for example, one community petitioned to keep its pastor because he had always taught the controversial articles "in accordance with the Augsburg Confession" and had maintained the old (Lutheran) Hessian church order, a far more confessional position than Mayes's translation suggests (p. 176). Was this simply a rhetorical appeal

calculated to please the new Lutheran rulers, or had this community in fact covertly maintained itself as Lutheran in doctrine and ceremonies through the Calvinist period, lacking the standing of urban communities to challenge Calvinism directly? Mayes's construct of "communal Christianity" may not be the only or the best explanation for the particular range of religious interests he discovers in his sources.

Nonetheless, whether or not it succeeds in penetrating deep enough to reveal a coherent alternative to confessional forms of early modern religion, Mayes's work illuminates the considerable capability and versatility of early modern German rural communities in navigating their way amid larger political and religious forces, and it contributes to a growing literature that attempts to take adequate account of rural as well as urban communities in describing early modern religion.

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GOVIND P. SREENIVASAN. *The Peasants of Ottobeuren, 1487–1726: A Rural Society in Early Modern Europe*. (Past and Present Publications.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 386. \$80.00.

The structural social history that took shape in the 1970s promised to reveal, finally, which structures and institutions in human societies really mattered. Though fashions and methods have moved on, Govind P. Sreenivasan's meticulous new study of a monastic territory in southwestern Bavaria reveals how exciting the best structural social history can still be. Through astonishingly detailed use of case histories, legal records, and economic data, he analyzes a far-reaching transformation of kinship and economics in Ottobeuren around 1600. Moving beyond the transformation from feudalism to capitalism, his conclusions contribute broadly to our understanding of kinship, family structures, local power, and demographic tenacity in the face of overpopulation and exogenous catastrophe.

After a choppy introductory chapter on the political and legal background, Sreenivasan hits his stride in chapter two, describing the "discrete society" that flourished up to the mid-sixteenth century. The Ottobeuren peasantry enjoyed relatively secure property rights and could divide their holdings among their children, even against the abbey's opposition. Household autonomy and local encapsulation characterized most interactions. The mental habits that separated rich peasants from poor, women from men, friends from enemies, and natives from foreigners also produced fragmented spaces of economic circulation. Despite their involvement in the larger region's economy, therefore, peasant households in Ottobeuren used little coin, conducting most transactions in kind.

Sreenivasan describes a fundamental reordering of this society in chapters three through five. The European agricultural and economic slowdown after 1550 provides a background, but Sreenivasan rejects the term "crisis," at least for Ottobeuren. Rather, abundant

data demonstrates that Ottobeuren peasants experienced no Malthusian bottleneck, nor did expropriations from the abbey immiserate them. Nevertheless, the region's population leveled off permanently after the 1560s. As Sreenivasan puts it: "It is hard to discern the traditional production crisis . . . but it is equally hard to avoid the conclusion that *some* kind of structural constraint had come into play" (p. 145). He follows up by focusing on poorer peasants, concluding that their engagement in "wider circuits of commerce" enabled their tenacious survival.

In chapter four, Sreenivasan reveals his new structural constraint. Not demography or agricultural technology but deep changes in residence and inheritance patterns transformed "the fundamental rules of the rural socioeconomic order" (p. 157). In the 1570s, the abbey began consolidating farms and forbidding the construction of new houses, thus blocking the formation of more households. Simultaneously, abbey officials and wealthy peasants—driven by perceived rather than actual overpopulation—abruptly ended the long-standing partibility of land. The decisive innovation was "inheritance by sale": peasant landholders henceforth sold their entire holdings to one child, who often took on substantial debt to pay the parents and the "yielding heirs." These changes stabilized landholding and the number of households, but at a price. Most importantly, it drew peasant households into credit markets. To service their debt obligations, farms had to produce cash income, thus breaking up the old "discrete society." Sreenivasan documents rising debts to Jewish and urban moneylenders, followed by a return to local credit as the rural countryside became capitalized.

Another result was "unprecedented strictness in kin relations" (p. 206). Sreenivasan characterizes in painful detail "the pervasion of family relations by an accounting mentality" (p. 256)—in sharp contrast to most theories of the peasant household. Yielding heirs became servants or left Ottobeuren, whereas buying heirs struggled with demanding retired parents in their households. Parents sought to control the marriages of their children, who themselves competed ruthlessly to gain one of the limited household niches through marriage or purchase. New tensions inspired a turn to detailed contracts that regulated household succession and kin relations even for poor households. Sreenivasan emphasizes that this fiscalization of the family was not accompanied by changes in agricultural production; rather, the new relations of production sustained stable output.

This new rural order faced an enormous challenge after 1630 when Upper Swabia experienced traumatic depopulation from the plague and the ravages of multiple armies. In chapter six, however, Sreenivasan demonstrates exhaustively that the new institutions survived unscathed. Perceived overpopulation may have triggered their creation, but depopulation did not mitigate their operation, because "the land was continuously able to recruit its own labor" (p. 314). Indeed, the "pervasion of peasant life by financial calculation" (p. 256)

only intensified as Ottobeuren households entered larger circuits of the commercial grain and textile trades.

Sreenivasan's monograph combines economic, social, and family history to provide a richly articulated analysis of the peasant household in Ottobeuren. He also ably incorporates newer historiographic concerns, considering the experience of women peasants under Ottobeuren's changing institutions and providing an illuminating discussion on the situation of the disabled. His concentration on a small, well-organized domain—a single lord and center for record-keeping—makes such intensive analysis possible. Sreenivasan frames his questions in larger comparative terms, but the substantive chapters focus tightly on Ottobeuren and the material life of the peasantry; politics and religion get only secondary attention, despite the German Peasants' War and the Counter Reformation. That his treatment of such themes is uneven, however, does not detract from this model study of structural transitions at the economic foundations of early modern European society.

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LYNDAL ROPER. *Witch Craze: Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 362. \$35.00.

Lyndal Roper's *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (1994) redirected the study of early modern sexuality and witchcraft. It brilliantly criticized dominant approaches to subjectivity, claiming that historians still reduced individuals to specimens of historical *mentalités* defined by intellectual history and politics. Gender, reduced to linguistic or ritual constructs, could only help write the history of discourse about the body. True historiography of the body required respecting its preconscious "givenness" (p. 17). Roper approached early modern corporeality through two then-controversial methods, Freudian and Kleinian psychoanalysis and the study of accused witches' confessions. Despite torture, these stereotypical narratives expressed individuals' "own condensations of shared cultural preoccupations" (p. 20).

Oedipus and the Devil examined witch persecution as one aspect of gender history. This new book fulfills Roper's implied promise to study German witchcraft ca. 1560–1760 through "a detailed compilation of social factors, and an exploration of the relation between judicial process and political power" (p. 26). It is written for both witchcraft scholars and non-specialists. Roper expands her trials database and research on individuals and localities to produce a fascinating study "deeply influenced by psychoanalytic ideas" yet constituting "a historical, not a psychoanalytic study" (p. x). As previously, Roper contends that core anxieties behind witch persecution "turned on motherhood, the bodies

of ageing women, and fertility" (p. 7). The book has four sections: "Persecution," "Fantasy," "Womanhood," and "The Witch." "Persecution" and "Fantasy" examine familiar themes such as interrogation and torture, cannibalism, and witches' sabbaths in largely conventional terms. "Womanhood" and "The Witch" develop Roper's own theses: reproduction and infantile fixation on the mother as core anxieties; menopausal women as stereotypical witches; shifting anxiety after 1650, from fertility and maternity to sexuality and childhood, paralleling the decline in persecution.

Scholars sometimes overstate even the most engaging theses. Was the witch craze "precisely about mothers" (p. 247), "the private core of the mother-child relationship, the primitive elements of hatred, cruelty, consuming love and abandonment that we find it hard to speak about otherwise" (p. 256)? Were "fears and obsessions which spring from childhood" really "always . . . the source of all witchcraft fantasies" (p. 221)? Such exaggerations, though parenthetical, signal a pervasive oversimplification. Of the interlocutors in trial transcripts—accused, accuser, interrogator—Roper is least curious about the motivations of interrogators. Formally she recognizes their intellectual sensitivities, theological investments, and confessional disagreements. In practice she assumes they shared the anxieties of "witches" and their accusers. "Demonological science," she says, "converted powerful hatred of the mother"—the Kleinian psychology of women defendants and accusers—"into mythic form" (p. 221). "The doctrinal elements . . . so important to the clerics collapsed into the fundamental structure of the witch fantasy as the women developed their stories in collaboration with their interrogators, and theology began to accord with psychological necessity" (116).

Roper turns the tables on traditional historiography, which extrapolated women's presumed motivations from men's expressed opinions, but she rarely interrogates interrogators' self-characterizations in sufficient depth. Nicolas Rémy, a loquacious treatise writer, claims one witch asserted the Devil could make her insensible to torture, yet confessed freely: if absolved, she must either deliver her children to the Devil or die a worse death than if convicted. Roper's Rémy memorialized motherly love because he possessed "a striking capacity for empathy, even with lowly village women," despite "deeply sadistic impulses against women." Although his sadism was "unconscious," empathy drove his "ardent concern to 'save' the witches' souls": a "sincerely held conscious belief about what he was doing" (p. 22). Yet Rémy's first chapter discusses Satan's threats against witches' children and spouses to argue something very different: "that it is no mere fable that witches meet and converse with demons in very person," that Satan "openly addresses them by word of mouth and appears in visible person to converse with them" (Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters, eds., *Witchcraft in Europe 400–1700: A Documentary History*, 2nd ed., pp. 322–323). As a social historian tracing women's subjectivity via psychoanalytic criticism,

Roper is not obliged to measure early modern intellectuals' anxieties about the reality of demons and the spirit world. But Rémy's rhetorically controlled self-presentation complicates recovering his victims' subjectivity. When persecutors record that witches praised their severity, did women really "recognize [their] own evil character," and "the role that envy and anger played . . . in [their] understanding of themselves" (p. 61)? Assuming it happened, was such "identification" sincere, a rhetorical negotiation, or Stockholm syndrome?

Understanding the negotiations behind "confessions" requires endless refinement, and, like Carlo Ginzburg, Roper teaches us to read such documents more perceptively. Her book illuminates two sides of the three-way conversation with great erudition and sensitivity.

WALTER STEPHENS
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ESTEBAN BUCH, *Beethoven's Ninth: A Political History*. Translated by RICHARD MILLER. Paperback edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. 327. \$17.00.

Extensively and positively reviewed in the broader press, French musicologist Esteban Buch's wide-ranging book about much more than Beethoven's Ninth Symphony is indeed worth reading, even though it reproduces previous research and repeats existing findings.

Buch divides his monograph into two sections. The shorter first part, "The Birth of Modern Political Music," begins in the 1730s and explores intentionally political music preceding Ludwig van Beethoven by well-known composers (Georg Friedrich Handel and Joseph Haydn) as well as those anonymous eighteenth-century evergreens *God Save the King* and the *Marseillaise*. This section nicely conveys the transition from those aristocratic forms of sonic accoutrement representative of the medieval order to the modern age for which the national anthem becomes the carrier of an entire people's dreams and aspirations. The section culminates in the early nineteenth century with Beethoven's "political music," meaning the always problematic Third Symphony ("Eroica") and its deleted dedication to Napoleon Bonaparte, as well as the so-called *Wellington Symphony*, a cantata titled *The Glorious Moment*, and the possible political implications of other programmatic and dramatic works like *Fidelio* and *Egmont*. Juxtaposing this elaborate prehistory with discussion of the Ninth Symphony in the section's last chapter creates the book's first problem: the assumption that the Ninth Symphony—especially its last movement's setting of Friedrich Schiller's *Ode to Joy* for four soloists and chorus which breaks with symphonic tradition—constitutes "political music" per se. True, Schiller's poem aspires to universal brotherhood, but Beethoven's intentions remain subject to debate notwithstanding the continuous and often hair-raising political appropriation of

the work. Although Buch is often skeptical, even caustic, in his presentation of these political appropriations—the focus of the book's second section—he does not sufficiently question his own categorization of the work as anything but political. It would have made for a more balanced study if, as an alternative path, he had also scanned the extensive and purely aesthetic debate about the symphony's significance.

Even discounting the first section's expansive breach of Buch's self-limiting title, the second section reveals the impossibility of his self-imposed constraint. Titled "Political Reception of the *Ode to Joy*," this section's first chapter on the "Romantic Cult" goes beyond both politics and the Ninth Symphony by discussing the nineteenth-century construction of music as a pseudo-religion and the deification of Beethoven, all under the rubric of music as a "universal language." More ideological than political, this discourse was nevertheless important in the history of the politicization of the Ninth Symphony as a work—the work—preaching universal brotherhood. The next section on the 1845 Ceremony in Bonn, when Beethoven's statue was unveiled, is again less about politics than it is an account of the degree to which the event was one of "European" significance, drawing sponsorship, support and participation from musicians and cultural figures well beyond the borders of German-speaking lands.

It is in fact this "European" dimension and significance of the Ninth Symphony to which Buch always returns and which turns out to be the book's secret teleology, in spirit not unlike Hagen Schulze's more blatant attempt to rewrite German history from the perspective of European integration. Here too, however, Buch does not fail to note the paradox that the current European anthem is a purely instrumental arrangement of the *Ode to Joy* by the ex-Nazi Herbert von Karajan.

Hardly concealing his own French perspective, "political history" in Buch's case consists mainly of the work's reception in Germany and France. The rest of the world comes in for only sporadic treatment: the U.S. and Soviet Union are mentioned in the "1927 Centenary" chapter for their respective spins on the composer—as opposed to the Ninth Symphony—as "democrat" and "revolutionary" (p. 183). In "From Apartheid's Anthem to the Dismantling of the Berlin Wall," Buch describes with a mixture of contempt and ridicule Rhodesia's selection in 1974 of the *Ode to Joy* as its short-lived national anthem, perhaps an even more outrageous political appropriation than that undertaken by the Nazis during the 1930s.

Buch is at his best when offering his abundant and well-researched textual evidence, presented in an attractive and readable manner. Perhaps because he is a musicologist, he does less than a philologist in going beyond and beneath the veneer of words which the Ninth Symphony, and more particularly its last movement, have generated. More could have been done.

While reading, I was often reminded of David Denin's conceptually similar *Beethoven in German Politics*,

1870–1989 (1996), which Buch frequently quotes, and whose conclusions he often duplicates. Unlike Buch, Dennis limits himself to one nation and a shorter time frame, but not to a single work, making Dennis's book ultimately truer to its announced goal and thus more satisfying for the reader.

NICHOLAS VAZSONYI
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THEODORE ZIOLKOWSKI. *Clio the Romantic Muse: Historicizing the Faculties in Germany*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 215. \$35.00.

The history of the Romantic era of German history has received increased attention recently from scholars such as John E. Toews, Peter Fritzsche, George S. Williamson, and Robert Richards, and this book is a distinguished addition to that body of work. Admittedly, there is little here that is innovative, either in content or methodology. Theodore Ziolkowski's central contention—that a paradigm shift occurred in the early nineteenth century that put history at the center of Romantic consciousness—will come as no surprise. Concentrating on the impact of history on the academic disciplines, Ziolkowski devotes a chapter to each of the four traditional faculties of the German university (using Berlin as his main example) and traces the shift by means of an intellectual biography of a representative figure for each one: G.W.F. Hegel for philosophy, Friedrich Schleiermacher for theology, Friedrich Karl von Savigny for law, and Friedrich Schelling for medicine. In the last case, Ziolkowski modifies his approach by showing how a number of disciples of Schelling's *Naturphilosophie* played prominent roles in the study of life science, which was then often pursued by professors in the medical faculty. While this collective biographical approach will doubtless strike some readers as old-fashioned, the book is nevertheless highly recommended because of the depth, lucidity, and verve with which Ziolkowski carries it off. He is scrupulous in providing the right amount of contextual background for each of his figures, and he is unsurpassed in his grasp of the personal relationships and intellectual exchanges between them and the other contemporary figures in the Romantic movement. Moreover, in working through his material, Ziolkowski arrives at a conclusion that is actually more subtle than his initial thesis: Romanticism represented not so much an introduction of a historical approach—for history in an encyclopedic sense had figured prominently in the eighteenth century as well—as a transformation thereof. Each of the four figures developed a holistic view of knowledge that encompassed both static and dynamic aspects, a synthesis that embraced “both history and system, diachrony and synchrony” (p. 173).

The book's shortcomings stem primarily from its organizational structure: the breakdown of knowledge by academic faculty is a bit misleading and imposes some artificial constraints. In fact, the institutional aspects of the Romantic shift, while forming an important back-

drop, are not really central to Ziolkowski's narrative, which concentrates rather on individuals and their ideas. A more accurate subtitle would have been “historicizing the disciplines.” More significantly, the device of finding a representative great figure for each division of knowledge does not always work. This is especially true for the philosophical faculty: despite Hegel's colossus-like stature, even he could not encapsulate the ferment that was taking place among the multitude of disciplines that came under that label. Philology, which was also concerned with the accurate rendering of original sources, comes immediately to mind, as does the study of history itself. Ziolkowski gets around this problem partly by treating history in his introductory chapter, using Barthold Georg Niebuhr as his representative figure. But the absence of a chapter on philology, crucial as it was to the overall development of the historical enterprise, constitutes the book's most serious defect. Ziolkowski deals with it only cursorily in the concluding chapter, along with examples from the historicization of numerous other fields such as art, music, and the study of literature.

The book ends with a brief meditation on the present day and the lessons that Romantic historicism might hold for it. I would further suggest that Ziolkowski's main conclusion unwittingly provides a deeper insight into the promises and problems of the historical discipline in contemporary academia. The fact that Romanticism synthesized history and system, the empirical and the teleological, created a loaded legacy that has made the term “historicism” a bone of contention recently, especially among scholars from the non-Western world. The combination of fidelity to the past and its sources with the enduring belief in an overarching developmental scheme, exemplified in case after case in this study, may well be at the root of that contention.

DAVID LINDENFELD
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ARNE PERRAS. *Carl Peters and German Imperialism 1856–1918: A Political Biography*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 286. \$130.00.

In 1940, Carl Peters, a fervent, some would say fanatical, advocate of German nationalism and colonialism who did much to establish a German colony in East Africa, became a film hero, when the Bavaria-Filmkunst GmbH produced its epic *Carl Peters: Ein deutsches Schicksal*, directed by Herbert Selpin. The character of Peters was played by the popular actor Hans Albers, while black prisoners of war had to play their African counterparts. Although this young academic historian and philosopher cum adventurer eventually received official backing for a colony in East Africa, his relationship with Otto von Bismarck and the German government remained a contentious one that eventually led to his disgrace and political exile in London. But the Nazis elevated Peters to new heights of glory, viewing him as a true German patriot who had fallen victim to the Jew-

ish conspiracy, and an early advocate of *Lebensraum*. Although Peters vanished from the political scene in 1896, his ideas continued to be influential in German nationalist ideology.

Arne Perras has written a new "political biography" of this fascinating figure that places his colonialist ideology firmly within a context of that German nationalism and a crude, racist, Social Darwinism. Early on Perras adopts a revisionist tone by arguing that historians have paid little attention to Peter's role as a leading colonial propagandist, dismissing him as a pathological case (he quotes Hans-Ulrich Wehler to the latter effect). Perras disputes Weyler's thesis that Bismarckian colonial policy was an instrument to reduce domestic tension, when in fact it did the opposite, and also rejects the "Crown Prince Thesis" associated with A. T. G. Riehl as an explanation for Bismarck's expansionist policy. German colonial expansion can best be explained by looking at its nationalist roots, and no matter how skeptical Bismarck might have been about colonies, the power of colonialism as part of a larger German nationalist ideology could not be ignored. In fact, Bismarck paved the way for Peters when he granted an imperial charter for East Africa. In the 1880s Peters emphasized pan-German ideas. Here Perras takes issue with Roger Chickering, who in *We Men Who Feel Most German: A Cultural Study of the Pan German League, 1886-1914* (1985) claims that many pan-Germans came from marginal groups within society that suffered from social disorientation and sought order and stability. Far from being marginalized, Peters spoke for the very center of German society, which embraced a revolutionary, dynamic vision of a pan-German future and rejected a national past that he portrayed as a "miserable, weak, and sentimentalist phase of cosmopolitanism" (p. 179).

Whatever his psychological predilections, and no matter how brutal his suppression of contentious Africans, many contemporaries saw Peters as a complicated individual. Peters believed that German identity had to be imperial, that to be German required one to be not just a colonizer but a strong, utterly ruthless colonizer. Missionary Alfred Steggall heard from one African "who was spoken to by Dr. Peters . . . in these words: God sent me to Kilimanjaro to exterminate the black man" (p. 200). His favorite question to his men while in East Africa was "Haven't you shot a negro yet?" (p. 118). For Peters, colonial expansion was not just a policy but a matter of life and death. His pan-Germanism became more and more shrill: "Away with Italian tooting and French blare! German tones for the German house" (p. 91). Always seeing things in terms of the Darwinian struggle for existence between nations, he railed against the anglicization of the world even as he admired the vigor of the British race. Yet the man who agitated for German world power would be destroyed by that very power over charges involving the Kilimanjaro expedition. Among other acts of brutality, Peters was accused of hanging an African man who had slipped into his tent and had sex with one of his concubines. A good deal was made of the argument that

Peters had hanged the African man, and possibly the woman as well, on the grounds of sexual jealousy. Arousing more concern among both pious Christian groups and civilizing Social Democrats like August Bebel was Peter's justification that he had married the woman according to Muslim law and therefore possessed complete power over her. Peters had, in short, committed the ultimate sin and gone native, violating the civilizing mission of colonization. He became anathema to the German political establishment. As Perras so acutely puts it, "Peters had to go not because his goals of Weltpolitik were seen as a great threat, but because he himself had become an obstacle to the pursuit of a world-political agenda" (p. 230).

Perras has written an interesting book that utilizes some new sources to reveal how German colonial expansion was not just "manipulated social imperialism" but also needs to be understood through its nationalist roots. Although he states that he has written a political biography, the author passes too lightly over the personal (and mental) history of his subject, whom the Nazis revered as a precursor to Adolf Hitler. As Nazism became more and more radical, aggressive, militant, and uncompromising, one cannot help but think that maybe Wehler and Chickering were on to something when they inquired into some of Peter's pathological traits.

RICHARD A. VOELTZ
Cameron University

ROBERT T. FOLEY. *German Strategy and the Path to Verdun: Erich von Falkenhayn and the Development of Attrition, 1870-1916*. (Cambridge Military Histories.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 301. \$70.00.

Erich von Falkenhayn, the leader of the second German High Command during World War I, was an enigmatic and controversial figure. After the war, the German official historians laid much of the blame for their army's defeat on him. In particular, they cited his failure to support an offensive that could have driven the Russians out of the war in 1915, as well as his ill-conceived plans for a German offensive in the west the next year. Markus Pöhlmann's exhaustive analysis of the German official history has laid bare the politics in which these charges were grounded, while Holger Aflerbach's superb biography of the general has demonstrated that most of the charges were baseless. Nevertheless, in the absence of most of Falkenhayn's personal papers, questions persist about the strategic and operational vision that guided him during these critical stages of the war.

Although it rests on the same archival sources as Aflerbach's biography and arrives at similar conclusions, Robert T. Foley's study offers the most far-reaching defense of Falkenhayn to date. Foley situates the general's command decisions within a tradition of German military thinking that took shape in the late nineteenth century in opposition to the army's fixation on strategic

maneuver, battles of annihilation, and short, decisive wars. The skeptics, who included the elder Helmuth von Moltke, Colmar von der Goltz, and the military historian Hans Delbrück, questioned the feasibility of this so-called *Vernichtungsstrategie* (strategy of annihilation) in an era of “people’s wars”—vast, protracted contests among fully mobilized nation-states. The strategies appropriate for such wars should draw instead, they believed, from what Foley calls “a new paradigm of warfare” (p. 5). Their vision was oriented toward attrition, long battles, and the systematic exhaustion of enemy forces. Once Alfred von Schlieffen and his disciples took charge of the General Staff, however, the proponents of this alternative *Ermattungsstrategie* (strategy of attrition) were marginalized. In Foley’s view they still included Falkenhayn, whose career trajectory and personal qualities had already made him something of an outsider.

The principal part of Foley’s book is devoted to the translation of these views into action during Falkenhayn’s tenure as leader of the German armies in 1915 and 1916. Foley argues that, far from being the weak-willed commander that his critics portrayed, Falkenhayn worked with a coherent vision; he “developed and articulated” a “clear alternative strategic and operational approach to warfare” (p. 13). He recognized early the impossibility of destroying the Entente armies, so he pursued a strategy calculated to bring about a separate, negotiated peace with one of Germany’s antagonists: Russia in 1915, France in 1916. He failed, however, to communicate his ideas effectively to his subcommanders, who had trained to fight decisive battles and neither supported nor understood his thinking. Falkenhayn’s decision to limit the scope of the German offensive in Poland earned him the contempt of the eastern commanders, Paul von Hindenburg and Erich Ludendorff, who pled that the annihilation of the Russian army was in fact possible in 1915. The commanders of the German armies in the west likewise failed to grasp the intricacies of Falkenhayn’s plan for the 1916 campaign, which eschewed the quest for decisive victory and sought instead to provoke the French and British armies into fruitless counterattacks against strong German positions.

Foley supports these conclusions with a close reading of the recently rediscovered *Forschungsarbeiten*, the narrative drafts and appended documents on which the historians of the Reichsarchiv based their official history of the Great War. Although he has little to say about the sources of Falkenhayn’s thinking before the war, Foley makes a compelling case for the coherence and design of his subject’s operational decisions once the war began. He argues further that Falkenhayn’s thinking synthesized “strategy, battle design, and tactics” (p. 207). The workability or, for that matter, the practical significance of this synthesis is not, however, altogether clear. For one thing, Falkenhayn’s decisions were based ultimately on the possibility of a negotiated peace, a political assumption that he did not share with the country’s political leadership and that was, as Foley

writes, “completely unrealistic” (p. 268). For another, the German commanders and their staffs in the west might be forgiven their inability to appreciate the subtleties of Falkenhayn’s plans in 1916. These envisaged German seizure of the forts on the eastern bank of the Meuse above Verdun but not the fortress itself; and because of Falkenhayn’s animus against “mass attacks” (p. 195), they also foreswore an early assault on the west-bank fortresses, for which the area commanders were pleading on sound tactical grounds. In the end, it is not easy to discern the subtle differences between Falkenhayn’s grand vision of this war’s outcome and that of his German rivals. Under Falkenhayn’s leadership, Foley concludes, Germany “attempted to end the war not with a peace dictated by Germany, but rather through a negotiated peace, albeit on terms favorable to Germany” (p. 264). The German leadership could defend the peace of Brest-Litovsk on just these terms.

ROGER CHICKERING
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PAMELA E. SWETT. *Neighbors and Enemies: The Culture of Radicalism in Berlin, 1929–1933*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 336. \$75.00.

The collapse of the Weimar Republic, as is well known, took place on two levels. As Karl Dietrich Bracher suggested over forty years ago, the increasing social tensions generated by the Depression pulled power away from legislative assemblies and elected governments upward, toward the army and the circle around President Paul von Hindenburg, where government was carried out by decree, and downward, onto the streets, where violence grew increasingly destructive and extreme in the early 1930s.

Pamela E. Swett’s detailed and well-researched book claims to be the first to investigate the role of violence on the streets, but there have in fact been many others; its real claim to innovation lies in its cultural approach. Swett argues that cultural norms and power structures in Berlin’s neighborhoods disintegrated under the corrosive impact of mass unemployment. Neighborhoods became more independent, more resentful of national power politics, more violent, and more radical. Young men adopted an undifferentiated culture of brutal street fighting. All this proved counterproductive; attempts to generate a local sense of power ended by destroying it as middle-class Berliners grasped for the only way they could imagine of restoring order—a Nazi dictatorship.

Swett has much of absorbing interest to say about her chosen neighborhood, the working-class *Kiez* (district) around the Nostizstrasse in Kreuzberg. Her depiction of the neighborhood is a vivid masterpiece of local history and demonstrates her intimate and in many ways affectionate knowledge of the district. The following section of the book puts the neighborhood equally effectively in the wider context of Berlin and its politics. Particularly illuminating is her focus on gender conflicts and tensions between generations, discussed exten-

sively in the third chapter of the book. Swett shows how unemployment undermined masculine identities and propelled young men toward all-male institutions like the pub as well as toward assertions of their masculinity through acts of individual and collective violence and aggression. The bloody riots of May 1929, described in graphic detail, were one result of this process.

At this point, however, the book begins to get into difficulties. In order to sustain her argument, Swett has to present the working-class neighborhood as a site of undifferentiated violence and extremism. Thus she claims that Nazi and Communist identities were fluid (p. 211), and there was massive switching of allegiance between the two (p. 297). Yet electoral studies have shown that very few voters changed their allegiance from one of these parties to the other, and the evidence Swett presents for brownshirt and "red front-fighter" paramilitaries coming from the same background, and knowing each other intimately from daily contact in the neighborhood, is thin: a cartoon, a few pub discussions between the two sides, a couple of examples of Communists expelled from the party because of close contacts with the Nazi enemy, some speculation about where the many men who left the Communist Party might have taken their allegiance. In the end, it does not amount to much. Even on Swett's own evidence, most men left the Communist and Nazi parties because they could not afford to pay the dues, and so did not transfer their political loyalties anywhere else.

Like other historians who want to present Communism and Nazism as two sides of the same coin, Swett makes play with the two parties' cooperation in the Berlin transport workers' strike of 1932, but this was a wholly exceptional event that—contrary to Swett's argument—deeply damaged the Nazis by frightening away middle-class voters, who deserted the party in droves in the subsequent elections. Swett claims (p. 188) that many workers were won over to the Nazis by the party's antisemitic propaganda, but all that we know about the party's electoral strategy confirms that antisemitism played a very small part in its appeal to voters at this time, and was generally underplayed by party speakers as a consequence. On a national level, too, workers were seriously underrepresented among Nazi Party members, and the party only made inroads into the proletariat where labor movement culture was weak, as it was not in Berlin. The working class in any case was strongly resistant to antisemitic propaganda.

What is lacking here, as in so much recent cultural history, is a serious social analysis of the parties involved. The Nostizstrasse *Kiez* was a stronghold of the Communist Party, yet there is no serious attempt to investigate the social bases of the party's support or find out who its Nazi opponents were. A social analysis along the lines of Anthony McElligott's *Contested City: Municipal Politics and the Rise of Nazism in Altona, 1917–1937* (1998) would no doubt have found different sources for the extreme violence visited by young Nazi and Communist thugs on each other than a high level of injured masculinity that was undistinguishable be-

tween the two. Swett's central thesis fails to convince.

RICHARD J. EVANS

University of Cambridge

RICHARD STEIGMANN-GALL. *The Holy Reich: Nazi Conceptions of Christianity, 1919–1945*. Paperback edition. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 294.

Richard Steigmann-Gall has challenged traditional notions regarding National Socialist leaders and the influence of Christianity in the Nazi movement. His title is aptly named for the questions he considers: did the leadership believe they were working to create a "holy" Reich, and what exactly were their conceptions of Christianity? More specifically, how did the Nazi party leaders situate their world view with regard to the "positive Christian" outlook, and how did their religious positions possibly influence Nazi policy?

Looking at Point 24 of the NSDAP platform, Steigmann-Gall argues that the Nazis were indeed thinking of themselves as part of a Christian community. Specifically, he lays out the three main components of Point 24: "the spiritual struggle against the Jews, the promulgation of a social ethic, and a new syncretism that would bridge Germany's confessional divide" (p. 14). Throughout the work, the author consistently argues that Point 24 was an attempt on the part of Nazi leaders to portray themselves as the "active Christians" of the new Germany. This interpretation stands in stark contrast to most accepted analyses of Point 24, which has generally been seen as a cynical ploy on the part of the Nazis to ingratiate themselves with practicing German Christians. To Steigmann-Gall, the critical element in Point 24 was the "positive" part of Christianity. In that sense, positive Christianity was left open to many fluid interpretations, and Steigmann-Gall sets out to examine just how Nazi members defined their religious beliefs, free from traditional Christian dogma yet incorporating significant Christian concepts.

One way to evaluate the impact of Nazi leaders' positive Christianity would be to examine their attitudes toward the existing churches in Germany. In chapter two, Steigmann-Gall analyzes how many Nazis thought in nonconfessional terms. They tended to stress being German first, Catholic or Protestant second. What Steigmann-Gall argues is that the positive Christians of the party cared little for doctrinal differences and cared more about finding commonalities to bridge over the sectarian divide present in German society. However, Martin Luther, father of the Protestant Reformation, tended to remain for most Germans the lightning rod of the confessional divide and a figure that the Nazis found hard to sell to the Catholic population. Through the establishment of nonconfessional schools and various social organizations, Steigmann-Gall concludes that the real proclivity among Nazi leaders was to favor Protestantism as somehow "more true" to being German. This meant that even nominal German Catholics were at a disadvantage in the Nazi world view.

Steigmann-Gall acknowledges that there were, indeed, Nazis in positions of power who saw no linkages between Christianity and Nazism. These would be the men designated as “pagans,” most of who were looking for a return to a Nordic mystic past. Examining key figures such as Erich Ludendorff, Alfred Rosenberg, and Richard Walther Darré, Steigmann-Gall concludes that despite these men’s rejection of most basic Christian tenets of faith, they primarily rejected Roman Catholicism and were virulently anticlerical. Those pagans who remained in powerful positions within the Nazi Party structure were valued, the author argues, for their administrative skills, not for their religious world view. Thus, the pagan faction was never able to attain a position of true influence over religious questions of the day.

Most Nazis calling themselves positive Christians tended to believe that they were taking the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth and putting them into action. They highlighted Nazi social programs such as Winter Relief in order to deride clergymen and institutional bureaucracy. Again, what emerges in Steigmann-Gall’s interpretation is the contempt with which most Nazi positive Christians viewed the Catholic Church. Laying claim to the “true message of Christianity,” they tried to portray a corrupted, infected church structure unable to free itself of “Jewish influences.” Building on the theme of the corruption of the Catholic Church, the author examines Adolf Hitler’s attempt to bring about a unified Protestant National Church. In the end, the efforts were unsuccessful. Steigmann-Gall is convinced that Nazi aims were truly an attempt to create a Germanic, national church and that Hitler only washed his hands of this affair once he encountered some institutional resistance to the “coordination” of the Protestant churches. As the Nazi program and most Protestant organizations were fighting over the same “social turf,” dual allegiance to church and state could no longer be tolerated. This led to a reorientation in Nazi thinking (p. 218).

After 1937, there was a marked increase in the anti-Christian segment of the Nazi leadership. Individual churchmen who had been active in the Nazi Party were now told that they had to choose where their loyalties would lie: with the church or the state? Yet Steigmann-Gall demonstrates that, despite the rise in antagonism with institutional Christianity, the decrease in party memberships in official churches, and the outright persecution of clergymen under the direction of Martin Bormann, positive Christians still continued to refer to Point 24, arguing that certain tenets of Christianity had the right to exist in Germany. Steigmann-Gall’s ideas are original and controversial; he has taken on an entire body of scholarship, and he must be credited with challenging historians to take religious beliefs seriously no matter how uncomfortable that may make us.

BETH A. GRIECH-POLELLE
Bowling Green State University

MARK EDWARD RUFF. *The Wayward Flock: Catholic Youth in Postwar West Germany, 1945–1965*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 284. \$49.95.

The publication of this book is particularly timely, as it occurred within weeks of the election of Pope Benedict XVI, a member of the very cohort identified as “wayward” by Mark Edward Ruff. In this revision of his dissertation, however, Ruff does not so much question the attitudes or actions of individual youth but rather focuses on the apparent paradox that Catholic youth organizations suffered a major decline “at the very point at which the Catholic lay leadership achieved substantial and enduring political success” (p. 2). Ruff explains both internal and external challenges to the Catholic Church’s youth ministry programs in the early postwar years and argues that although the church had traditionally been able to accommodate changes in secular society, declining membership in Catholic youth organizations in the 1950s was due primarily to the church’s inability to compete with the offerings of an increasingly individualized consumer culture.

Historiographically, Ruff’s book contributes to the gradual bridging of a traditional divide between ecclesiastical and secular history. Historical work on German youth has tended to focus on secular organizations such as the turn-of-the-century *Wandervögel*, the Hitler Youth, and the postwar Free German Youth or Red Falcons. Scholars of German Catholicism, meanwhile, have struggled to overcome longstanding criticism that their work lacked methodological rigor and underestimated interactions between religious and secular milieus. In contrast, Ruff’s well-documented work demonstrates not only an awareness of the evolution of German youth movements but also the existence of a Catholic leadership that was very much aware of secular culture and actively debated how best to compete with the new opportunities it offered youth. The book also challenges standard evaluations of the 1950s as a historical lull between the storms of Nazism and 1960s unrest.

Examining Catholic youth publications, as well as the records of Catholic organizations such as the Young Christian Workers in Essen and the Archdiocese of Cologne, Ruff asks how generational memory, gender, class, and local economic structure shaped Catholic youth culture in the postwar era. Thus, the first chapter examines how the prewar experiences of both clergy and laity shaped efforts to revive youth organizations in the late 1940s and 1950s. Chapter two documents the activities of local parish groups and demonstrates how the church dealt with increased competition from secular leisure opportunities. Chapter three explains that while prewar secular culture had largely reinforced Catholic gender values, new postwar options drew young women away from church-sponsored activities. Chapters four and five compare the hurdles faced by urban and rural organizers; while the former struggled to engage young workers, the latter, having maintained

a more distinctive Catholic milieu during the war, better met the challenges posed by postwar economic development.

Ruff's conclusion takes the form of a case study of a rift within a Catholic athletic organization known as the Deutsche Jugendkraft (DJK), arguing that the aforementioned factors all shaped the nature—and resolution—of a dispute ostensibly about connections between Catholic and secular sporting movements. In this and other chapters, Ruff situates postwar developments within a longer survey of Catholic youth ministries back into the nineteenth century. While this thematic approach leads to some repetition and might perplex readers without some knowledge of turn-of-the-century Germany, it has advantages: each chapter stands alone, exploring Catholic youth culture through a particular lens, and more importantly, the thematic structure helps to erode stereotypes about a hegemonic national identity by drawing to the fore the particular concerns of the various subcohorts.

Although Ruff paints a dynamic picture of the church's youth ministries, he seems at times to isolate the Catholic experience from broader debates about young Germans in the early postwar era. There is little consideration of the war's impact, spiritual or otherwise, on youth, except for a few brief references to sociologist Helmut Schelsky's *Das skeptische Generation* (1957). Nor does Ruff advance a strong case for the uniqueness of the Catholic experience. Virtually all postwar authorities believed that organizing Germany's youth constituted a critical component of cultural rehabilitation and relied largely on alumni of pre-1933 youth groups as leaders. Furthermore, many top-down attempts to organize youth faltered in the postwar years, due at least in part to the factors Ruff blames for the Catholic Church's eventual failure.

Nonetheless, Ruff offers an insightful examination of what he rightly suggests is a decade too often dismissed as "static" and of a postwar youth cohort methodically courted by both secular and ecclesiastical organizations. In short, this book reveals an energetic church establishment struggling to maintain its relevance in the face of increasing individualistic and secular youth culture.

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CHARLES E. MCCLELLAND. *Prophets, Paupers, or Professionals? A Social History of Everyday Visual Artists in Modern Germany, 1850-Present*. (German Linguistic and Cultural Studies, number 12.) New York: Peter Lang. 2003. Pp. 238. \$52.95.

The romantic image of the artist envisions him laboring away in an isolated atelier, driven solely by the demands of Art. Charles E. McClelland here counters this myth with a social history of German visual artists' struggle to promote their profession over the course of nearly two centuries. This is an ambitious task, but McClelland's expertise with the learned and free professions in

Europe serves him well as he surveys both the successes and failures of artists' efforts to define and defend their professional identity. In chapters organized thematically, he explores the problem of just who can be considered an artist, the role of education, the art market, professional organizations, and artists' positions and roles in society.

McClelland defines the visual arts broadly to include the fine and applied arts, the arts and crafts movement, and even computer-generated media. He is less interested in familiar elites than in what he terms "everyday artists," by which he means the rank and file of the profession. He likens his work to a collective portrait of generations of artists who pursued their craft as they shaped and reacted to public taste. This presents him with an inherent problem. Archival records of artists' organizations and schools are incomplete, and memoirs are rare. To provide detailed features of relatively anonymous practitioners, he must necessarily rely on more famous, not so "everyday" artists such as Lovis Corinth or Josef Beuys. However, he also uses lesser-known figures such as Hermann Muthesius, Otto Marcus, and Friedrich Ahlers-Hestermann to represent the profession.

Throughout his work, McClelland demonstrates that the very nature of the artistic enterprise undermined artists' ability to professionalize successfully. Anyone can claim the right to be called an artist, and a successful career depends on public support that is fickle and fleeting. As a result, artists were unable to regulate entry into their profession and to control demand for its services. McClelland's analysis of art education highlights these problems for the profession. Despite their initial promise, art academies never won a monopoly over entrance into the field. The academies did not offer degrees or certificates, which in any case were not required for artists as they were for doctors, lawyers, and other professionals. McClelland explains the academies' lack of innovation and their inability to assure graduates financial success led to competition from the applied arts institutes and arts-and-crafts schools. Technological transformations in printing processes and the rise of new media also pitted the fine, applied, and popular artists against each other as they fought for a share of the market. McClelland treats the wide array of art schools in detail, demonstrating how each promoted artists' claims to professionalism even as the field became more crowded and competition intensified.

In the chapter aptly titled "Herding Cats," McClelland argues organizations also had mixed results in representing artists' interests. McClelland recognizes the role that stylistic controversies played in working against professional solidarity, but these are treated only briefly. Instead, he focuses on how artists organized to advance their professional identity and financial success. McClelland explains that before 1945, the General German Artists' Association, the German Artists' League, the Reich Association of Visual Artists, and other groups struggled for state recognition, the

right to control access to exhibitions and museum purchases, copyright protection, tax relief, and a host of other occupational interests. These organizations' inability to control the market for art accounts for artists' continual quest to establish new groups, thereby fracturing the profession further. Even after 1945, most artists experienced little of the German economic miracle. Despite the best efforts of GEDOK (for women), the Federal Association of Visual Artists, or even the Artists' Congress in 1971, art organizations could not fix prices, control competition, or ensure the public's willingness to purchase art.

Because McClelland traces the development of the profession from the guilds to the present, scholars will inevitably find their particular time periods treated in less detail than they might hope. Yet it is to his credit that he undertook such a task. Even the Third Reich and the German Democratic Republic, often omitted from surveys of art in Germany, are included.

McClelland's book will become required reading for scholars and graduate students interested in the professionalization process and artists in Germany. However, considerations of space appear to have led the publisher to forego the scholarly apparatus a work of this caliber deserves. The archives used are mentioned only in the preface; the bibliography and footnotes, while serviceable, are hardly extensive. McClelland kindly invites interested scholars to contact him for more information on the sources, but our own profession's interests would be better served by a more complete account.

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ERNST WANGERMANN. *Die Waffen der Publizität: Zum Funktionswandel der politischen Literatur unter Joseph II.* (Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Österreichkunde.) Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik. R. Oldenbourg. 2004. Pp. 252. €24.80.

Fifty years have passed since Ernst Wangermann completed the doctoral dissertation that was to become his first book: *From Joseph II to the Jacobin Trials: Government Policy and Public Opinion in the Habsburg Dominions in the Period of the French Revolution* (1959). During the intervening half-century he has continued to work on the Austrian pamphlet literature of the 1780s, taking time off only to translate a volume of the collected works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and to edit Engels's *The Role of Force in History*. The axiom that underpinned his previous work and also informs this present volume has the virtue of simplicity: Joseph's attempt to impose "enlightened absolutism" on the Habsburg monarchy, especially after he became sole ruler on the death of his mother in 1780, created a Frankenstein monster. Far from gratefully accepting their sovereign's largesse, his subjects looked beyond his program to political and social emancipation. Belatedly realizing the error of his ways, toward the end of his life Joseph tried to turn the clock back, initiating

a policy of repression continued by his successors. As Wangermann puts it in the book under review, "From 1784 a growing number of writers emerged who no longer saw themselves as the shield-bearers of the reforming prince but much more as the champions of their fellow-citizens, as spokesmen of the nation, as they often described themselves . . . After four years experience of Joseph's reforming policies, the reading public in Austria had become more mature" (p. 17).

There is much to be said for this scenario. The relaxation of censorship in 1781 put Vienna for the first time in the intellectual avant-garde of German-speaking Europe. There followed a great torrent of pamphlets—a veritable *Broschürenflut*—on every imaginable subject, especially on the religious and social reforming legislation that poured in similar profusion from the emperor's office. Writers of every hue, from darkest clerical-conservative to brightest enlightened-progressive, hastened from all corners of the Holy Roman Empire to Vienna to take advantage of the liberal conditions. As Wangermann recognizes, many of the most enlightened were anxious to take Joseph's side against his conservative opponents. With their support, he scored a notable victory in his campaign to replace traditional baroque piety with a "purified" form of Catholic worship. Indeed, in one of the most original sections of the book, Wangermann argues convincingly that the government itself initiated and financed publications supporting its own position.

No great claim is made for the literary or intellectual quality of these pamphlets and poems. One can only feel admiration and sympathy for anyone prepared to spend year after year in the gloomy reading room of the City Library in Vienna Town Hall, noting and transcribing their contents (for a typically Austrian regulation dictates that nothing published before 1900 may be photocopied). One's gratitude would perhaps be greater if more had been paraphrased, for the numerous lengthy quotations bring what is already a laborious exposition to the verge of unreadability. However, a great deal more would have been welcome on those aspects of Joseph's regime that are currently neglected or even ignored. The introduction implies that this study constitutes a comprehensive investigation of the contemporary literature, but even the most cursory of glances at what is available shows that only a modest sample is discussed and cited here. Most serious, almost all the numerous publications that do not fit the central argument, but rather show that Joseph II was *not* "overtaken" by public opinion, are conspicuously absent from footnotes and bibliography alike.

This becomes a particular problem when the closing years of the decade are treated. Although now prepared to acknowledge that the war against the Turks was successful in 1789 and that the fall of Belgrade in October did lead to public rejoicing in Vienna, Wangermann essentially remains in a state of denial about this crucial episode. The numerous publications celebrating the great victory over the Turkish *Erbfeind* are imaginatively interpreted as being really a vote for peace. It

does not help his case that he simply ignores or summarily rejects the arguments and evidence produced by scholars who do not share his opinions. Derek Beales's cogent and well-supported analysis of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's patriotism, for example, is airily dismissed in a single sentence as "extremely improbable." In short, the pamphlet literature of the Habsburg monarchy in the period still awaits its historian. In the meantime, Leslie Bodi's flawed but much more satisfactory study, *Tauwetter in Wien: Zur Prosa der österreichischen Aufklärung 1781–1795* (1977), must continue to fill the gap. The subtitle of this book should be revised to read *Some Aspects of Political Literature in Vienna during the 1780s*.

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CAROLINE CASTIGLIONE. *Patrons and Adversaries: Nobles and Villagers in Italian Politics, 1640–1760*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 254. \$19.95.

Caroline Castiglione's study is a masterful rejection of prevailing views of the history of the Roman countryside. In that view, the power of a handful of powerful baronial families was contested by the clerical officials of the papal theocracy, who are considered to have won the contest over time. Crushing clerical taxation thus hit a passive, downtrodden peasantry. Instead, this volume demonstrates that peasants availed themselves of the medieval legacy of the village commune and resisted noble attempts to usurp peasant rights, while respecting noble rule and even seeking noble patronage at times. Nobles, too, were not decadent absentee landlords; they remained actively involved in their domains and were vital to any papal control.

Castiglione's revision rests on taking a microscope to the domains of one baronial family, the Barberini, who assembled six villages into the *stato* of Monte Libretti in the province of Sabina, northeast of Rome. Rather than relying on serial records disclosing births, deaths, marriages, and transactions, which have been at the core of other historical village studies, Castiglione takes advantage of the survival of communal records in two villages to delve into peasant political views and the interactions between the local population and both their feudal overlords and the papal administration. Roman nobles had substantial powers of jurisdiction in villages subject to them. The villagers, while never rebellious, actively debated issues of local resources and needs through communal organizations, negotiated with their lords, and on occasion challenged judicial practices or fiscal demands through papal channels. Castiglione sees village politics in one sense as a matter of literacy: practices of reading and writing that by the eighteenth century resulted in the production of alternative texts or interpretations "challenging the textual monopoly that dictated that only those in Rome should be able to make or interpret written records" (p. 13).

The Barberini and their estates had their peculiar features. The originally Florentine family rose quickly

to prominence when Maffeo Barberini became Pope Urban VIII. Shortly after his death in 1644, Taddeo Barberini, his nephew, purchased Monte Libretti from an old noble family, the Orsini, for a hefty sum. What possession of the papacy had first provided the Barberini was maintained thereafter by possession of a sizeable, if not terribly wealthy or productive, landed estate. Their own financial problems and successful challenges by the villagers under their rule meant that they were not free to impose laws and increase duties owed them. The Barberini never realized the level of income they had hoped for, and their power had to be negotiated more than they ever anticipated.

The Barberini themselves were not consistently effective lords. Taddeo's son Maffeo quickly took over after his father's death in 1647. He was intent on expanding his rights and revenues, but the village of Nerola was able to resist his numerous efforts to curb villagers' hunting and fishing rights, among other things. Villagers' sense of the *statuto* establishing the relationship between them and their lord was consistent. A less consistent sense of their *statuto* operated in nearby Monte Libretti, where Barberini patronage provided physicians and teachers for the village; but there, too, the village *consiglio* could articulate its own sense of priorities and of a "public good."

Maffeo's son, Urbano, was a weak administrator and spendthrift, and during his tenure governance of the *stato* was neglected. Urbano's brother, Cardinal Francesco, was able to restore some control in the 1720s and 1730s, fending off pretensions of the papal Buon Governo, which was intent on expanding papal power and fiscal prerogatives in the countryside. Francesco relied on competent officials, notably Domenico Camilli, to track down outstanding debts and get them paid. His successors—his niece and her husband—carried on his work in the face of mounting demands for revenues from the papal administration. They worked with the Buon Governo and kept an extremely active correspondence with their functionaries. "In the day-to-day governing of the *stato* of Monte Libretti, it was the Barberini who remained more involved in village affairs" (p. 118) than the papal officials.

Castiglione's fifth and sixth chapters offer perceptive readings of the ideological differences between the Barberini's benevolent paternalism and the villagers' adversarial invocations of charity and justice. The section dealing with the prolonged efforts of the villagers of Monte Flavio in papal courts in the 1750s to resist collection of annual dues paid to the noble family is especially interesting. It is a key prop to Castiglione's argument about the interpretive abilities of village society's leaders, and as such deserves close attention. But this book as a whole will reward any reader who makes the effort to follow its complex and sophisticated structure. It is to be hoped that similar studies can test Castiglione's findings in other contexts and also proceed beyond to link this approach to the economic and de-

mographic studies of villages constructed on the basis of other sorts of records.

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JOHN F. POLLARD. *Money and the Rise of the Modern Papacy: Financing the Vatican, 1850–1950*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 265. \$85.00.

This book is not an entirely “pioneering study” as the publisher claims; it will nevertheless prove valuable. John F. Pollard is especially strong on Vatican finances during the papacy of Pius XI, the pope who appointed the shrewd, extremely capable Bernardino Nogara as his in-house financial manager. Unfortunately, the author is notably weaker on papal finances during the ensuing papacy of Pius XII, who reigned during World War II and the early Cold War era.

Pollard argues that money has made the papacy what it is today. It “democratized” and internationalized the church because it made the Vatican dependent on mass contributions to Peter’s Pence. Paradoxically, at the same time money allowed the church to become ever more autocratic and centralized. The nineteenth-century popes, like other European aristocrats, had a difficult time adjusting to an industrial world. Indeed, Pollard notes that at one point Peter’s Pence, collected from the poor as well as the not-so-poor, was being used to bail out indigent Roman aristocrats with Vatican connections (p. 62). But in the twentieth century, the papacy achieved solvency. This is the important point, not the old question of “how rich” the pope may or may not be.

The big swing in papal fortunes came about as a result of the Lateran Treaty (1929) with Benito Mussolini’s Italy. The cash thereby generated fell into Nogara’s capable hands, with the result that the Vatican became invested worldwide in the capitalist marketplace. The interesting question that this investment capability raises, and that Pollard addresses, is whether the Vatican speculated in the market according to the dictates of its own social teachings. The answer Pollard gives is that it did not. Leo XIII was the first pope to come to terms with the social questions spawned by industrialization in his encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891). When it came to investing, however, the pope did not seem to take his own advice. Pius XI followed suit. Although at the time of the Great Depression he harped about how the monopoly capitalism of only a few men caused so much misery for the masses, it never occurred to him that he or Nogara might be one of those “few men.” Unfortunately, Pollard does not pursue this theme as vigorously as he might have.

A similar ethical question arises out of the Vatican’s investment in what nowadays is called the military-industrial complex. Vatican investments dotted the map, but in no country were its funds as deeply and broadly enmeshed as in Italy’s economy. Thus, when the country went to war with Libya (1911) and, even more so, with Ethiopia (1935), Vatican money was part and par-

cel of the national effort. The popes had not taken care to avoid those industries that might compromise its “just war” tradition. The dilemma comes up again with regard to possible investment by the Vatican in tungsten, which was vital for Germany’s World War II industry. Pollard’s handling of this issue is inept. Not knowing whether the Vatican did or did not so invest, Pollard nonetheless writes that it “traded in tungsten” (p. 216) and refers the reader back to page 192 where there is no mention at all on this point (on page 190, footnote 32, Pollard mentions that there is a “theory” about such an investment by the Vatican). Pollard’s treatment of other World War II-era financial undertakings of the Vatican such as Sudameris, a South American banking chain, is at best superficial.

The strength of Pollard’s work is undoubtedly his exploitation of Nogara’s diary, actually the notes he took on his meetings with Pius XI. Whereas earlier chapters are all based on secondary sources, the sections based on the diary fill an important gap in the historical record—a breakthrough, actually, since we have no other documentary evidence. Pollard has written extensively on the Vatican, and, as he takes us through the financial story, pope by pope, he provides excellent political and diplomatic context.

This is a small, compact volume in ten-point type with a hefty sticker price.

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A. JAMES GREGOR. *Mussolini’s Intellectuals: Fascist Social and Political Thought*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 282. \$35.00.

For historians still harboring delusions about fascism’s ideological vacuity, the very title of this book has a provocative, oxymoronic quality. Once readers have ventured beyond the opening chapter, in which A. James Gregor vents his spleen on the conceptual slovenliness of those colleagues who insist that generic fascism represents a flight into the realm of irrationality, pathology, and terror, they are treated to nine eminently readable essays on different aspects of fascism’s doctrinal evolution within the context of its genesis, establishment as a regime, growing involvement in imperialism and international war, its collapse in 1943, and its brief reincarnation as the Italian Social Republic. The central section of the volume concentrates on the confluence of Italian forms of ultranationalism embodied in such figures as Enrico Corradini and Alfredo Rocco with national varieties of revolutionary syndicalism advocated by the likes of Sergio Panunzio and Ugo Spirito, who offered elaborate rationales for Italy’s experiment in creating a corporate state.

In perhaps the most rewarding section of the book for anglophone readers, Gregor considers the attempts by Camillo Pelizzi and Carlo Costamagna to develop a theory of the fascist state and its geopolitical role adapted to the tumultuous transformations of European history—and the Italian regime’s growing marginalization as

an Axis power—under the impact of the Third Reich. This is followed, after a “doctrinal interlude” on the aberrant relationship of Julius Evola to mainstream fascism, by a chapter on final ideological developments once it had been reconstituted within the Nazi puppet state.

Cumulatively this book succeeds in distancing fascist ideology from the mindless politics of *ducismo* or the histrionic cult of aestheticized violence embodied in Filippo Marinetti with which it is sometimes identified, while also refuting simplistic equations of its doctrine with the neo-Hegelianism of Giovanni Gentile. By insisting on facism’s relocation firmly within the mainstream history of European political, social and economic thought, Gregor effectively repackages some of the material of his earlier books, *The Ideology of Fascism: The Rationale of Totalitarianism* (1969) and *Italian Fascism and Developmental Dictatorship* (1979), for a new generation of students, as well as building on *The Young Mussolini and the Intellectual Origins of Fascism* (1979) and *Giovanni Gentile: Philosopher of Fascism* (2001), which together dispel any illusion that Italian fascism is to be dismissed as an ideological will o’ the wisp.

What compromises this book’s quality as a work of scholarship and its potential value to students of fascism is Gregor’s insistence on assuming the role familiar from several recent publications—notably the second edition of *Interpretations of Fascism* (1997) and *Phoenix: Fascism in our Time* (1999)—of an academic loner endowed with a unique insight into the nature of fascism largely ignored by his colleagues. By the end of the 1970s, pioneering research by the likes of Eugen Weber, Juan Linz, Stanley G. Payne, and George L. Mosse had already produced a considerable body of scholarship convergent with Gregor’s approach establishing the ideological credentials of fascism as a relatively coherent ideology of modernizing, revolutionary change firmly rooted in European traditions of social thought and political action. Moreover, the last decade has witnessed growing scholarly agreement among historians and political scientists that generic fascism had a cohesive ideological and intellectual culture at whose core lay the same project of national “redemption and rebirth” (p. 37) that Gregor attributes to Italian fascism.

Three major weaknesses of the volume may be attributable to Gregor’s belief in the superiority of his own position and his concomitant reluctance to collaborate in the search for historical understanding or to be open to approaches or data that conflict with his established position. First, in chapter one he repeatedly parodies the positions of other academics on fascism in order to refute them, and then proceeds to ignore major contributions to his themes by the likes of Emilio Gentile, Walter Adamson, Alexander de Grand, Zeev Sternhell, Mario Sznajder, and David Roberts.

Second, his efforts in chapter nine to show that Evola was never a true representative of Italian fascist ideology under Benito Mussolini is tilting at windmills,

since no serious scholar has ever claimed this. What experts such as Marco Revelli, Franco Ferraresi, and Richard Drake have demonstrated in considerable empirical detail is that Evola has had a major impact both on postwar fascism in Italy and on several currents of revolutionary nationalism, both cultural and terrorist, that emerged elsewhere in Europe after the defeat of the Axis powers. As a philosopher of generic fascism, Evola eclipses in importance Giovanni Gentile, whose impact outside the confines of fascist Italy has been minimal.

Third, Gregor’s verdict that between 1922 and 1938 fascist racism was “essentially benign” (p. 193) takes no account of the work of a number of scholars (e.g. S. Robert Wistrich, Sergio DellaPergola, and Ruth Ben-Ghiat) that places the infamous antisemitic race laws that Mussolini’s regime promulgated in 1938 in a more sinister light by uncovering their debt to powerful indigenous currents of racism within Italian fascist ideology and policy.

Fascist social and political thought has to be taken seriously, and Gregor is far from being the first scholar to realize this. However, it is also vital that the doctrinal aspect of this thought is correlated to the regime’s utopian goals, to its propaganda, to its expression in mythicized and ritualized forms of politics, and above all to the praxis that resulted from attempts to implement it in the policies it adopted and decisions it took, and to their material consequences for historical events and human lives. The fruits of Italian fascist thought were overshadowed by those of Nazism in the sheer scale of systemic inhumanity committed in the name of a purified race. Nevertheless, Italy’s parallel experiment in creating a new sociopolitical order had by April 1945 also turned out to be a total failure with disastrous social, national, and human consequences, even if Gregor apparently does not consider such issues to lie within his remit. As a contribution to fascist studies, this book is thus reminiscent of a once busy sea port whose imposing buildings still stand as proud symbols of its former importance, but that now finds itself landlocked in splendid isolation some miles inland.

ROGER GRIFFIN

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STEFANO LUCONI and GUIDO TINTORI. *L’ombra lunga del fascio: Canali di propaganda fascista per gli “italiani d’America.”* Milan: M&B Publishing. 2004. Pp. 154. €17.00.

No admirer of the Duce, Italian émigré historian Gaetano Salvemini defined the Italian dictator as a “propaganda genius” with a profound understanding of media power, and favorably compared Benito Mussolini’s efforts and results in this field to Adolf Hitler’s. This slim volume of essays by Stefano Luconi and Guido Tintori both confirms and complicates the issue. Mussolini and his advisors actively used media to reach Italian American communities across the Atlantic. The reason was simple: the Duce and his advisors knew well

that Italian American communities played a relevant role in the political balance of many states vital to the New Deal coalition. If they could be enticed to support fascism, Italian Americans' electoral weight could keep in check the antifascist elements of the FDR administration.

This said, the authors find that, compared with the well-oiled Nazi propaganda machine, fascist propagandists were perennially underfunded and lacked coordination. Headed by Ugo Veniero D'Annunzio, the son of the fascist poet laureate Gabriele D'Annunzio, the Italian Library of Information (ILI, the subject of Tintori's first essay) was supposed to diffuse material favorable to the regime and promote tours by profascist lecturers. ILI, however, never had the funds that Germany, or Great Britain, made available to their propagandists in the United States. When it was closed down in July 1941, ILI had accomplished none of the goals it had been set up to achieve.

Tintori's second essay tells of the regime's hapless efforts to distribute fascist newsreels and documentaries in the U.S. Italian authorities were distrustful of non-Italian American distribution circuits, but the *paesani* they did choose to distribute their films were always unreliable and often connected to the mob. When the Italo-Ethiopian war and, later, the beginning of the European conflict made the distribution of newsreels urgently necessary, fascists were generally unwilling to air mail their material, relying instead on much slower ground and sea routes. Consequently, fascist newsreels arrived too late to be of use, while pro-Nazi propaganda was regularly updated. Radio efforts were not better. The regime was unable to operate a short-wave broadcast station until July 1930. Appropriate investment in money and technology came only in the aftermath of the Ethiopian campaign. In his essay, Luconi suggests that the intensifying of fascist radio efforts during the Ethiopian war may have borne some fruit since Italian-American contributions to the Italian Red Cross increased. He acknowledges, however, that fascist propaganda among Italian Americans had little effect (p. 143).

If they suggest that the regime's propaganda efforts were haphazard and ineffective, Luconi and Tintori are also convinced that this failure ultimately did not matter. Italian Americans by and large supported the fascist regime, even when it became involved in its more murderous enterprises. The authors suggest that the reasons for this loyalty have less to do with fascism's goals and propaganda efforts than with the situation of Italian Americans. The victims of discrimination in the preceding decades, Italian Americans saw fascism, and especially the Duce, as a welcome source of ethnic pride. In doing so, they were encouraged by the praise bestowed on Mussolini by many influential, and thoroughly American, personalities like U.S. Ambassador Breckinridge Long. Italian American support of fascism was, however, somewhat superficial. The Little Italies of the United States chose Italy over Ethiopia in

1935, but after the U.S. entered the conflict they almost immediately sided with their host country.

The title of this book promises an analysis of the "Fascist propaganda channels for Italian Americans." As valuable as they are as individual articles, these three essays are far from living up to the title's pledge. Bogged down by a bulky and yet not entirely exhaustive footnote apparatus (thirty-four pages of notes out of a total of 154), the essays leave many issues unexplored. For example, the roles of the press and of Italian fiction films in Italian American communities are not engaged, and absent also is any discussion of gender differences in the reception of radio and other media. Furthermore, in the 1930s fascist intellectuals were not the only ones to think in terms of media policy, but this important transnational debate is not examined.

These are major flaws for the book, yet they do not necessarily detract from the value of each of the three essays as partial contributions to the history of Italian Americans and of fascist propaganda in the United States. These articles are thought provoking and engage important historical issues harking to current debates concerning the permanence or waning of ethnic identities after the Johnson Reed Act of 1924 or the centrality of the Italian-Ethiopian war in the history of fascism and the history of Italian American communities. It is too bad, however, that three good, separate, essays a complete book do not make.

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BENJAMIN FROMMER. *National Cleansing: Retribution against Nazi Collaborators in Postwar Czechoslovakia*. (Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare, number 20.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 387. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$26.99.

Benjamin Frommer's book captures the furor and intensity of the immediate post-World War II period, when Czechs went after their own. After six years under occupation, the act of punishing collaborators cut deep into the social fabric. A retribution decree drafted in London by the exile government mandated summary justice: no option for appeal, execution within three hours of a verdict, and harsh sentences for lesser crimes. Before February 1948, over 686 defendants had been executed. The Great Decree of June 1945 established twenty-four Extraordinary People's Courts with a judge plus four "people's judges" drawn from the four political parties of the coalition government. 32,000 people were tried by People's Courts and another 135,000 defendants went before local courts. In 1946 the Small Decree indicted another 179,896 by lowering the burden of proof and criminalizing offences against "national honor." The prosecution of collaboration was intertwined with ethnic cleansing, which Frommer notes blurred the legal distinction between nation and state. Dual citizenship, German club membership, or cross-ethnic love affairs became potentially criminal. The deportation of ethnic Germans preempted many of

these trials and moved the already convicted from jail cells to trains.

Frommer captures the injustice as well as the essential justice of the trials. A tremendous evil had been perpetrated on Czech society. The simultaneous turn to collective punishment was a tragic continuation of wartime ethnic cleansing. Frommer establishes convincingly that the most egregious aspects of summary justice were not the work of the communists, thus correcting the tendency to conflate the communist show trials with the war crimes trials that preceded the February 1948 communist takeover. The twisted social climate of denunciation weakened the sense of legal due process in a democratic republic, removing some obstacles to Stalinization.

Once the Sudeten Germans were removed, the public enthusiasm for trials waned. The book begins with high intensity and gradually peters out, reflecting the process Frommer is describing. "Retribution fatigue set in": spectator galleries emptied out, sentences became lighter, and ever more ended in acquittals. Only 46,422 people were ultimately convicted under the Small Decree. Too often, cases reaching the lower courts were vendettas of neighbor against neighbor or simply ugly divorces. Frommer punctures the cliché of a female proclivity for denunciation. Men were more likely to denounce and be arrested for it, but women who were convicted were more likely to be accused of denunciation.

After more than 100 hangings and six months of minnows in the dock, finally the Prague National Court began trying the big fish in 1946. Three generals, seven journalists, and several Czech fascist leaders received death sentences. But the court moved warily against the old elite and issued no death sentences to any key Protectorate officials. In Hungary, as elsewhere, the pattern was reversed. High-profile trials began in Budapest before the war had ended in the West, followed by People's Court trials that were largely scorned as a product of "Jewish revenge." The "Jewish question" is the elephant in the closet in this book. Two-thirds of Czech Jewry and virtually all Roma had perished. In line with the stance of postwar regimes, the only reference in the Great Decree to the Holocaust is to the crime of "racial enrichment." Unfortunately, Frommer does not free himself from the categories and formulas of his sources to fully examine this question. In one-to-two-paragraph vignettes taken from trial records, he provides tantalizing examples of testimony from survivors or about camp guards and other perpetrators. Czech People's Court judges were also taken from the resistance and survivors. The court venue for redress probably eased reintegration for some survivors, but a process of justice anchored by ethnic cleansing in the name of nation building was problematic.

Frommer's book is based on the Czech archives. He did not examine the Slovak trials (which operated differently) or Slovakia's incomplete ethnic cleansing of its Hungarian minority. With the states now separated, this is certainly understandable, but it also handicaps

our understanding of the process of "nationalizing the state" of Czechoslovakia. Frommer's book is the first in what promises to be a flurry of new work mining the now available records of the war crimes tribunals in Central/Eastern Europe after World War II. The Czech decision to open its archives to American scholars has borne fruit in this study of the political and personal ramifications of war crimes trials—something Hungarian privacy policies have thwarted.

Frommer's study reminds us of a period of trauma and hope wedged between the aftermath of war and the communist seizure of power. The trials satisfied a need for justice; they healed, but they also purged, purified, and were intertwined in the sorry saga of ethnic cleansing. Frommer's study provides a valuable model for future researchers in its emphasis on the People's Courts rather than the high-profile trials, as well as some cautionary evidence for scholars focused on the second wave of war crimes trials under communist rule.

ALICE FREIFELD
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ROUMEN DASKALOV. *The Making of a Nation in the Balkans: Historiography of the Bulgarian Revival*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 286. \$47.95.

Roumen Daskalov's book breaks new ground. It is unusual in the East European field in that it offers a thorough historiographical review, peppered with theoretical analysis, on one discrete period in a nation's history: namely the period of the Bulgarian national revival, ca. 1778–1878. Daskalov sheds needed light on this period via his foray into the uses and misuses of history by Bulgarian historians since 1878.

The Bulgarian national revival is a phenomenon that has received little attention in Western scholarship, although it has played a central role in Bulgarian historical writing and national imaginings. Here as elsewhere in the East European field, the "little country" problem has resulted in a paucity of sources and hence discussion within Anglo-American academia. In Bulgarian, however, there is a great deal of scholarship, much of it constrained by the communist period and its intellectual hangover. In spite of such constraints, this literature is rich with important and interesting debates, particularly given the flood of corrective scholarship since 1989.

This is precisely what makes Daskalov's work so appealing and useful. He makes the body of Bulgarian scholarship accessible to those who do not read the language, while synthesizing and analyzing it for those who do. When appropriate, he weaves the perspectives of Western historians into the narrative, but the book is really about the work of Bulgarians and the misuses of history in service of national regimes. As Daskalov claims, the primary problem with scholarship on the so-called revival period is that the period is wholly sanctified, even to this day. Bulgarian emotional attachment to the heroes and events of the period has been det-

amental to the uncovering of “truths” about the era in question.

The author’s focus, perhaps surprisingly, is on the historical works of the communist period. Indeed, Daskalov spends perhaps more time than needed sifting through the minor shifts and hair-splitting of communist-era historians over economic and social issues, class categories, and Marxist analyses of revival heroes and events. There are places in the text where such ruminations become as tedious as the communist-era works themselves. But, as if in premeditated response, Daskalov openly apologizes for so much attention paid to “biased and dogmatic” views that are “antiquated and overcome” (p. 217). He convincingly points out that communist-era scholarship provides “archeological evidence” for understanding the molding of historical memory. In addition, he argues that communist-period historians engaged in nuanced debates on the subject since the 1970s that in some cases was tantamount to academic dissent. Class conflict, for example, was muted and then eventually thrown out as an organizing paradigm. And while the nationalist-minded regime of Todor Zhivkov eventually endorsed such a shift, historians seem to have initiated such changes in opposition to official dictates.

Daskalov’s discussion of postcommunist revisionism, although sparse, does offer some insights into the kind of rewriting of the history of the revival that is long in coming. In the postcommunist period, the revival, as Daskalov points out, is still sacrosanct and popular views have been slow to change. Having said that, there is a small group of Bulgarian scholars—Daskalov among them—that is treading heavily on sacred ground. Some are openly exploring the rifts, crises, failures, and animosities in the actions and actors of the Bulgarian revival. This includes a desanctification of the hallowed heroes, who apparently used terror to raise money for their cause. Such changes, however, are present mainly in academic studies, not textbooks, and have not necessarily filtered down to the Bulgarian public.

Perhaps the most interesting moments in the text—though in short supply—are Daskalov’s own profound insights on the revival period and Bulgarian historical writing in general. For example, he rejects the periodization of Bulgarian history that tends to lean on or to draw parallels with West European history: Renaissance, Reformation, Enlightenment, etc. Instead he delves into the question of Bulgaria’s “missing Modernity” and “self-colonizing inferiority complex” that have driven the need for historians to justify or compensate for Bulgaria’s inadequacies (pp. 44–45). Such introspection on Bulgarian history is hard to come by in any language, and Daskalov’s contributions are much appreciated. One only wishes that he had spent more time on such insightful analyses and less time on recounting the clumsy failings and debate shifts of communist authors.

MARY NEUBURGER
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ROBERT P. GERACI. *Window on the East: National and Imperial Identities in Late Tsarist Russia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 389. \$52.50.

Since 2001, when this book was published, nation and empire-building have emerged as important topics in the historiography of imperial Russia. Western and Eurasian scholars are publishing rigorously researched articles and monographs, richly informed by archival documents, with some of the most interesting work appearing in new journals, such as the bilingual Russian-English *Ab Imperio*. Robert P. Geraci fits squarely into this growth industry, and indeed, has helped to build it, as both this monograph under review and the author’s co-edited volume, with Michael Khodarkovsky, on religion and empire (2001) attest. The works of Geraci, Khodarkovsky, and other scholars such as Daniel Brower, Nathaniel Knight, Theodore Weeks, and Paul Werth, to name a few, are bringing local and regional knowledge to bear in assessments of Russia’s identity as nation and as empire in the eighteenth through early twentieth centuries.

Like most other books in this genre, Geraci’s focus is on Russians, even though the setting is Russia’s “East” (mostly defined here by the Middle Volga region, centered in the city of Kazan). His purpose is to investigate “the history of Russian nationality” (p. 11), with a focus on Russians’ “consciousness of the empire’s ethnic diversity and attempts to lessen it” (p. vii) through “methods of cultural integration” (p. 7) or assimilation. One of the major accomplishments of the book is its demonstration of the profound extent to which Russians measured their identity against non-Russians; in both the capital St. Petersburg and in Kazan, Russians put enormous effort into the task of understanding, educating, and potentially assimilating the non-Russian Others (both Muslims and converted Christians), thereby refining a sense of their own individual, national, and imperial identities.

The first third of the book concentrates on strategies of Russification employed within the Orthodox Church. Nikolai Il’minskii, missionary and educator, looms large in this section and indeed throughout the book. Il’minskii’s method and entire system of providing religious schools for non-Russian Orthodox Christians in their own languages, with teachers eventually drawn from the native populations, was supported at the imperial level until after Il’minskii’s death (1891) as a way to keep these peoples within the Orthodox fold. For Il’minskii and his supporters, at issue was how to make non-Russians sufficiently “Russian” that they would not join the ranks of apostates to Islam. Il’minskii did little work directly to challenge Islamic learning or Islam as a faith (he believed the best approach was to ignore the Muslims by, for example, not providing their communities with funding or personnel for schools), but his colleague Father Evfimii Malov adopted sophisticated anti-Islamic polemics as the best strategy for preventing “Tatarization” and promoting Russification. Geraci’s analysis of the two men and the schools that their views

inspired gives us a fascinating version of the larger “debate on the meaning of ‘Russianness’” (p. 116) of the 1860s–1890s.

The scholarly and amateur study of the peoples of the Middle Volga region and the impact that study had on policies of cultural integration is the focus of the middle third of Geraci’s book. Here he demonstrates how important were Kazan University and local scholarly societies to the orientalist project of categorizing and ultimately knowing the peoples that made the empire so culturally diverse. But much more than that, Geraci conveys an excellent sense of the contested scholarly and legal arenas in which Russians applied this knowledge in the interests of “lessening” the empire’s diversity.

The final third of the book analyzes the rightward shift in assimilationist politics in the early twentieth century, a period that saw support for the Il’minskii system wane considerably. In the least successful, although potentially the most provocative, chapter of the book (chapter eight), Geraci analyzes Russian responses to the vibrant Muslim jadidist reform movement; the responses were variously antagonistic, orientaling or, interestingly, inspiring of similar reforms for Russia itself, especially within the church. While the notion that the movement of renewal within Russia’s Muslim community could inspire church leaders to pursue their own versions of cultural reform is fascinating in itself, Geraci could just as effectively have made the point without his long, superficial descriptions of jadid discourse and activism. Alternatively, the chapter could very fruitfully be expanded into a longer study that adds the voices of Tatar reformers and their views of the empire’s cultural policies.

The last chapter is symbolic of many issues that Geraci takes on throughout the book: it offers a mini-biography of the linguist and ethnographer of Russia’s “eastern” peoples, Nikolai Katanov, whose “hybrid identity” as Christian and ethnically non-Russian imposed barriers to his professional advancement. The conditions and attitudes that made full professional and personal integration into Russia’s scholarly world impossible for Katanov are as complex and diverse as are the era’s conceptualizations of Russianness, a conclusion that this rich and challenging book brings us so convincingly to recognize.

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JULIE A. BUCKLER. *Mapping St. Petersburg: Imperial Text and Cityscape*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. 364. \$35.00.

Julie A. Buckler takes up a well-worn topic—the cultural history of nineteenth-century St. Petersburg—but aims to give it a new twist. She contends that previous scholars and commentators have tended to pass off myth as analysis. Contrasting the city’s grand imperial public spaces with its squalid lower depths, they have

taken the city to be apocalyptic, sepulchral, utopian, or hallucinatory, all the while relying on a relatively small number of canonical writings. In Buckler’s view, the culture of St. Petersburg was much messier and more diverse than these interpretations allow. Her book is designed to explore Petersburg’s amorphous cultural “middle” in three main ways. First, in its chronology: Buckler concentrates on the period 1830–1890 (although she has plenty to say about earlier and later periods as well), which has often been rushed over by cultural historians as a nondescript interlude between the Pushkinian Golden Age and the glamorous modernist era. Second, in its effort to bring to the fore noncanonical writings. Third, in its methodology: Buckler argues for resonances between the city as a lived space and built environment and the city as a written text. As she takes her spatial and literary stroll through Petersburg, she wants her gaze to remain at eye level instead of wandering to the skyline or sinking to the cellars and grimy pavements.

The book starts with a chapter on printed discussion of Petersburg architecture. It makes the case that the term “eclecticism” has been used as an ungainly—and, since the second half of the nineteenth century, largely derogatory—catch-all for architectural phenomena that cannot be pigeonholed as “classical” or “modern.” The second chapter adopts eclecticism as an analytical tool for discussing various written depictions of the city in the same period. The third chapter shows interaction between guidebooks and material more readily identified as “literary.” In the fourth chapter, Buckler takes up the intriguing subject of urban legends, dwelling particularly on the connections between oral and literary culture. The remaining chapters discuss the literary treatment of three broad themes: the relationship between the public ceremonial center of the city and its various margins and hinterlands (slums, dachas, suburbs, factory districts); the arrival and adaptation of provincials in the big city; and memorialization (with particular reference to cemeteries and toponyms).

This book should perhaps come with a small health warning for historians. Taking as axiomatic the notion that writing is on a higher plane than other objects of study, it offers above all a self-referential discussion of a corpus of printed words. It evinces little interest in the circumstances in which these words were produced and received. A notable example comes when we are informed that Petr Chaadaev shifted in the 1830s from a negative to a positive assessment of Russia’s cultural eclecticism (pp. 32–33). Only in an obliquely phrased endnote are we reminded that Chaadaev was declared insane and placed under house arrest after the publication of his “First Philosophical Letter” in 1836, a fact that may conceivably have had something to do with his change of heart (p. 260). Equally, Buckler’s notion of the Petersburg “middle” is resolutely abstract. She cites the relevant scholarly literature on the increasing diversity and dynamism of urban life in late tsarist Russia but does not dwell on it or add to it. As the book’s purpose lies primarily in the descriptive analysis of texts, it

sometimes seems to lack direction. Moments of analytical closure are provided largely by references to the theorists who patrol the borderlands between cultural studies and urban geography.

All this is not to deny that the book has value. It offers a useful, thematically organized synthesis of interesting writings on St. Petersburg, many of them otherwise inaccessible to anglophone readers. It flags a couple of themes—orality and memory—that deserve further investigation in Russian studies. It contains thoughtful and skilful treatments of literary works. Yet, even on its own terms, the book fails to deliver in some crucial respects. Its source base is not as noncanonical, nor its methodology as innovative, as the author claims. Although Buckler acknowledges that the daily or near-daily press was the main medium for the literary and societal “middle,” her endnotes contain only a handful of references to newspaper articles (and she has clearly come to all of them via the work of other scholars). In other words, there is no firm evidence in this book that Buckler has ever held in her hands a nineteenth-century newspaper, let alone read widely in the press. For a book on the written culture of the nineteenth-century city, this is a staggering omission.

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GREGORY CARLETON. *Sexual Revolution in Bolshevik Russia*. (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2005. Pp. x, 272. \$34.95.

The sexual revolution that accompanied the Russian Revolution is notorious, but until recently it has been known more by reputation than by serious academic study. That situation is changing with the opening of once-sequestered sources, and a turn to previously tabooed topics. Gregory Carleton's intriguing book makes an important contribution to the history of Russian sexualities.

Nonspecialists might be surprised by the range of sources on early Soviet sexuality. Carleton's book follows a trail blazed by Richard Stites, Igor Kon, Eric Naiman, and Frances L. Bernstein to exploit official commentaries, sociological surveys, medical literature, fiction and literary criticism, journal debates, and archives giving voice to Soviet Russia's fevered “sexual question” in the 1920s. Carleton aims to show “how the sexual revolution was written and received in Bolshevik culture, with a focus on the mainstream press and the proletarian, Komsomol [Communist Youth] and party voices” (p. 11). He also wants “to reconstruct a fuller picture of what circulated in literary culture and why” (p. 17) and to assess its reception by “average readers and critics” who have received less attention from historians. The book's project is thus narrower than its title might suggest.

Yet Carleton's book delivers eight chapters of vivid material. Beginning with ideological and medical views of revolutionary sexual values, he argues that for those

who led the new society, in sexual matters “unanimity of purpose was conspicuously absent” (p. 51). The Bolsheviks, having implemented radical sexual legislation nevertheless owed a “debt to the past that was never fully acknowledged” (p. 75). Revolutionaries and official experts vacillated between a prim ultra-moralism and a faith in sexual freedom. Komsomol leaders debated whether Marxism dictated “when to go to bed, what leisure activities were proper, or how many dates one could have” (p. 102). Fiction (artistically weak, but attracting readers) fueled critical debates that intensified after 1926; that year saw not only the infamous Chubarov Alley gang rape in Leningrad (discussed by Naiman) but an uproar over sex-themed literature that appeared in print, with the imprimatur of editors keen to recapture readers, and the blessing of a chaotic and understaffed censorship (p. 135).

In chapters exploring sexual themes in Soviet literary politics, Carleton argues that radical Young Guardists sponsored a more sensitive portrayal of sex (“psychologism,” the so-called “living person”), against an ideological orthodoxy that wanted accessible fiction anticipating socialist realism in its programmatic hero worship (pp. 141–143). Yet authors continued to develop a “canon of ambiguity,” using sex to explore “one's identity and one's place after the revolution” (p. 171). In particular, women's identities as sexual agents contradicted orthodox hopes that fiction could be populated by “iron virgins”; authors persisted in favoring “more dramatic femmes fatales and psychologically complex suicide victims”—hardly icons of a new order (p. 191). It was only in the 1930s that these impulses were finally suppressed by “orthodox critics and their party supporters.” Their triumph brought an end to a decade of debate and ambiguity; they saw themselves purging literature of “pessimism, passivity, psychologism, ignorance of the collective, absence of a Marxist approach, dysfunctional families, pornography” and the demons of Sigmund Freud, Leon Trotsky, and their associated theories (p. 220).

These arguments are perhaps advanced too gently in the body of the work; undergraduates may struggle to seize significance among the many readings of surveys, debates, and fictional plots. The conclusion sets out Carleton's central thesis: that scholars of the sexual revolution, whether “totalitarians” (Mikhail Stern, Kon) or “postmodernists” (Naiman), have emphasized the Bolshevik Party as the grand engineer of sexuality-as-instrument-of-control, either to repress it in the totalitarian model or to incite sexuality as a discursive power field (the postmodernist view). Carleton argues that revolutionaries shared a common core of platitudes but disagreed about what to do about this aspect of everyday life. Controversies were not “incited” for Machiavellian purposes but were historical accidents. Some readers may nevertheless wonder if all actors in this drama were not bound by modernist conventions about sexual speech that dovetailed, ultimately, with the Bolsheviks' modernizing aspirations.

What historians will welcome here is the emphasis on

the messiness of Bolshevik thinking about sexuality. It was never a first or even a second-rank priority in the ideological canon. The party found itself surprised and divided by sexual issues, and it was surprisingly willing to debate them in the 1920s. Carleton's book brings this exciting uncertainty to the foreground for a new generation. Surprising in a work that strains to historicize its subject are some apparently anachronistic translation choices: did A. Timofeev speak of "gender" in 1926, or of sex (p. 65)? Israel Gelman could not have used the phrase "gay man" in 1923 (p. 78). The lack of a bibliography is also disappointing. Despite these quibbles, Carleton's admirable book provokes many questions and will doubtless incite others to more discourse on the sexual revolution.

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JUDITH DEUTSCH KORNB�ATT. *Doubly Chosen: Jewish Identity, the Soviet Intelligentsia, and the Russian Orthodox Church*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 203. \$29.95.

A disproportionate part of the post-Stalinist Russian intelligentsia, especially in Moscow and Petersburg, was born Jewish, but like members of other ethnic groups in Soviet Russia, allied itself completely with the Russian majority. During the 1960s, the young counterculture set took to religion, meditation, and Zen Buddhism, most ultimately fixing upon Christianity. There was a feeling among members of this group that the Soviet system was destroying Russia, its land, and its values. Loyal to an idiosyncratic idea of the Russian tradition that emerged from readings of Russia's religious thinkers, they linked up with the only institution that seemed to combine integrity with Russianness: the Russian Orthodox Church. It was a church that was itself being persecuted, though selectively; there was a patriarch who was virtually a state employee. But the church was ideologically permissive and responsive to Jewish converts. (Nor did Judaism, which meant little or nothing to these converts, stand in their way.)

The story of the spiritual tensions and hopes of this and the next generation of Russian Jewish converts to Christianity has found a sympathetic spokesperson in Judith Deutsch Kornblatt. Basing her book on thirty-five interviews with converts on three continents, Kornblatt inquires about identity and spiritual purpose. What is the identity of a Jewish Christian living in Israel? What do these people signify both for the church and the Jewish people? In their answers, the name of the Russian philosopher, Vladimir Solov'ev arises a number of times. Solov'ev (1847–1900), an ecumenical and philosemitic thinker, believed in the unity of all mankind through the intercession and conversion of the Jews to Christianity.

"Doubly chosen," in the sense that Kornblatt uses the term, refers to the way that Christian faith has made these individuals more appreciative of their Jewish

background and given rise to a desire to achieve a utopian goal: to renew Christianity, perfect Judaism, and realize Solov'ev's idea of total unity of all being. It should be said that these individuals cleanse church doctrine from antisemitism; their views are in many senses an imagination of what the church *should* be.

The reader senses an apologetic intention. In her introduction, Kornblatt explains what motivated her to write the book. She describes her training as a scholar of Russian Orthodoxy, its religious doctrine, theologians, and thinkers. As if searching to understand the mystery of her own being, she wonders: "What scholarly, or other, fascination did I find in the icons and liturgy of the Russian Orthodox Church? Was this an occupation, after all, for a good Jewish girl?" (pp. ix-x). Kornblatt answers that questions of religious interpenetration can deepen understanding of one's own tradition and identity. In her case, they have made her a more profound Jew. But she also expresses great appreciation for the ideals of universal harmony, the unification of mankind, the idea of internal freedom and personal joy found in Russian Orthodoxy, at least as Solov'ev understood it. These ideals apparently motivated many of her interviewees to convert to Christianity.

Although her open affection for her "clients," as she affectionately calls them in one place, may put off the Jewish reader, Kornblatt emphasizes that these converts are not contemptible or opportunistic apostates. In fact, they reflect something universal, the experience of contemporary religious life grounded in freedom, self-definition, and ideological unorthodoxy. Almost all of us, if we practice religion at all, do so according to personal dictates rather than blindly following tradition. Russian-Jewish Christians, implicitly an oddity, are not as weird as we might think.

As a historian, however, I wondered about the extent of the movement. Was it limited to a few hundred individuals in Russia, Israel, and the United States, and if the group numbered fewer than a thousand members, what overall significance did it or will it have? I also wished that the book had more to say about the Soviet Jewish intelligentsia in its historical context. Scholars interested in the religious dimension of the Soviet dissident movement or in the ideas of the theologian, Alexander Men', the converts' spiritual father, must seek enlightenment elsewhere.

Nevertheless, I liked this book and found several testimonies incredibly powerful. Clearly these converts have internalized and are living out the ideas of the Russian philosophers whom Kornblatt admires. The book speaks on behalf of those who live by ideas in the Russian way, since in their religious fervor they fight a "ceaseless battle for a better future" (p. 116).

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

CARTER VAUGHN FINDLEY. *The Turks in World History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 300. Cloth \$45.00, paper 19.95.

Carter Vaughn Findley's book is one of the most noteworthy achievements in recent years and a very welcome and needed contribution to Turkish and Turkic studies. Anyone who is directly involved in teaching a survey course in English on the "Turks," and their rich and various traditions and civilizations, must know the scholarly and pedagogical pain of collecting available publications on the subject, the arduous process of filtering these valuable but linguistically and methodologically not-so-accessible publications for the consumption of undergraduate and graduate students. As Findley states in the introduction, the idea of writing such a work, free from academic jargon and highly technical discourse, first came to mind when he was a graduate student. In the way the book is organized and presented (I am especially impressed and pleased with Findley's straightforward but colorful and playful language), it may indeed be targeting "nonspecialists," but it will be read and consulted by many "specialists" as well. The story of the "Turks," from their pre-Islamic, nomadic times to their glorious and powerful Islamic empires, and to their encounter with Western ideas and ideals, is masterfully presented in a single and accessible volume accompanied by specially generated maps and pictures.

No book is perfect, and the one at hand is no exception. Some of its shortcomings originate from the fact that no one single scholar can thoroughly research and completely digest the scholarly data on such an enormous subject; it requires multiple scholars covering different parts of the so-called Turkic world. Findley acknowledges this throughout the book. When a great majority of Turkic-speaking peoples do not embrace the generic identity marker "Turk" in defining their vastly different cultures and civilizations (Uzbek, Kazak, Kirgiz, Chuvash, and the like), a single book on the "Turks" might find itself wrapped in ideological and methodological impossibilities. For a long time many Turkish and Turkic historians struggled to create a pan-Turkist ideal to define and unite all the "Turks" of the world. Indeed, the book itself provides much valuable information on this quasi-fascist agenda, and needless to say, Findley is not even remotely close to accepting or following such unhealthy approaches. Nevertheless, attempting to write a book of this nature and naming it *The Turks in World History*, may suggest commonalities that may not in fact exist or be accepted within the various and vastly different communities themselves.

Many of the conclusions put forth in this book will not satisfy everyone and indeed should be viewed as a matter of difference in interpretation, which is what serious scholarship requires. For example, in regard to Turkey's possible European Union membership and the Islamist government in power, Findley makes an analogy between Germany's Christian Democrat Party

and Recep Tayyip Erdogan's Justice and Development Party (AKP), defining or endorsing the definition of AKP as a "moderate Islamic party." He continues by saying that "the radical secularism of the early republic might not be Turkey's only route into modernity after all" (p. 218). Other conclusions, such as his statement that "the main motive [of the Turkish alphabet reform] was to make the Ottoman-Islamic thought world inaccessible to the children of the republic" (p. 207), are more problematic and give the present reviewer the impression that they were accepted as "proven facts" by the author and his sources.

This may again come from the weight of such a huge scholarly endeavor, but there are also some statements in the book that are simply not correct. To give but one example, Findley writes: "Little survives in writing from the fourteenth-century Ottomans; no doubt the bubonic plague is greatly to blame. Thereafter, they would create the most important of all Turkic literary cultures" (p. 75). However tempting it might be to explain the lack of extant writing from any Ottoman century through the supposed effects of the bubonic plague, this assertion cannot be applied to the fourteenth century, as we have copious literary works from that era, some of which have already been deciphered and published, and others that are still in manuscript form.

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DINA LE GALL. *A Culture of Sufism: Naqshbandis in the Ottoman World, 1450–1700*. (SUNY Series in Medieval Middle East History.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 285. \$45.00.

Although the scholarship of the last three decades has addressed the history of the Naqshbandi sufi *tariqa* order (which originated in Transoxania and eventually extended to the Balkans, Anatolia, Arabia, India, China, and Indonesia), "(o)ne phase that remains almost entirely ignored is that of the early Ottoman Naqshbandiyya (ca. 1450–1700)" (p. 3). Dina Le Gall rightly insists on the necessity of studying this period with the aim of examining it on its own terms as a discrete history, rather than an extension of Naqshbandiyya of Transoxiana (thirteenth through fifteenth centuries). Nor should it be viewed as a product of retrospective modern reading, or in terms of a general development across continents. Le Gall proposes an ambitious agenda "to gain a better understanding of Naqshbandi history and of the workings of pre-modern tariqas and . . . window into Ottoman society and culture and into aspects of the less well known 'middle Ottoman centuries'" (p. 4). The results of this experiment are mixed.

The author argues that the Naqshbandi order had some appeal to the Ottoman higher *ilmiye* (religious), but that it had a greater following among the lesser *ilmiye* and the urban public. Like other sufi *tariqas*, it attracted a wide audience whose members appreciated the Naqshbandi's "devotional sobriety and *shari'a* abi-

dance" (p. 65). (A variation on this expression is repeated throughout the text as a formula for representing the special and specific character of this order, which also insisted on silent *zikr*). She then discusses the organizational and cultural patterns of the Naqshbandiyya, with an account of the less formal *murshid* (or guide) for disciples. The order displayed a "linguistic adaptability . . . a knack for dissemination of Persian culture" (especially exemplified by reading Rumi's *Masnavi*) and, in her view, became "instruments of cultural transmission and integration" (p. 157).

In support of her study, Le Gall uses mainly general, printed dictionaries (*Osmanli Muelefleri*, *Hadikatul-Cevami'*, *Sicil-i Osmani*), manuals and some manuscripts in Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Turkish. These dictionaries and encyclopedias tend to be mostly perfunctory in their information. Many represent retrospective readings by these author(s) and lack a systematic, historical constructions of either the biographies concerned or historical information about mosques and endowments that are central to her project. A prosopographic study of the members of the order for the early and middle Ottoman periods would have offered a more useful profile of the background, personal history, and affiliations of those who found the Naqshbandi order attractive. Since membership in multiple orders was not restricted, what factors were involved in choosing the Naqshbandiyya? Along with other changes that took place in society, Le Gall could have coordinated change over time, in appeal with different, emerging social actors. The period discussed spans over two hundred years; were there any changes in recruitment to the order, and what factors affected them?

Although Le Gall is aware that the middle period of Ottoman history experienced major social, political, and economic changes, none of these appear in the construction of the social contexts of her study. For example, the Ottoman economy was shifting from one based on *timar-ziamet* (feudal) exploitation of the land to an incipient economy based on money. This coincided with commensurate bureaucratic and political transformations. Greater social mobility was achieved, and new social groups were entering government service and the *ilmiye*. It is these changes in Ottoman society that coincide with the reconfiguration of cultural institutions such as the sufi orders. The Naqshbandi must have participated in these changes. Were there discernible changes in those who found the Naqshbandi order attractive? Would it not be important, in a discussion of Naqshbandiyya cultural production, to consider their educational theories, which suggest an awareness of developmental psychology, wherein the shaykhs would have shepherded adepts in the ways of the *tariqa* depending on their age and levels of comprehension?

These questions should be taken to indicate a direction for further research that considers cultural change

as a function of social and political transformations in Ottoman history.

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JOHN M. VANDERLIPPE. *The Politics of Turkish Democracy: İsmet İnönü and the Formation of the Multi-Party System, 1938–1950*. (SUNY Series in the Social and Economic History of the Middle East.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2005. Pp. 271. \$70.00.

John M. VanderLippe's study is as timely as it is contributory to scholarly research on the vital period of Turkey's history and politics that it covers. The formation of multiparty systems has been nearly absent from among majoritarian Muslim countries in the post-World War II era.

The author demonstrates that Turkey's multiparty system had its origins in the confluence of global, geopolitical, and regional developments that influenced its domestic politics. Turkey had established a staunch authoritarian system under the rule of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1923–1938). When Atatürk, known as the Eternal Leader, died in 1938, he was replaced by his former foreign minister and long-time associate, İsmet İnönü, who, by adopting the title National Leader, indicated that he would and wanted to continue the Eternal Leader's authoritarian one-party (Republican Peoples' Party, or RPP) system.

İnönü's accession to power coincided with the outbreak of World War II. Turkey's prior experiences with European countries, resulting in the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire and the bitter struggle of Turkish nationalists to establish a republic in 1923, impelled İnönü to pursue a policy of neutrality, which he thought required the continuance of one-party rule. Post-World War II developments compelled İnönü to change his policies, if not his mind. For one thing, Turkey became a member of the United Nations, aligned with the United States, and was a recipient of Truman Doctrine aid. VanderLippe shows the close relationship between Turkey's domestic and foreign policies when he points out that on the same day (July 12, 1947) that Turkey and the United States signed a treaty of assistance, İnönü also made a statement, known as the July 12th Declaration, in which he promised continued support for the multiparty experiment (p. 150). It was important, for the principal leaders of the Demokrat Partisi (DP), the main challenger to the RPP, that Turkey's public-sector economy be reduced in favor of an enlarged private sector. By 1950, their argument resonated with a large portion of Turkey's public who also wanted more freedom of expression, religious freedom, less taxes, more schools, better roads, and electricity. This combination of interests brought the DP to power in 1950.

VanderLippe's study is much more a history than a biography of İsmet İnönü. For the latter readers will have to consult Metin Heper's, *İsmet İnönü: The Making of a Turkish Statesman* (1998). VanderLippe argues

that it was not the proclivity or democratic ideas of İnönü that compelled him to acquiesce to the formation of a multiparty system, but the “realities” of postwar developments and İnönü’s belief in the inevitability of war between the Soviet bloc and the Western Allies. His political opponents shared this “reality,” but they demanded that İnönü and the RPP allow the DP to function as a legitimate political party in return for its support of the RPP’s pro-West and pro-American policies. İnönü did not like the DP demands or ideas, but he acquiesced to the new political “realities.” Vander-Lippe’s study also shows that the circumstances in which Turkey’s multiparty system developed are unique, and that Turkey’s experience cannot easily be a model for other Muslim countries.

This is a first-rate study that uses abundant Turkish sources to fill a needed spot in the lacunae of Turkey’s historiography. It will be a valuable source for upper-division and graduate courses.

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LISA POLLARD. *Nurturing the Nation: The Family Politics of Modernizing, Colonizing, and Liberating Egypt, 1805–1923*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 287. \$24.95.

In 1882, Britain occupied Egypt and insisted that ordinary Egyptians would benefit from enlightened British rule. For the British, the practice of polygamy and the keeping of harems indicated that Egyptian society was morally unsound and in need of British tutelage. This was nothing new: the British made similar arguments to justify British imperial rule in India and Africa, and so did the French in Algeria. What should nationalists do to convince their occupying authorities that they were indeed ready for independence and not in need of their governance? In this engaging book, Lisa Pollard argues that in the last decades of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century, Egyptian nationalists—men and women alike—sought to counter negative British assessments of Egyptian mores by forming new family arrangements based on monogamous marriages and by running households, schools, and charities along Western lines.

Once in Egypt, however, the British made no attempt to pass laws against polygamy, child marriage, or forced marriage. They did not expand female education. Instead they firmly established British rule and limited the participation of Egyptians in politics. Within a few years, the Egyptian intelligentsia began calling for a liberal constitutional government run by modern Egyptians. To that end Egyptian women should be educated in order to create modern men. Earlier scholars such as Leila Ahmad, Margot Badran, and Beth Baron have argued that Egyptian elites wanted to educate a new generation of women homemakers to create a more promising future for Egyptians, that Egyptian women who came in contact with new European ideas then began to demand more freedom for themselves, and that the

newly founded women’s press stimulated support for the Egyptian nationalist movement and for women’s participation in it. Pollard builds on and adds to the earlier histories by arguing that nationalists called on women to play the central role in the domestic realm. Since the domestic realm was the basis of the political realm, women could not play a role in public life because without them at home the political realm would collapse. This celebration of women’s domestic role was a trap for women who wished to lead active lives outside the home.

Chapter one discusses the Egyptians who traveled to Europe on state missions in the 1820s to 1840s and returned home to write about and to extol the benefits of European domestic arrangements. Chapter two focuses on European travel literature that depicted exotic harems more like *A Thousand and One Nights* than contemporary family life in Egypt. Chapter three argues that British official policies were based on the romantic images of the travel literature despite their obvious divergence from everyday realities. Chapter four shows how late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Egyptian teachers’ manuals, syllabi, and textbooks for children idealized European-style family arrangements. Chapter five suggests that newspaper articles debating the “woman question” were really calling for the liberation of the Egyptian nation rather than of Egyptian women.

The book is well researched with a few missteps. On page 209, for example, we find a quote from an article entitled “Half a Nation: A Century of Feminism” that appeared in 1995 in the English-language magazine, *al-Ahram Weekly*. The citation notes that the article was edited by Faysa Hassan. The quote will be familiar to readers because it has already appeared on page 7, where the citation references *Feminists, Islam, and Nation* by Margot Badran, who is clearly the author of both. Pollard argues that elite Egyptians began going to the opera, dining in Western-style restaurants, wearing European fashions, decorating their homes with European furnishings, vacationing in Europe, and hiring European nannies to raise their children in order to demonstrate their modernity and fitness for independence. Some of these trends were well underway before the British occupation or not directly connected to the nationalist movement. Khedive Ismail, for example, built the Cairo Opera House in 1869 to celebrate the opening of the Suez Canal. Egyptian businessmen needed educated wives to socialize with the wives of their British counterparts. The new ways were in response to complex political, economic, social, and cultural developments. Pollard has clearly demonstrated the importance of the nationalist movement in the transformation of women’s lives, but it is part of the story, not the whole story.

After Egypt won its independence, nationalist men proceeded to write women out of the constitution and to deny them the vote. Egyptian nationalists were following European constitutional models that did not allow European women much participation in political

life. European and Egyptian women realized this, of course, and at times attempted to make common cause, but conflicting national interests and ingrained hierarchies usually prevailed. I would strongly recommend this fascinating book to those interested in gender and empire and in the social history of modern Egypt.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

O HEROI (THE HERO). Directed by Zézé Gamboa. Produced by FERNANDO VENDRELL. Screenplay by Carla Baptista. 2004; color; 97 minutes. Distributed by California Newsreel.

Winner of the Sundance Grand Jury prize for World Cinema, Zézé Gamboa's *O Heroi* is not the story of one decorated, debilitated, and demobilized sergeant but the story of a whole society in the throes of postwar reconstruction. The film shows little of Vitório Silva's wartime actions, except for the flash remembrance of stepping on a land mine, and focuses instead on the daily struggles of a number of characters whose lives intersect with Vitório's in present-day Luanda (Angola's capital).

The film opens with an aerial shot that moves from Luanda's sprawling *musseques* (shantytowns) over the city center and to a basketball court overlooking the shipping port. This visual gesture evokes the history of the slave trade that once dominated this coast and hinterland and embraces the *musseque* and its residents as the soul of the city. The camera shifts to the young boy Manu leaving the basketball court after a mid-game quarrel, then jumps to Vitório at the hospital as he confronts the doctor who amputated his leg but never delivered the promised prosthesis.

The film accompanies Vitório and Manu as their stories converge. Vitório must adjust to his new condition and suffers a series of humiliations, including a foreman at a construction site who tells Vitório he is looking for "normal men" and a prostitute who calls him a *mutilado* (gimp) when he shows her his crutch as a response to her invitation to dance. Seeing that his medals and fatigues mean little in Luanda, Vitório trades his hospital-issued crutch for a cane and cash, with which he purchases jeans and a shirt. Two days later he awakens from a nightmare to find that his prosthesis has been stolen. Manu, who lives with his grandmother because his mother left when he was a baby and his father went to fight in the civil war and has never returned, is torn between school and the street, where his friendships and youthful antics escalate to more serious levels of theft and violence. In exchange for a stolen radio, a mechanic gives Manu the prosthesis.

Three female characters are pivotal: Joana (Manu's teacher), Flora (Manu's grandmother), and Judite (Vitório's girlfriend). All have been affected by the war, Judite the most directly, as she was separated from her

young son when their town was attacked. Joana meets Vitório by chance at the hospital and then dreams up a scheme to help him retrieve his prosthesis. She gets her boyfriend to persuade his uncle, a government minister, to broadcast a radio program in which Vitório will tell his story. The minister then makes a broad appeal for "Angolan solidarity" and uses the opportunity to boost his own public profile (as his nephew argues, "even if they don't vote, popularity is important"). Manu and Flora hear the program. When Flora tucks Manu into bed she stumbles on the prosthesis. Furious, she drags Manu off to the radio station, now empty except for Vitório, to return it to its owner. A few days later, Vitório and Judite dine at Flora and Manu's home. From the rubble of war a new family is formed: Manu finds a father, Judite a son, Flora a son and daughter-in-law, and Vitório a family (in place of the one to which he never said goodbye). And Vitório lands a job as the minister's driver. The film closes with Vitório and Manu driving along the city's bay, followed by a reverse of the opening aerial shot, moving from the coast, over the city and out across the *musseques*.

Gamboa is also a hero. After many years in Europe he has returned home to make a film in and about Angola, where film production was moribund. *O Heroi* is one of three feature-length films filmed in Angola since the end of the war in 2002. While the film's lead characters are all played by foreigners, Milton Coelho, who plays Manu, and the rest of the cast are Angolans. The film showcases Luanda's streets and architecture: the old wooden houses of the working class, the São Miguel fort, the Nazaré church, historic neighborhoods, and contemporary markets. The rich sound track is mostly drawn from the work of a young and much-loved Angolan artist, Paulo Flores, and his 2001 album *Recompasso*.

O Heroi evades the politics of the war and reconciliation, and concentrates instead on the human dimension. It exemplifies a comment often heard in Angola during the war: "this is a war between politicians." But the film goes on to show that in fact it was regular folks, drafted as soldiers or swept up as civilian victims, who killed and died and who have borne the emotional and material costs of twenty-seven years of civil war (after thirteen years of an armed anticolonial struggle). Gamboa's point is clear: reconstruction and reconciliation must take place at the level of human relations.

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DAVID GOODHEW. *Respectability and Resistance: A History of Sophiatown*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2004. Pp. xxvi, 190. \$84.95.

Respectability in Africa has largely been seen as a deterrent to nationalist resistance and a characteristic of the most conservative elements of the African elite. Yet David Goodhew challenges this assumption, arguing that respectability in Sophiatown, South Africa, could

be found among working-class residents as well as its much smaller, more educated, often property-owning elite. Covering the period from 1905 to the destruction of Sophiatown in 1955, Goodhew demonstrates both the broad basis of commitment to respectability among Sophiatown's residents and their active engagement in resistance both to state oppression and to internal disruptions, particularly criminal activity.

Based on a wide variety of archival and scholarly sources, Goodhew identifies three aspects of respectability that dominated the thinking and behavior of respectable Sophiatown residents: belief in the importance of religion, education, and the rule of law. He traces the efforts of Sophiatown citizens to build respectable lives and community by supporting these three pillars of respectability. Most importantly, Goodhew demonstrates the complexity and fragility of class formation in Sophiatown and the dangers of linking attitudes and behavior to class position.

Sophiatown was one of three neighboring townships, along with Newclare and Western Native Township (WNT), growing up on the edge of Johannesburg in the early twentieth century. Sophiatown and Newclare were unique in that land could be bought freehold by all races, which attracted ambitious black Africans, Indians, and coloreds (mixed race) as well as some poorer whites. Sophiatown became an ethnic and racial melting pot, with a vibrant culture and society where the few professional people lived side by side with shebeen queens, pimps, and members of the working class. A respectable working class (and much smaller middle class) was well entrenched in Sophiatown by the 1930s. Committed to education, religion, and law and order, the advocates of respectability demonstrated the capacity both to work with and also to fight against existing power structures. They could exclude certain elements of the population and yet retain a broad appeal. While "respectability" was certainly shaped by liberal whites, especially missionaries, it soon developed an African flavor in Sophiatown. According to Goodhew, although it never brought social acceptance from whites, the commitment to better education, religious values, and law and order of "respectable" citizens resonated with the hopes and dreams of many Sophiatown residents

and provided important social glue for the community. These goals mobilized Sophiatown residents from all walks of life, particularly the desire to improve schooling and to combat crime, which was increasing in the face of an ineffective and unconcerned police and state.

As pressure to eliminate the "black spots" in Johannesburg, especially Sophiatown, intensified in the 1940s, the political activism of the "respectable" elements in the community grew as well. The Advisory Board, dominated by "respectable" community members, joined with the radical Communist Party to stage a series of activities to save Sophiatown and the Western Areas in the 1940s and 1950s. In 1949, a boycott of trams to protest a rise in fares took place. By 1953 the area had become a byword for black radicalism. Protests intensified throughout the period, particularly as the fight against the destruction of Sophiatown took shape. Respectable members of the working and middle class were at the forefront of these struggles, and their failure to save Sophiatown can be seen as a key factor in the shift from efforts at reasoned, respectable protest to the adoption of armed struggle.

Goodhew's analysis has much to tell us about the widespread support for supposedly elite concerns, particularly the desire for better schools, religious values, and law and order. He demonstrates the power of these ideals for mobilizing political action across differences. He also demonstrates the links among widespread poverty, the fragility of economic success, and the limits to class formation in Sophiatown. More attention to daily life as well as notions about gender, consumption, and respectability might have revealed subtle divisions within the respectable classes—ones that defined daily life while not impeding collaboration across various divides. The link between respectability and nationalism in South Africa could have received more attention as well. Nevertheless, this is an important book. It provides lessons from a more inclusive, multiethnic, multicultural, and tolerant past that offer hope to those who believe South Africa can prove that a "rainbow nation" is a possibility in Africa.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

METHODS/THEORY

JÜRGEN STRAUB, editor. *Narration, Identity and Historical Consciousness*. (Making Sense of History, number 3.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2005. Pp. xvi, 280. \$60.00.

DONALD E. POLKINGHORNE, Narrative Psychology and Historical Consciousness: Relationships and Perspectives. JEROME S. BRUNER, Past and Present as Narrative Constructions. JÜRGEN STRAUB, Telling Stories, Making History: Toward a Narrative Psychology of the Historical Construction of Meaning. KENNETH J. GERGEN, Narrative, Moral Identity, and Historical Consciousness: A Social Constructionist Account. DONALD P. SPENCE, Narrative Truth and Identity Formation: Abduction and Abuse Stories as Metaphors. MICHA BRUMLIK, The Concept of Time and the Faculty of Judgment in the Ontogenesis of Historical Consciousness. PETER SEIXAS, Historical Consciousness: The Progress of Knowledge in a Postprogressive Age. ELFRIEDE BILLMANN-MAHECHA and MONIKA HAUSEN, Empirical Psychological Approaches to the Historical Consciousness of Children. SAMUEL S. WINEBURG, The Psychological Study of Historical Consciousness. BRIGITTE BOOTHE, Biography—A Dream? Self-Chronicling in the Age Psychoanalysis. ALEXANDRE MÉTRAUX, Authenticity and Authority: On Understanding the Shoah. HARALD WELZER, Albert Speer's Memories of the Future: On the Historical Consciousness of a Leading Figure in the Third Reich.

JEFF KESHEN and SYLVIE PERRIER, editors. *Building New Bridges: Sources, Methods and Interdisciplinarity/Bâtir de nouveaux ponts: Sources, méthodes et interdisciplinarité*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press. 2005. Pp. 277. \$35.00.

CHARLOTTE MASEMANN, Vellum and *Vaccinium*: Documentary and Archaeological Evidence in the Study of Medieval Produce. JAMES HULL, Talking Numbers: Deconstructing Engineering Discourse. SUSAN LAMB, Model Behaviour: A Material Culture Approach to the History of Anatomy Models. LISA HELPS, Re-disciplining the Body. ROBERT STRONG, The Uncooperative Primary Source: Literary Recovery versus Historical Fact in the Strange Production of *Cogewea*. BARBARA LORENZKOWSKI, Reading Books/Reading Lives: Culture, Lan-

guage, and Power in Nineteenth-Century School Readers. HUBERT WATELET, Rigueur et sensibilité dans un parcours historique. LAURA E. ETTINGER, Inside Out: The Use and Inadvertent Misuse of Oral Histories. KOUKY FIANU and SYLVIE PERRIER, Les sources juridiques au service de l'histoire socio-culturelle de la France médiévale et moderne. VADIM KUKUSHKIN, Revisiting Quantitative Methods in Immigration History: Immigrant Files in the Archives of the Russian Consulates in Canada. SAMY KHALID, Réflexions sur la question identitaire d'après les recensements informatisés: L'exemple des "Suisse" en Ontario (1871–1881). CRISTINA BRADATAN, The Politics of Sources and Definitions. JEFF KESHEN, Reporting the People's War: Ottawa (1914–1918). JONATHAN F. VANCE, Documents in Bronze and Stone: Memorials and Monuments as Historical Sources. KATHERINE ROMBA, The Evidence of Omission in Art History's Texts. MÉLANIE DE GROOTE, Images: mode(s) d'emploi. ANNE F. MACLENNAN, What do the Radio Program Schedules Reveal? Content Analysis versus Accidental Sampling in Early Canadian Radio History. CAROLINE-ISABELLE CARON, Television as Historical Source: Using Images in Cultural History. MICHEL S. BEAULIEU, "Wie es eigentlich gewesen?" Early Film as Historical Source? CHAD GAFFIELD, Evidence of What? Changing Answers to the Question of Historical Sources as Illustrated by Research Using the Census.

GEORGE STEINMETZ, editor. *The Politics of Method in the Human Sciences: Positivism and Its Epistemological Others*. (Politics, History and Culture.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. 620. \$25.95.

GEORGE STEINMETZ, Positivism and Its Others in the Social Sciences. WEBB KEANE, Estrangement, Intimacy, and the Objects of Anthropology. MICHAEL DUTTON, The Trick of Words: Asian Studies, Translation, and the Problems of Knowledge. TIMOTHY MITCHELL, Economists and the Economy in the Twentieth Century. PHILIP MIROWSKI, How Positivism Made a Pact with the Postwar Social Sciences in the United States. WILLIAM H. SEWELL, JR., The Political Unconscious of Social and Cultural History, or, Confessions of a Former Quantitative Historian. EMILY HAUPTMANN, Defining "Theory" in Postwar Political Science. MARGARET R. SOMERS, Beware Trojan Horses Bearing Social Capital: How Privatization Turned *Solidarity* into a Bowling Team. GEORGE STEINMETZ, Scientific Authority and the Transition to Post-Fordism: The Plausibility of Positivism in U.S. Sociology since 1945. ANDREW COLLIER, Critical Realism. SANDRA HARDING, Negotiating with the Positivist Legacy: New Social Justice Movements and a Standpoint Politics of Method. TONY LAWSON, A Perspective on Modern Economics. ANDREW ABBOTT, The Idea of Outcome

in U.S. Sociology. ANTHONY ELLIOTT, *Psychoanalysis and the Theory of the Subject*. DANIEL BRESLAU, *The Real and the Imaginary in Economic Methodology*. SOPHIA MIHIC, STEPHEN G. ENGELMANN, and ELIZABETH ROSE WINGROVE, *Facts, Values, and "Real" Numbers*. GEOFF ELEY, *On Your Marx: From Cultural History to the History of Society*. MICHAEL BURAWOY, *Provincializing the Social Sciences*.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

TOYIN FALOLA and MATT D. CHILDS, editors. *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World*. (Blacks in the Diaspora.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 455. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$27.95.

MATT D. CHILDS and TOYIN FALOLA, *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World: Methodology and Research*. DAVID ELTIS, *The Diaspora of Yoruba Speakers, 1650–1865: Dimensions and Implications*. PAUL E. LOVEJOY, *The Yoruba Factor in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*. ANN O'HEAR, *The Enslavement of Yoruba*. JOÃO JOSÉ REIS and BEATRIZ GALLOTTI MAMIGONIAN, *Nagô and Mina: The Yoruba Diaspora in Brazil*. MICHELE REID, *The Yoruba in Cuba: Origins, Identities, and Transformations*. RUSSELL LOHSE, *Africans in a Colony of Creoles: The Yoruba in Colonial Costa Rica*. ROSALYN HOWARD, *Yoruba in the British Caribbean: A Comparative Perspective on Trinidad and the Bahamas*. KEVIN ROBERTS, *The Influential Yoruba Past in Haiti*. LUIS NICOLAU PARÉS, *The "Nagôization" Process in Bahian Candomblé*. CHRISTINE AYORINDE, *Santería in Cuba: Tradition and Transformation*. MARIZA DE CARVALHO SOARES, *From Gbe to Yoruba: Ethnic Change and the Mina Nation in Rio de Janeiro*. KEVIN ROBERTS, *Yoruba Family, Gender, and Kinship Roles in New World Slavery*. ROBIN MOORE, *Revolution and Religion: Yoruba Sacred Music in Socialist Cuba*. BABATUNDE LAWAL, *Reclaiming the Past: Yoruba Elements in African American Arts*. AUGUSTINE H. AGWUELE, "Yoruba-isms" in African American "Speech" Patterns. ROBIN LAW, *Yoruba Liberated Slaves Who Returned to West Africa*. C. MAGBAILY FYLE, *The Yoruba Diaspora in Sierra Leone's Krio Society*. GIBRIL R. COLE, *Liberated Slaves and Islam in Nineteenth-Century West Africa*.

ALEXIA GROSJEAN and STEVE MURDOCH, editors. *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*. (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions: History, Culture, Religion, Ideas, number 107.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. xx, 417. \$199.00.

PATRICK FITZGERALD, *Scottish Migration to Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*. WALDEMAR KOWALSKI, *The Placement of Urbanised Scots in the Polish Crown during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. DAVID DOBSON, *Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas*. NINA ØSTBY PEDERSEN, *Scottish Immigration to Bergen in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. DOUGLAS CATTERALL, *Scots along the Maas, c. 1570–1750*. ALEXIA GROSJEAN and STEVE MURDOCH, *The Scottish Communities in Seventeenth-Century Gothenburg*. RIMANTAS ŽIGULIS, *The Scottish Community in Kėdainiai c.1630–c.1750*. KATHRIN ZICKERMANN, "*Briteannia ist mein patria*": Scotsmen and the "British" Community in Hamburg. GINNY GARDNER, *A Haven for Intrigue: The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands, 1660–1690*. ESTHER MIJERS, *Scottish Students in the Netherlands, 1680–1730*. ANDREW LITTLE, *A Comparative Survey of Scottish Service in the English*

and Dutch Maritime Communities c. 1650–1707. LEX HEERMA VAN VOSS, SØLVI SOGNER, and THOMAS O'CONNOR, *Scottish Communities Abroad: Some Concluding Remarks*.

KRISTA O'DONNELL, RENATE BRIDENTHAL, and NANCY R. REAGIN, editors. *The Heimat Abroad: The Boundaries of Germanness*. (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2005. Pp. x, 326. \$29.95.

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITORS:

I wish to register a protest concerning the review by Ralph M. Coury of S. S. Hasan, *Christians versus Muslims in Modern Egypt: The Century-Long Struggle for Coptic Equality* (AHR, April 2005, 591). This review, contrary to AHR guidelines, tells us little about the book itself but much about the reviewer's blatant political prejudices.

I object particularly to Coury's accusation—which is nowhere made in Ms. Hasan's own valuable and honest book—that Israel aims “to exploit Coptic and other forms of Middle Eastern minority identities for [its] own purposes.” A reader of the review alone would not know that the author was herself banned from Egypt because of government intolerance of her advocacy of peace with Israel (*Christians versus Muslims*, xi).

The review is replete with anti-Israeli innuendo while sidestepping the major subject of militant Islamist persecution of Coptic Christians. When Coury refers crudely to “an alliance of the American Zionist lobby and the Christian right,” he is guilty of stereotyping and caricaturing pro-Zionist opinion and involvement in this country—much of which is solidly liberal and democratic. I am proud to be in that camp.

DAVID E. NARRETT
University of Texas, Arlington

RALPH M. COURY RESPONDS:

American/Zionist efforts to exploit Middle Eastern minority identities have had a long history, from Zionist attempts to ally with Lebanese Maronites in the 1920s to the operation of Israeli agents in Kurdish areas of Iran and Syria today.

Oded Yinon, a former official of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, summarized the strategy in a report to the World Zionist Organization in 1982: Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Libya, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq could be broken up into religious, ethnic, and regional enclaves. Iraq, in particular, “rich in oil,” “the greatest threat to Israel,” and “internally torn,” was “guaranteed as a candidate for Israel's targets.”

Yinon's report reflects a wider pattern of thought that helps us to understand the recent occupation of Iraq. In 1996, the American neoconservatives Richard Perle, David Wurmser, and Douglas Feith drafted “A Clean Break: Defense of the Realm [Israel]” for Prime Minister Netanyahu. They advocated removal of Saddam Hussein, a “roll back” of Syria, renunciation of Oslo, and replacement of Arafat. These and other prominent architects of the Iraqi occupation aim to reorganize Arab societies on religious, tribal, and clan foundations wherever possible, to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict on Sharon's terms, to shift power to Israel, Turkey, and an Iraq under permanent American control, and to accord ethnic and religious minorities rights as self-contained entities in order to weaken the Arab states and stifle pan-Arabism.

Egypt has not been neglected in this strategy. “The vision of a Christian Coptic state in Upper Egypt,” Yinon noted, “. . . seems inevitable in the long run.” To be sure, Egypt is not likely to be destroyed, but it is clear that serious deconstructive pressures are being applied. I cannot here document the story of how Israel and various American allies (eminent neoconservatives and liberals, the Zionist lobby, Christian rightists, and expatriate Copts) have played the Coptic card through such devices as the Congressional International Religious Freedom Act of 1998. I will simply refer to two telling pieces of evidence that provide deliciously blatant manifestations of hypocrisy and double standards.

In 2001, Elliott Abrams, chair of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, led a fact-

finding delegation to Egypt and Saudi Arabia but refused to accompany other delegates to Israel inasmuch as he believed that no Israeli problems warranted attention. The Commission issued no report about Israel and the occupied territories because of the "complexity of the situation" and "differences of opinion." When Abrams was later appointed National Security Advisor for the Near East and North Africa, the *Weekly Standard* hailed the event as a move that neatly "cocks a snook at the pro-Palestinian wimps at the State Department."

Another example is provided by the international conference "Egyptian Copts: A Minority under Siege," which expatriate Coptic associations sponsored in Zurich in 2004. The keynote speaker was none other than Daniel Pipes, whose "Campus Watch" website monitors professors who "dislike" their country and its allies (i.e., American and Israeli policies). Pipes asserted that Christianity was disappearing from the Middle East (because of Muslim persecution) and from Europe (because of Muslim immigration and high birth rates). The "great cultures: Italian, French, English and others, will likely be replaced by a new transnational Muslim identity." No concerns were expressed for the Church of the Nativity.

In spite of all of this, most Egyptian Copts are not taken in. "Egyptians, Muslims and Copts alike, will never bow before the Zionist and Western designs to bend our will, alter our national priorities, and usurp our autonomous resolve," Pope Shenouda III declared in response to *Daily Telegraph* misrepresentations of Coptic/Muslim relations in 1997.

David Narrett is "proud" to be a liberal pro-Zionist. There are indeed differences between liberal and right-wing Zionists, but this should not obscure fundamental commonalities. Zionism has been a form of settler-colonialism that has necessitated the support of an imperial power (Britain, then the United States) and counterrevolutionary strategies. Israel's alliances with apartheid South Africa, with France against Algeria, and with France and Britain against Egypt, as well as its

policies of divide and rule, existed long before the ascendancy of the Likud. Such alliances and policies were effected by many who were also proud to call themselves liberals, and by some who even called themselves socialists and Marxists.

RALPH M. COURY
Fairfield University

REVIEWS

TO THE EDITORS:

In her review of Julie Taylor's *Muslims in Medieval Italy: The Colony of Lucera* (AHR, October 2004, 1295–1296), Sally McKee wrote, "when tensions between the Christians and Muslims in Sicily in the first decades of the thirteenth century disrupted life on Frederick II's island, the emperor did what the Christian rulers of Iberia had done in the eleventh century: he removed the Muslims from his kingdom." Although before 1085 Christian reconquering rulers sometimes did expel local Muslims, for example, Fernando I of Leon-Castile after reconquering Coimbra in 1064, this policy was not in fact always pursued by Christian Iberian rulers in the eleventh century. Most notably, Alfonso VI of Leon-Castile permitted the substantial Muslim community of Toledo to remain there after its reconquest in 1085. For documentation, please refer to Joseph F. O'Callaghan, "Mudejars of Castile and Portugal," in *Muslims under Latin Rule*, ed. James M. Powell (Princeton, N.J., 1990), 13–19, especially note 7. Given the current international climate, I feel that it is very important that the historical record of medieval Christian rulers' treatment of their Muslim subjects not be unduly misrepresented.

ALICE WHEALEY

Sally McKee does not wish to respond.

THE EDITORS

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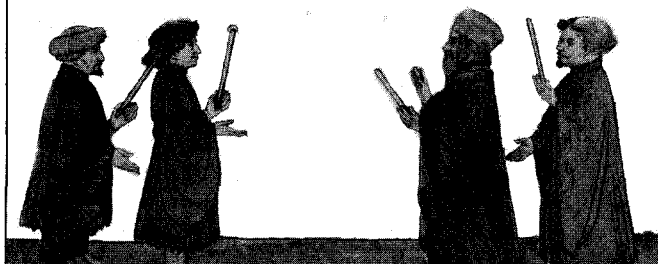
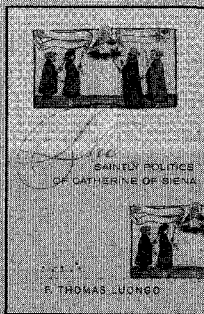
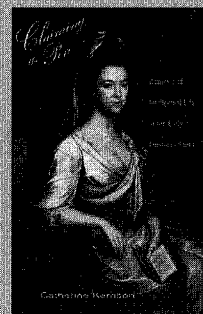
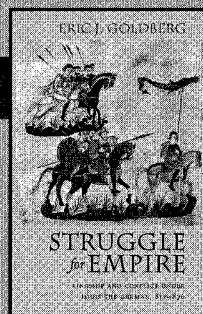
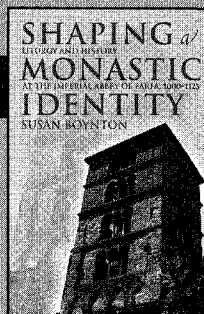
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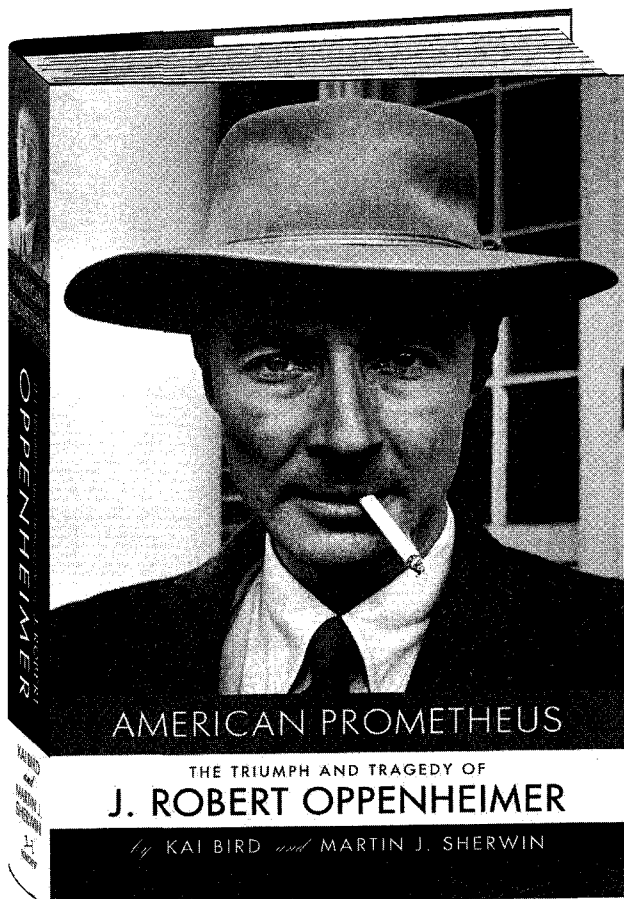


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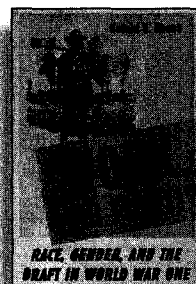
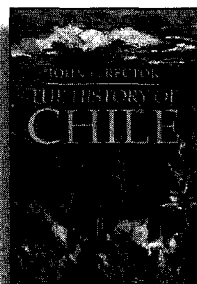
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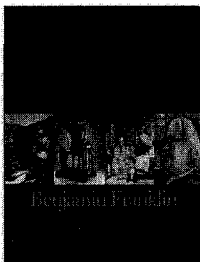
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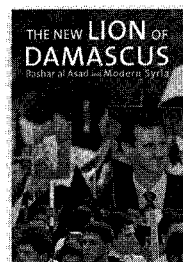
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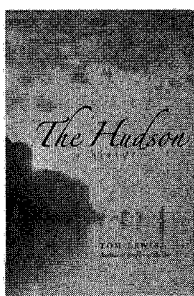
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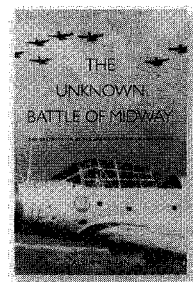
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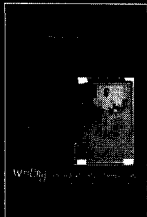
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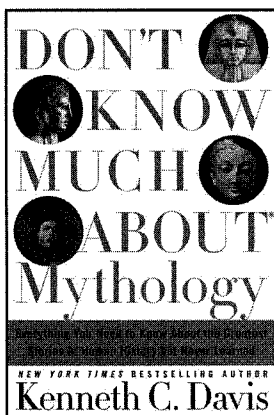


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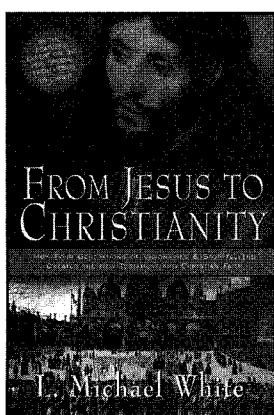
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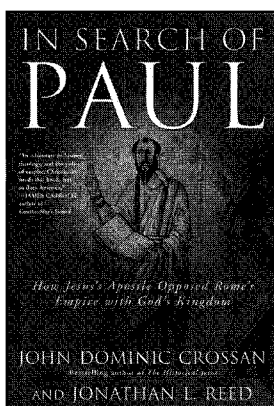
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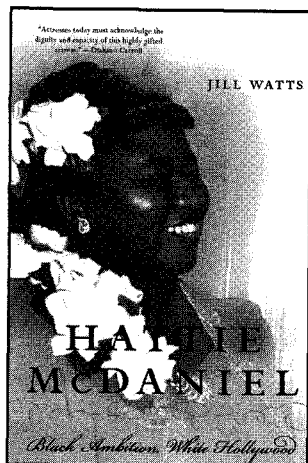


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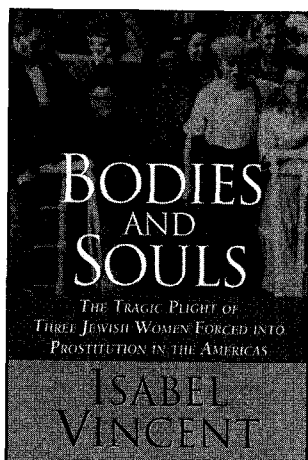
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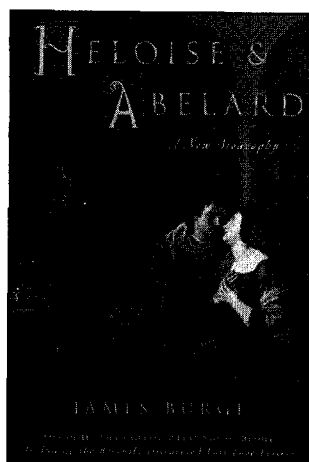
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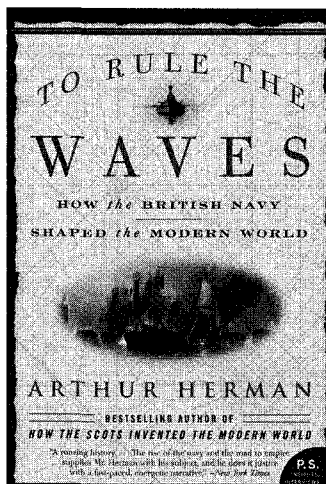
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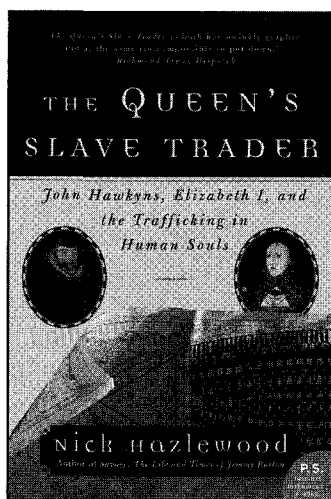
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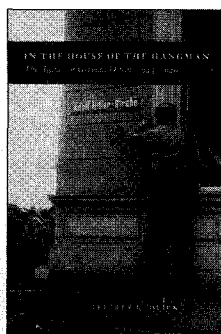
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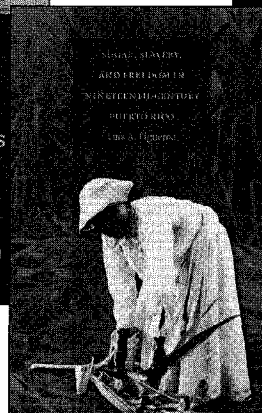
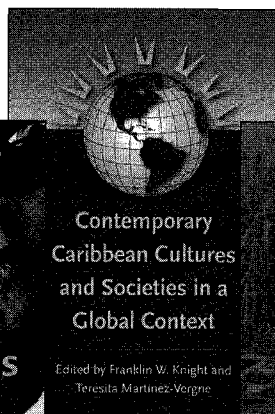
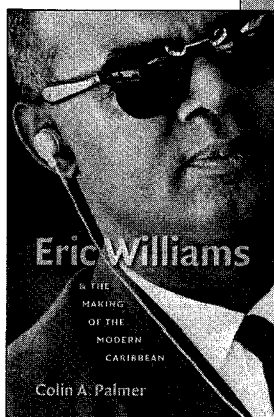
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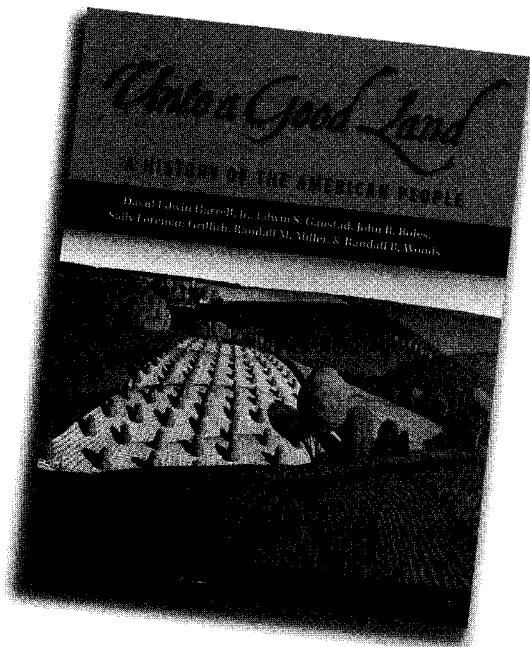
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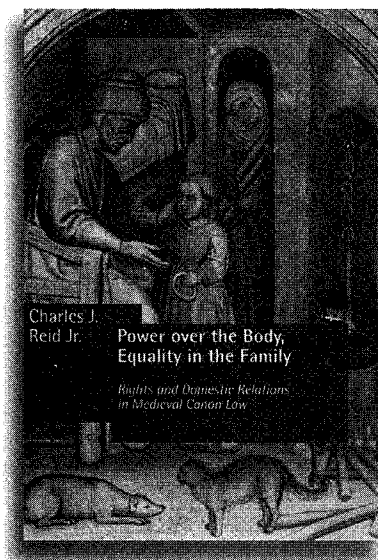
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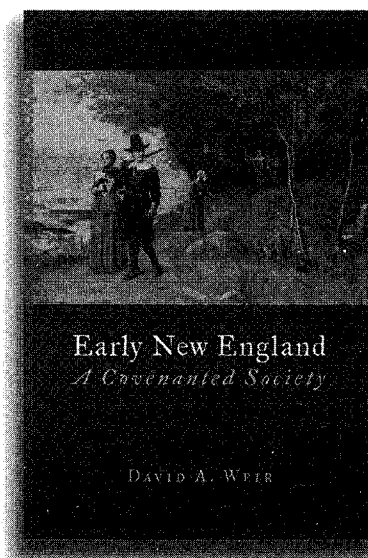
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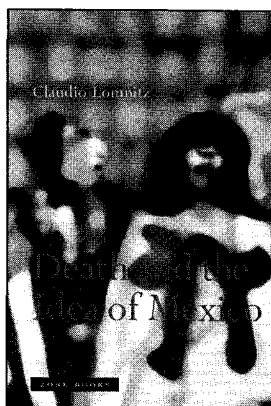
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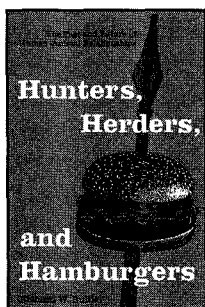
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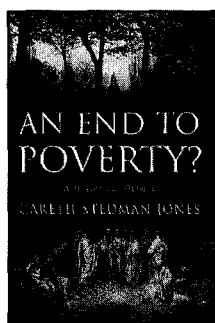
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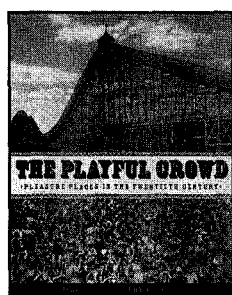
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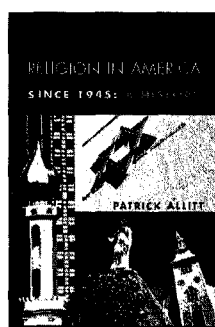
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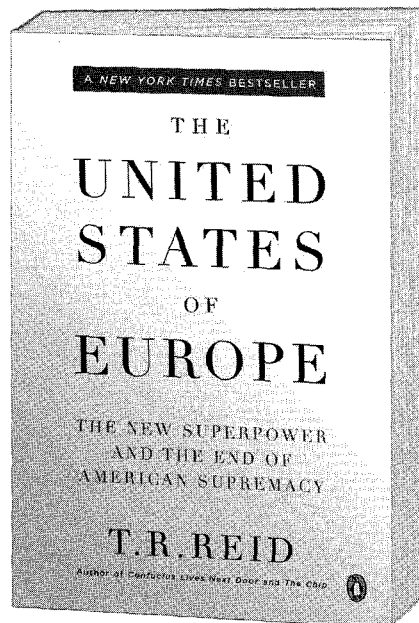
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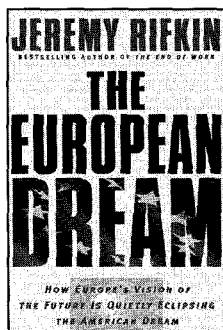
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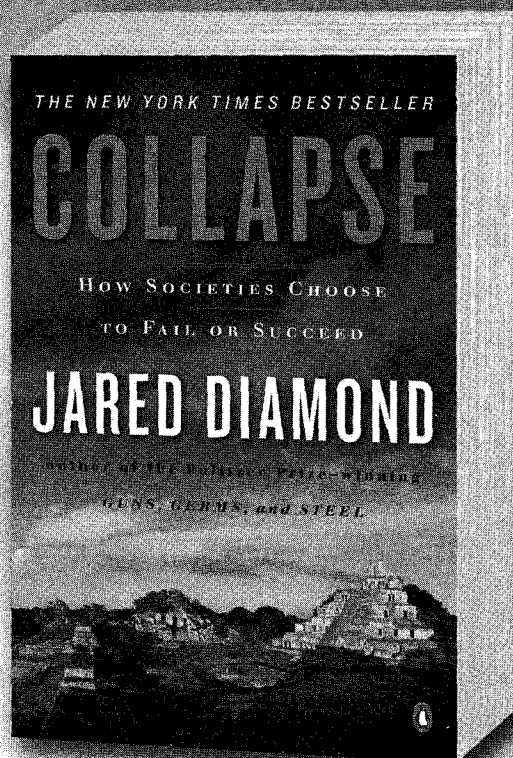
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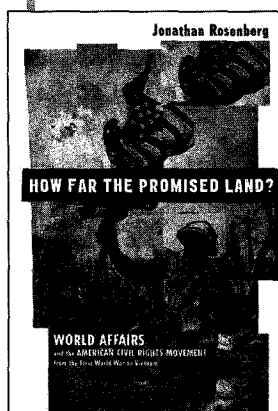
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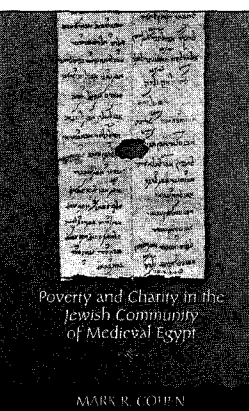
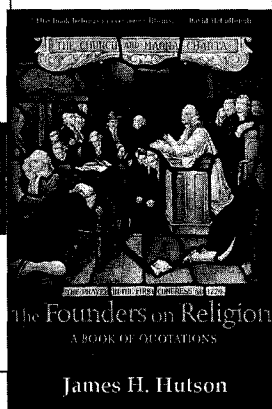
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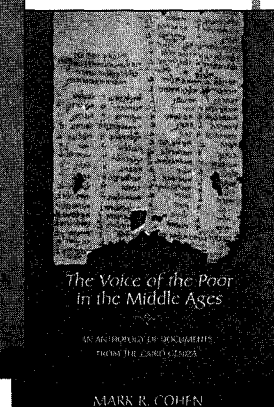


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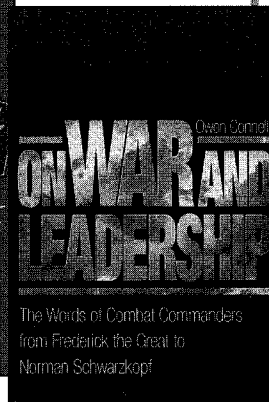
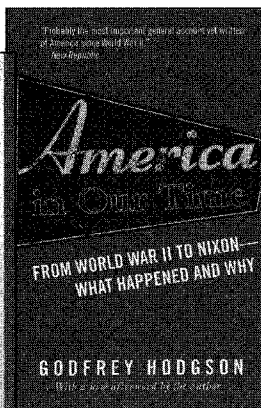
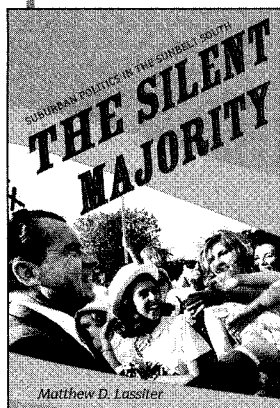
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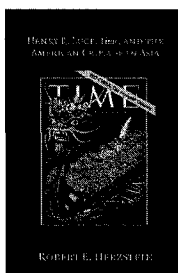
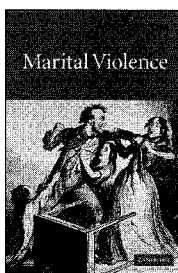
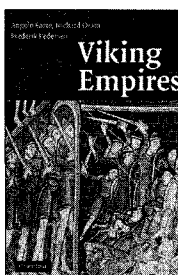
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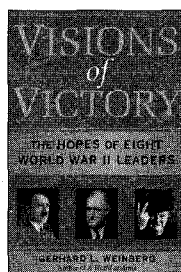
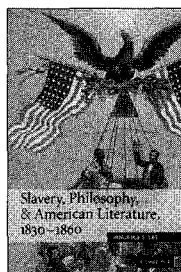
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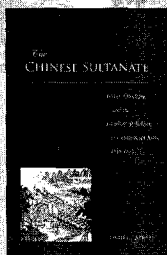
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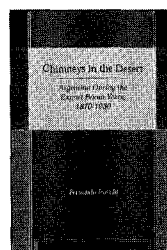
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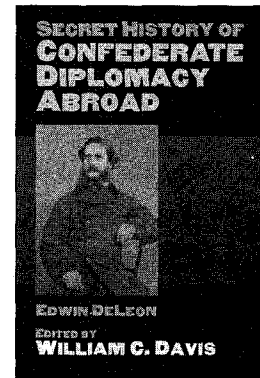
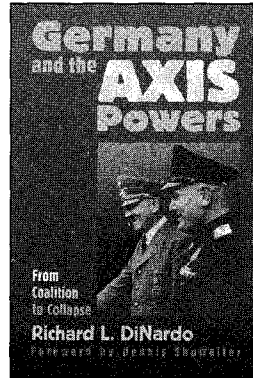
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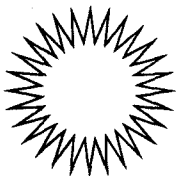
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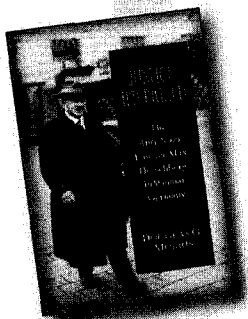
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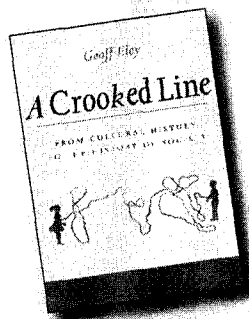
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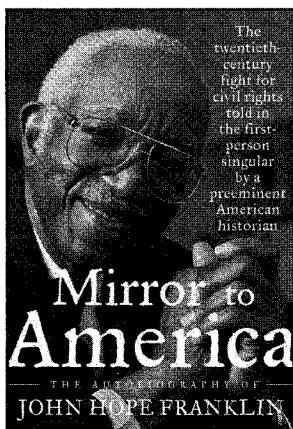
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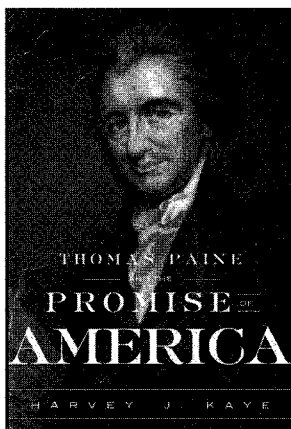


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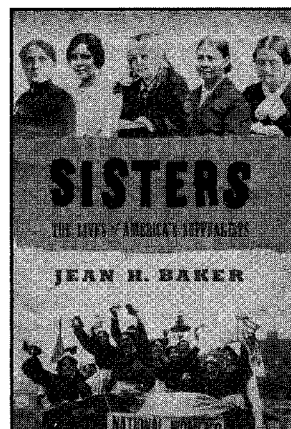
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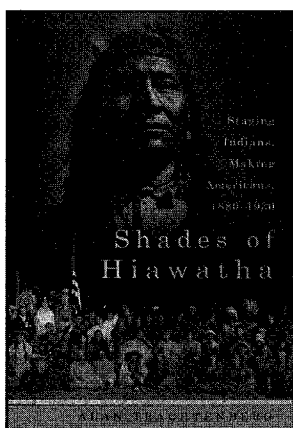
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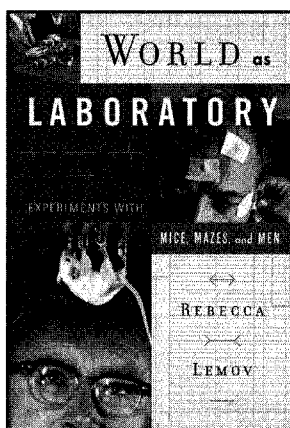
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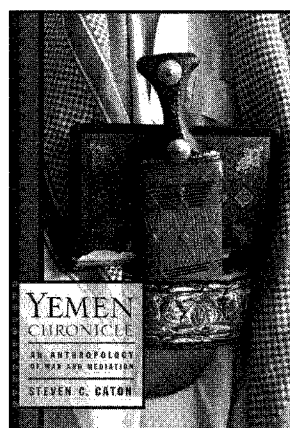
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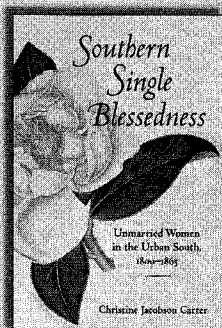
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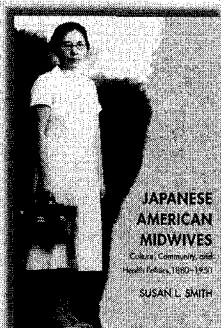
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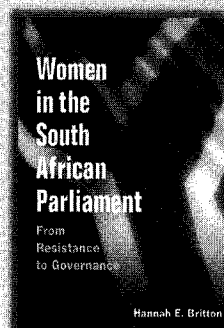
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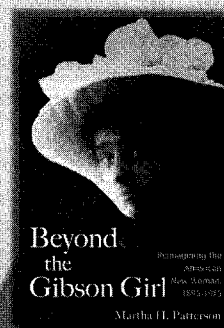
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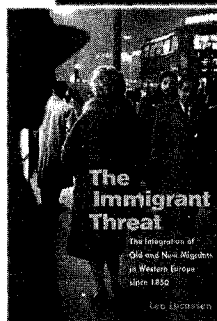
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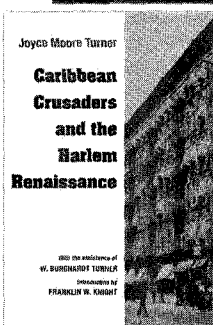
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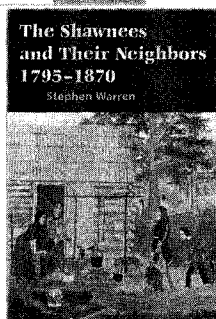
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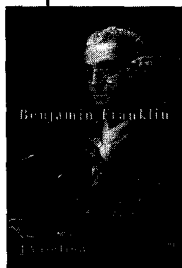
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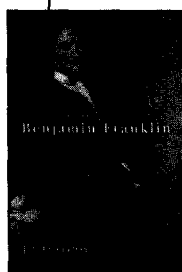
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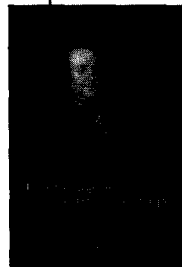
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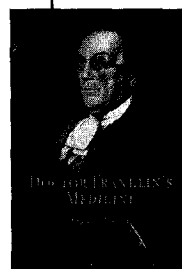
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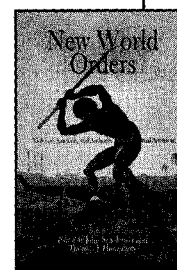
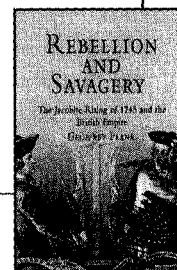
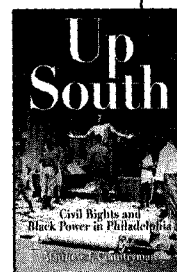
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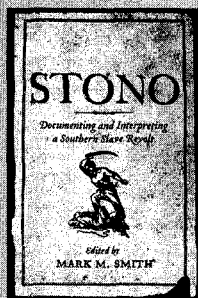
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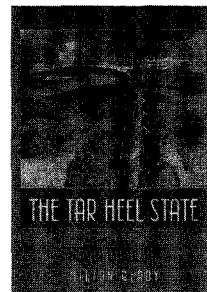
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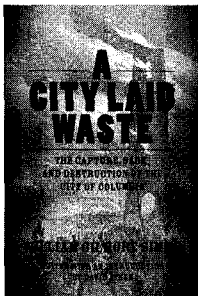
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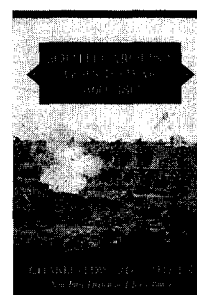
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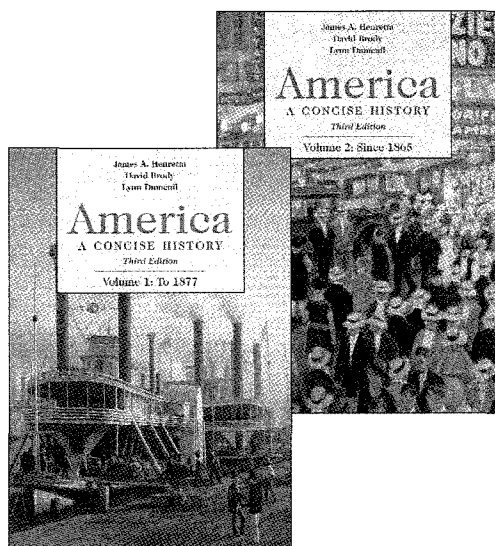
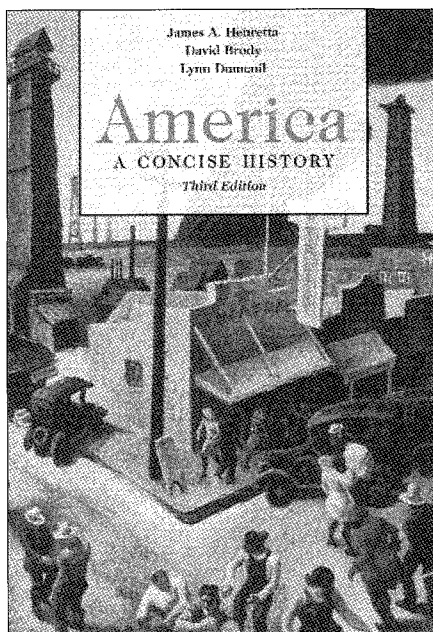
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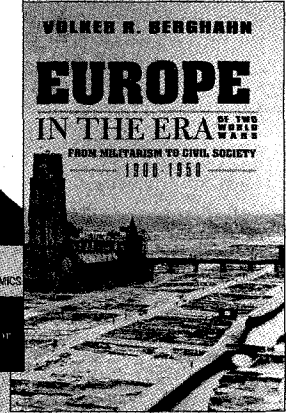
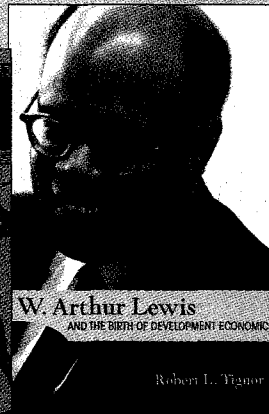
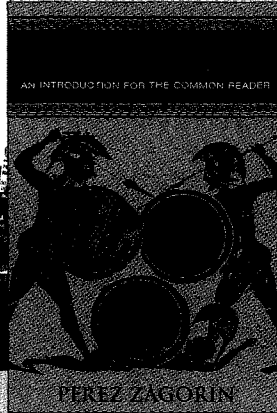
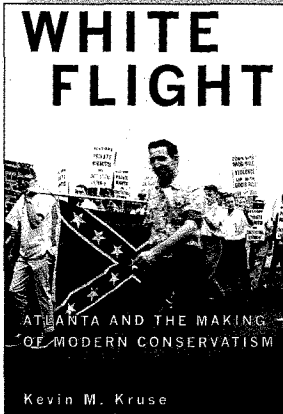
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